Karamoja Situational Analysis
Northern Uganda Women’s Empowerment Programme (NUWEP)

December 2012 – January 2013

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARELIMOK</td>
<td>Action for Poverty Reduction and Livestock Modernization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASM</td>
<td>Artisanal Small-scale Mining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASTU</td>
<td>Anti-Stock Theft Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDO</td>
<td>Community Development Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISO</td>
<td>District Internal Security Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDF</td>
<td>European Development Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBOs</td>
<td>Faith-Based Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDC</td>
<td>Forum for Democratic Change (political party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEWSNET</td>
<td>Famine Early Warning Systems Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GISO</td>
<td>Gombolola (Sub-county) Internal Security Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPI</td>
<td>Human Poverty Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KDA</td>
<td>Karamoja Development Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KIDDP</td>
<td>Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KISO</td>
<td>Kraal Internal Security Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KISP</td>
<td>Karamoja Initiative for Sustainable Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>Local Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LDU</td>
<td>Local Defence Units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRA</td>
<td>Lords Resistance Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Members of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAADS</td>
<td>National Agricultural Advisory Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRM</td>
<td>National Resistance Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUSAF</td>
<td>Northern Uganda Social Action Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPM</td>
<td>Office of the Prime Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLHIV</td>
<td>Person Living with HIV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRDP</td>
<td>Peace, Recovery and Development Plan for Northern Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDC</td>
<td>Resident District Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SALWs</td>
<td>Small Arms and Light Weapons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPDF</td>
<td>Uganda People’s Defence Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPE</td>
<td>Universal Primary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VISO</td>
<td>Village Internal Security Officer</td>
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<td>WFP</td>
<td>World Food Programme</td>
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</table>
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Executive Summary

Karamoja region of northeastern Uganda has a legacy of violent pastoralists conflicts associated with decades of cattle rustling which has caused immeasurable suffering for the people, especially the women and girls. Many women were widowed and others rape and even killed as they travel long distances in search of water, firewood, charcoal, and food. Nevertheless, evidence from our field study and existing literature indicate that the region is experiencing relative peace as a result of the on-going disarmament process. The widespread insecurity associated with cattle rustling and armed banditry on highways in the past is no longer experienced on large scale except pockets of petty thefts. There is still residual raiding between the Dodoth and the Jie. The most significant sources of tensions are the presence of guns in the hands of a few unarmed youth, presence of idle and redundant disarmed youth engaged in criminal activities, bad politicking, greed and corruption in the civil service.

A new phenomenon in the region is the replacement of traditional kraals with the concept of protected kraals. Most animals are in centralized kraals protected by the Uganda People’s Defence Forces (UPDF) and Local Defence Units (LDU). The emergence of protected kraals has caused a shift in power dynamics from the warriors and kraal leaders to the military. The ramification of restriction on the movement of the men by the military is associated with increased burden on the women and girls to provide for their families, especially in years of poor harvests. There is also reemergence of the role of traditional authority of elders and newfound power for the political elites especially in the newly created districts. The people perceive Moroto and Napak districts as the most politically powerful districts in Karamoja. This is attributed to good leadership, good infrastructure, and political advantage due to the location of the president’s palace in Napak and regional military command in Moroto (See Section 2.1.3 and Annex 4 for details).

Karamoja can now safely be characterized as a post-conflict region. The most noticeable changes brought about by the relative peace includes increase in government programmes, availability of economic activities, increased presence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and improved access to health and education. Evidence from our fieldwork indicates that the Karamojong are now preoccupied with rebuilding their livelihoods and the community peace structures to maintain the peace. The NGOs such as Mercy Corps, ACORD, and IRC have resuscitated the roles of elders and promoted the roles of women in peace building. The local capacities for peace include the existing peace committees, the council of elders, the military and police, and the local councils (See Figure 4). Despite some challenges, these structures are vital in maintaining the current peace. The women are represented in the peace committees although their participation needs strengthening beyond their traditional roles of composing songs and dancing to include leadership and decision making in the peace committees.

The major socio-economic challenges in Karamoja are poverty and vulnerability as the region exhibits the country’s lowest human development index (See Section 2.1.1 and Table 1 for details). The World Bank report (2006) indicates that 82 percent of the Karamojong are living below poverty compared to a national average of 31 percent. Access to sanitation is only 9 percent compared to the national average of 62 percent and literacy rate is 11 percent compared to 67 percent at the national level. The women and girls bear the brunt of providing for the family especially in years of poor harvests as a result of drought and floods. Karamoja region
experiences cyclical drought every two to three years. The floods in 2012 destroyed crops with a potential consequence of serious famine. Climate change has greatly contributed to environmental degradation which in turn is the most significant cause of poverty and vulnerability, followed by insecurity (See Figure 6 in Section 2.2.2.1).

The combination of harsh climatic conditions, violent cattle raids and on-going disarmament contributed to loss of assets, especially livestock. As such, the majority of the people cope through petty trade, casual labor, collecting wild fruits and vegetables, and outmigration to neighbouring districts, urban centres, and major towns in search of a living. The majority of migrants are women and children and also young men. The evidence from the field study and available literature shows that economic motivation is the major reason for outmigration. Nonetheless, others migrate for both political and social reasons (See Figure 8). Women and girls migrate for social reasons including escaping domestic violence, aside from economic burden of failing to provide for the families as breadwinners. Domestic violence is commonly underreported in this patriarchal society that devalues women’s worth due practices such as payment of bridewealth. Women and girls are particularly vulnerable to poverty and deprivation and they face the highest risk of discrimination and social exclusion due to cultural biases and attitudes (See Figure 7). Other socially excluded groups are the terminally ill people, especially people living with AIDS and the disabled. These three groups are the poorest and most vulnerable because they lack productive assets and are excluded from mainstream society.

CARE International in Uganda should support these vulnerable groups, especially women through reconstructing their livelihoods. The communities prioritized livelihood diversification, support to peace building, and provision of education as the top most priority areas to empower women (See Figure 9). They ranked alternative sources of income, improvement in farming systems, and creation of employment opportunities as very important aspects of livelihood diversification. There are efforts from the government, aid agencies, development partners, and the people themselves to improve livelihoods but the need is great. Not everyone in the community is reached through efforts such as the village savings and loans associations (VSLA) by NGOs and Savings and Credit Cooperatives (SACCOs) by the government. The opportunities for improving incomes include support to impact groups to tap from natural resource products such as processing of Amarelle, palm sap, aloe sap, honey, and gum Arabica instead of selling firewood and charcoal which are detrimental to the environment.

Aside from improving the livelihoods of the impact groups, CARE should also enhance the representation and participation of women in the peace and governance structures such as local councils and peace committees. Getting women’s numbers up and keeping them in these structures to lobby for effective service delivery especially in health and education should be priority areas for CARE. Evidence from available literature shows that women’s participations in the local governance structure adds value to social service delivery and peace because women’s priorities are often peace and the wellbeing of their children. Service provision such as access to education, health, sanitation, and maternal health are direct obligations of the governments and civil society organizations (CSOs) can only contribute through enhancing civic engagement of the communities to demand governments to provide these services. CARE should work in partnership with existing CSOs in Karamoja region to avoid reinventing the wheel and undue competition in building the capacity of women to demand for services and to hold their leaders accountable (See Section 4.0 for detailed recommendations).
1.0 Background to the study

Northern Uganda Women Empowerment Program (NUWEP) commissioned a supplementary situational analysis in Karamoja region as part CARE International in Uganda’s broader response to the plight of vulnerable groups especially women and girls in Northern Uganda. NUWEP is a multi-year post-war recovery and development programme comprising a coherent set of initiatives for sustainable positive change and social justice in the lives of women and girls of reproductive age affected by armed conflict. CARE International in Uganda’s analysis of the underlying causes of poverty and social injustice has identified this population group as among the most vulnerable and marginalized. The choice of women and girls of reproductive age affected by conflict as the impact population arises from CARE’s experience in Northern Uganda which shows that the prolonged LRA conflict and Karamoja cattle rustling disproportionately affected women and girls. Besides, the situation is compounded by the patriarchal system which systematically disadvantages women and girls.

CARE’s experience in Northern Uganda is further influenced by global experience and research which emphasises that women empowerment is central to addressing the underlying causes of poverty and social injustice. Besides, gender equality is a universal human right guaranteed by international conventions and the constitution of the Republic of Uganda. Furthermore, women and girls constitute a majority of Uganda’s population and are a potential factor to successful national development (CARE TOR).

1.1 Purpose and scope of the study

The overall objective of the supplementary situation analysis is to document socio-economic and conflict dynamics and how it has impacted the vulnerable groups especially women and girls.

1.1.1 Specific study objectives

1. To analyze the socio-economic dynamics in Karamoja.
2. To analyze the current conflict dynamics in Karamoja.
3. To assess the socio-economic and conflict impact on women and girls.
4. To identify programming opportunities that would empower women and girls to engage in socio-economic activities within the current context in Karamoja.

1.1.2 The study questions

The review questions in Box one sought answers on the specific objectives of the situational analysis (See Annex 1 for detailed terms of reference).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box One: Guiding questions for situational analysis (Situational analysis TOR)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the general profile of development across Karamoja?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is migration politically, economically, environmentally or socially motivated?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do some districts harness more political power than others?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there socially excluded groups? If so where are they?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where are enduring forms of social exclusion practiced?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where livelihood systems are most threatened by disasters or depleted natural resources?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In what areas do livelihood systems perpetuate impoverishment or exclusion?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where does conflict produce insecurity or difficult accessibility?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the sources of tension in the region?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What peace capacities exist among the communities in the region?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2 Study Approach and Methods

The methods used in this study began with a detailed study, development and the refinement of the focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs) questions. The study questions were developed from the study objectives and guiding questions (Box 1). The questions were structured to fill in gaps identified after initial review of the key documents.

1.2.1 Data Collection Instruments Protocol and Procedures

Overall, the consultants adopted a mixed-methods approach which included review of documents, in-depth interviews with key informants, focus group discussions with sample of female and male youths, elderly women and men within the four sampled districts of Kotido, Kaabong, Moroto and Napak. This was aimed at increasing validity and reliability of the information. In summary, data was collected from the following sources:

a) Review of documentation: The consultants reviewed relevant documents provided by CARE and those obtained from the internet (see Annex 3 for details) including:
   • Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme (KIDDP).
   • Studies on issues of migration in Karamoja (The Feinstein International Center – Tufts University, USA).
   • Special studies on conflict and peace in Karamoja.
   • Reports from relevant government departments and ministries.
   • Reports given by CARE on NUWEP.

b) In-depth interviews with key informants and focus groups: The team held focus group discussions (FGDs) and structured interviews with a cross-section of community representatives, local leaders, technical staff from the sampled districts and sub-counties (See Annex 2 for a full list of the people interviewed). The interviews were as follows:
   i. Focus group with elderly women, men and youth representatives from the different ethnic groups including the Bokora, Jie, Dodoth and Matheniko communities;
   ii. Key informant interviews with local leaders including elders and kraal leaders; district leaders, Internal Security Officers, Resident District Commissioners, CAOs, Police, UPDF representatives; civil society organizations and Special Government Program representatives.
   iii. Key informant interviews with relevant stakeholders in Kampala including representatives of CSOs working in Karamoja.
   iv. Key informant interviews with Karamojong elites in Kampala including Members of Parliament (MPs) from the Karamoja Parliamentary Forum.

1.2.2 Selection of participants and sample collection

The supplementary situation analysis team adopted a purposive multi-stage sampling in selecting the districts where consultations were implemented. Out of the seven districts, four were randomly selected namely Kaabong, Kotido, Moroto and Napak. Kaabong and Kotido were selected because of the on-going animosity between the Dodoth and Jie. Despite the relative peace experienced in the rest of the region pockets of violent cattle raids are still experienced by the Dodoth and the Jie. Napak was selected because of the unique problem of outmigration especially among the Bokora and Moroto was chosen because of its position as a regional hub.
Two consultants traveled to Karamoja to collect data and the lead consultant met with the members of the Karamoja Parliamentary Forum in a focus group to validate the key findings after initial analysis of the data from field consultations. A total of 119 (45 female, 74 males) were consulted.

1.2.3 Data management and analysis

The management and analysis of collected data proceeded simultaneously with information gathering and data collection. The consultants used Nvivo computer software for analyzing transcripts from interviews and focus groups. This involves a descriptive analysis with some cross-tabulations to establish the causal-effect relationships between significant variables. Relevant verbatim recordings obtained during the study were used in report writing to give anecdotal evidences. Data processing was as follows:

- The consultants developed themes along the specific study objectives for coding primary data;
- NVivo software was used for coding interview and focus group transcripts and summaries of literature review to delineate aspects directly relevant to the research questions and objectives of the study;
- Queries were run on NVivo for each specific issue of investigation or variable to develop tables and graphs (see List of Tables and Figures), extract key quotations, insights, explanations and interpretations;
- Using the extracted responses on the specific issues was used to narrate the findings and to develop a study report while making use of key quotations, cases and explanations.

1.2.4 Limitations

i) The supplementary situation analysis was constrained by the fact that it was undertaken at a time when many people were leaving their work stations for the Christmas season. It was difficult to access the key stakeholders, especially technical and political leaders in the districts at this time.

ii) Some of the key informants were not available for interviews due to their busy schedules during the year closure.

Nevertheless, we feel that these shortcomings did not significantly affect the outcome of study. We filled the gaps by validating the information from focus groups and interviews with the Members of Parliament (MPs) of the Karamoja Parliamentary Forum. We also used this meeting which was attended by 12 MPs to gather views from representatives of the 3 districts we were unable to visit. The MPs made invaluable input which strengthened data that informs the key findings of this study.

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NVivo is software that supports qualitative and mixed methods research. It is useful for collecting, organizing and analyzing content from interviews, focus group discussions, surveys, audio, and social media and web pages.
2.0 Key Findings

The overriding focus of the situational analysis was to assess the underlying causes of poverty, vulnerability, and insecurity and how they impact the women and girls, and to underscore the key programming opportunities for women’s empowerment to overcome these challenges.

2.1 General Context

2.1.1 General Characteristics of the region

Karamoja region of northeastern Uganda borders Sudan in the north and Kenya in the east. The region comprises seven districts and nine ethnic groups of the Matheniko and the Tepeth of Moroto district, the Bokora of Napak district, the Pian of Nakapiripirit district, the Jie of Kotido district, the Pokot of Amudat district, the Labwor (sometimes called the AcholiLabwor) of Abim district, the Dodoth, Nyangia (sometimes called the Napore) and Ik (sometimes called the Teuso) of Kaabong district. With an estimated population of just about 1.1 million people (UBOS, 2010), Karamoja region is the poorest and least developed region of the country (Gelsdorf, K., et al, 2012) and is host to the worst human development indicators in key areas, including primary school enrollment, maternal and infant mortality, life expectancy, and population below poverty (See Table 1 for details). As such Karamoja region has the highest Human Poverty Indices (HPI) of above 53% compared to the national average which is 37.5% (Ondoga, J. J., 2010; Gray, S., et al, 2003).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Comparative Humanitarian and Development Indicators</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Karamoja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life Expectancy (UNDP 2007)</td>
<td>50.4 year</td>
<td>47.7 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population living below poverty line (WB 2006)</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Mortality rate</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant Mortality Rate</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U5 Mortality rate (per 1,000 live births) [UNICEF WHO 2008]</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global acute malnutrition</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immunization (children 1-2 years) [UDHS 2006]</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to sanitation unit (UNICEF 2008)</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to safe water (UNICEF 2008)</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy rate (UDHS 2006)</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source UNOCHA (2009)

In this semi-arid and patriarchal society the majority of the population subsists through agro-pastoral and pastoral livelihoods. The region suffers from cyclic drought which occurs every two to three years. The increase in poverty and vulnerability in recent decades is attributable to cattle raiding and the accompanying insecurity, proliferation of small arms and light weapons through the porous borders with Sudan and Kenya, lack of essential infrastructure, and climatic changes resulting in droughts and famine. Despite these challenges, Karamoja has experienced some positive changes in the recent past as a result of relative calm and peace.

2.1.2 Positive Changes in the Region

At the time of this study, the communities we interviewed reported positive changes and tokens of development attributed to the prevailing relative peace in the region.
Improved security
The most significant positive change in the region is improvement in security (see Figure 1). The ongoing disarmament programme in Karamoja has helped to curb road ambushes and large scale raids (Gelsdorf, K., et al, 2012). The respondents pointed out that improvement in security has resulted in improved road safety, freedom of movement and interaction of people, and influx of traders and job seekers from all over the country to Karamoja, something that never used to happen. Some respondents said that:

A lot of changes are being observed; there is now peace within the community unlike in the past when there used to be insecurity from illegal firearm. The communities are willing to embrace peace. There is now free movement without any threat. There is relative peace now in Karamoja. The people move and socialize the whole night unlike in the past (Focus group with Members of Parliament).

The loss of traditional kraals and the advent of protected kraals in military barracks has removed the risk of large-scale inter-ethnic cattle raids and associated high death tolls and highway banditry. Despite improved security the communities reported notable incidents of petty thefts and hit-and-run incidents on some roads, as illustrated in these quotes:

Much as there is theft of petty items, raids as in the past are no more. Peace has come as a result of the government disarmament programme. Those days people could disagree over something little and the next minute someone is dead. It was a time of fear and you could not be sure of anything.

It is true security has improved tremendously -- but the disarmed and idle youth are a major threat to security (Focus group with Members of Parliament).

The women, children, and the elderly were the most vulnerable during raids and ambushes and they are still vulnerable in the post-conflict situation. The cattle raids caused several deaths of adult males resulting in many widows. In addition, women are prone to rape and even death as they travel long distances in search of firewood, water, charcoal, and wild fruits and vegetables. In the past, men also contributed to the welfare of the families through hunting and foraging for natural products. This has reduced as a result of restriction on the movement of men by the military as part of the government disarmament programme.

Increase in government programmes
The second most significant positive change linked to improved security is the availability of government programmes in the region (refer to Figure 1). The government and the international efforts to support livelihood recovery and adaptation have increased in number (Gelsdorf, K., 2012). The government of Uganda (GoU) designed the Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Programme (KIDDP) with the aim of promoting peace and stability by disarming the local
population, supporting alternative livelihoods, providing basic social services and establishing law and order. The current government programmes include: Peace, Recovery and Development Plan for Northern Uganda/Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (PRDP/NUSAFA under KIDDP), National Development Programme (NDP), Karamoja Development Agency (KDA), Karamoja Action Plan for Food Security (KAPFS), and National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS). These programmes are designed to improve the livelihood options, create necessary conditions for development, and increase economic opportunities in the region.

**Economic opportunities**
The availability of economic opportunities was also mentioned by the respondents as one of the top three significant positive changes in Karamoja (refer to Figure 1). The main income generation and private sector initiatives emerging in Karamoja are the establishment of Savings and Credit Cooperatives (SACCOs) and Village Savings and Loans Associations (VSLA). These initiatives provide small-scale micro-finance loans to members of the associations. The SACCOs are government initiatives while VSLA are initiated by non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The availability of the micro-finance support centers at the district has widened the people’s economic base and has encouraged them to borrow for business ventures. The community also reported that a lot of small scale businesses are mushrooming as a result of improved security. Some NGOs are supporting communities in nursery bed formation and the seedlings which are sold for cash. The money received from the sale of the seedlings is saved in the group box and shared out according to the individuals’ savings. Some of the communities interviewed said they used the money for paying school fees and buying scholastics materials for the children in school and also feeding the family. Most of the people in the associations are women. One elderly woman noted that:

> The formation of VSLA and SACCOs has improved the lives of most people within this community, although for us old people it’s difficult to get those loans because we can’t pay it back, Elderly woman during one of the group discussions in Moroto District.

The presence of NGOs in the region has also created employment opportunities for the educated youth who once depended on government employment. Nonetheless, the majorities of the educated youths are boys since most of the girls dropped out of school and with little chance of further education. The only option for girls is marriage. One female youth commented that:

> Most of our children have not been to school and they cannot be employed in some of these formal jobs. Some of them who went to school stopped either in P.7 or S.4. With such papers one cannot get any job most especially us girls who always just stay and help do work at home -- Because of children dropping out of school, especially the girl child, the problem of early marriages comes in mostly after these children completed P.7 and no fees to continue with education -- When you stop school marriage is the next thing people expect of you (Female Youth, Kaabong).

**Presence of NGOs**
The respondents also attributed increase in the numbers of NGOs to improved security in Karamoja (see Figure 1). Most of these NGO are engaged in different development interventions although some people felt some NGOs are duplicating work. Nevertheless, respondents viewed the role of NGOs more positively and commended them for supplementing government efforts. The elders in Moroto said,
The number of NGOs has grown now in Karamoja unlike in the past where conflict and insecurity scared away development from both the Government, foreign investors and the NGOs. We have seen a lot of work being done by the Government and NGOs unlike in the past where the only NGO we knew was Don Vitorio who used to help us with relief (Focus Group, Matheniko Elders).

Non-governmental interventions include: EU-funded Karamoja Livelihood Improvement Programme (KALIP). The interventions targets the farming and the livestock keeping communities in Karamoja as the primary beneficiaries, and the District staff and other agricultural service providers as secondary beneficiaries and strengthening security and peace in Karamoja through training of police officers in community policing activities. The Agricultural Livelihood Rehabilitation Program (ALREP) initiatives aim at supporting farmer and agro-pastoral field schools, the provision of improved tools and equipment for increased productivity and yields and training and transfer of agricultural practices to increase production.

The presence of NGOs like Mercy Corps, International Rescue Committee, and World Vision has helped in the promotion of peace through trainings, group formation and creation of employment for the youth. They place skillful youths in positions of employment. For example, it’s a requirement by the district that NGOs operating in Moroto district have placements for the Karamojong youths. This is a precautionary effort by the district to address the criticism of NGOs who go to Karamoja with staff and workers recruited from out of the region. Some respondents decried the practice of some NGOs coming with cooks, drivers, and administrative staff yet these skills are available locally in Karamoja.

Access to education
Finally, the communities interviewed also attributed increase in access to education and health (refer to Figure 1) to improved security although they were quick to point out the issue of poor quality. The communities see increased access to health and education as a good indicator of change. The respondents said most of their children have enrolled in school as a consequence of collecting animals into protected kraals during the disarmament campaign. They said in the past only two out of 10 boys of school-going age (8-15) went to school. School enrollment for the girls has risen from none to about three out of every ten girls. Most parents are now encouraging their children to go to school to benefit from the government’s free universal primary education (UPE) and free secondary education. The communities reported that the World Food Programme (WFP) and some NGOs are providing schools with food for the pupils. Some people we interviewed said;

Our children are now going to school and the government is trying so hard to see that we take children to school under UPE, the problem still is after primary some of us cannot afford to pay school fees.

The Karamojong are now interested in education unlike in the past. We need scholarships for our children and availability of qualified teachers in schools (Members of Parliament).

The respondents attributed the increase in the number of schools including Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK) centers to the willingness of the parents to send children to school and the government policy of education for all. In some communities the LCs are given the mandate of ensuring that parents take their children to school. However, this initiative is only for primary school children under UPE. Access to secondary education is still a major challenge in the region. The Uganda Demographic Health Survey of 2011 indicates that Karamoja has the
worst secondary school attendance ratio (NAR)\(^2\) of 4.9 percent for boys and 4.7 percent for girls aged 13-18 years.

**Access to health**

Access to health was considered the least positive change because of the perceived poor quality of the health services. The major challenge is quality and affordability of the health services as expressed by the women’s group in Moroto:

The only sad thing is that in the past, life was easier, there were no sicknesses. If you were sick you just use the herbs and you are healed. But nowadays I think because of the many health centers, there are many strange diseases and sicknesses and only few people can afford the medical bills. Sometimes these health centers lack essential drugs (Elderly Women, Moroto District).

The communities also stressed inadequate qualified health workers, lack of drugs and essential facilities. Nevertheless, those we interviewed said a lot of young boys and girls in Karamoja are interested in healthcare work and many have joined Matany medical training school. This will contribute to the alleviation of the problem of trained health workers. The major challenge still remains availability of senior medical staff like doctors.

**Table 1** indicates that the health sector in Karamoja is lagging behind the rest of the country. Although immunization is high at 48 percent compared to the national average of 46 percent the infant mortality rate and maternal mortality rate double the national averages. The Uganda Demographic Health Survey of 2011 indicates that Karamoja had only 30.9 percent of expectant mothers delivered by a skilled provider and 27.1 percent of mothers delivered in a health facility compared to the national averages of 59.3 percent and 57.4 percent respectively. These poor health indicators shows that poor access to health facilities accounts for high infant and maternal mortality rates in Karamoja, and thus increased vulnerability to chronic poverty especially by women.

**2.1.3 The political dynamics in Karamoja**

Karamoja region has experienced a lot of political changes just like the other regions of Uganda. The districts have increased from the original two to seven. The increase in the number of districts is intended to provide state control of this previously neglected region of the country. Despite the good intentions, creation of districts along ethnic divides has contributed to strengthening of tensions and the age-old rivalry among the different ethnic groups. The removal of guns through the government’s disarmament programme has contributed to the decrease in internal raids and counter raids amongst the ethnic groups. The infusion of AK-47s after 1979 had introduced a new dynamic favouring the emergence of warlords and the decline of elders (Eaton, D., 2010). But the roles of elders has reemerged and as well as that of political elites.

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\(^2\) The NAR for secondary school is the percentage of the secondary-school age (13-18 years) population that is attending secondary school. By definition the NAR cannot exceed 100 percent (UBOS, 2011).
The emergence of political elites in different districts has introduced yet another era in the pastoral politics. As a result some districts are seen to be more politically powerful than the others. Both the elites and the ordinary Karamojong’s perception is that Moroto (plus Napak) and Kotido harness more political powers than other newly created districts (See Figure 2). These old districts have good infrastructure like roads, schools, and health units. The communities see Moroto as the most powerful because of the presence of the military barracks which gives priority in terms of support from central government (See Annex 4).

Some people alleged that all government programmes start from Moroto and Napak. This is attributed to the good networking between the Karamojong elites from these districts working in the Office of the Prime Minister and the district leaders. Moroto has the president’s lodge, and Napak has the private home of the president. Others felt Moroto and Napak are privileged because the government built permanent homes for the needy people in those districts. Kotido has also been there for a long time but does not have the same privileges as Moroto and Napak. Some people we interviewed felt increase in districts has contributed to tensions in the area because of bad politicking and completion among the political elites.

2.1.4 The current conflict dynamics in Karamoja

Causes of Tensions
Widespread cattle raids have reduced tremendously due to disarmament. The communities identified the major sources of tensions as struggle for natural resources, bad politics, ethnic divisions, poverty in different households, jealousy and greed, and criminal activities by disarmed youth (see Figure 3).

Raids and guns
Insecurity in Karamoja is relatively endemic, characterized mainly by cattle raiding, which has existed in the region for centuries (Knighton, 2003). Cattle raiding is a socio-cultural as well as economic institution, with a variety of underlying motivations. Cattle is key to survival in Karamoja, so there is a constant need to reconstitute herds that are depleted as a result of drought, famine, disease and raiding. This practice serves to redistribute wealth, and food within the region and across the porous borders, and to
hedge against future ecological uncertainty (Stites & Akawai, 2009). In addition to serving as a mechanism for maintaining livelihoods, raiding is also a traditional way to acquire the asset need to pay bride-wealth, and gain social status (Gelsdorf, K., et al 2012).

The ‘root causes’ of raiding include arms proliferation, poverty, resource scarcity and commercialization of the practice. These factors are noted to be the causes of lawlessness and insecurity (Eaton, D., 2008). In 1975 the Turkana raided Moroto, took all the cattle, most people went to Teso locally known as Kumam. During the liberation war of 1979, the Karimojong in Moroto also took advantage of the military barrack and armed themselves, because of the armament, they thought of also restocking themselves and the only means of doing so was to go to the Kumam of Kaberamaido, where they were employed as herders and raid from them since they were without arms and this also made the Kumam to embrace education rather than looking after cattle.

Those who are not disarmed still take advantage of the disarmed communities and attack and raid them. Although there is relative peace now, there is still some insecurity. The raids have turned into cattle thefts within and among the ethnic groups. Some thugs are still operating on the road to Kotido town. There were incidents of attacks and death of a man and a woman on Kotido-Moroto road in November 2012. The fear that guns are still in the hands of other people might make other people feel like rearming themselves to counter those who still come and raid. There are new claims of rearmament amidst the on-going disarmament. The Jie elders alleged that the Dodoth are receiving guns from the Didinga and Toposa of South Sudan. They use waragi to buy guns from South Sudan. Illustrating how cheap the guns are, one Jie elder said, “A 20-litre of waragi buys a gun.”

**Greed corruption and bad politics**

The communities pointed out that bad politics divide people along party lines. Sometimes politicians continue with politicking after elections with the aim of discrediting the incumbent politician. For example some people said, “When your candidate loses you are in trouble. You will be the focus and will be laughed at by the winning candidate. Politicians identifies only with their supporters and ethnic groups instead of being agents of unity”. As earlier pointed out, the creation of new districts has heightened segregation along ethnic lines. This has brought about discrimination in employment and access to public resources. As such, the ethnic groups are confined to government jobs only within their districts. There is a common feeling among some communities the local politicians in districts are protecting criminal elements as their supporters. They conceal raiders and sometimes support raids through ethnic/tribal incitements instead of promoting peaceful means of resolving conflicts. Some local councilors have failed to renounce raids openly and are not taking serious actions against raiders by reporting them to the police or the army. Sometimes the police release criminals for lack of evidence or bribery. These people go back and taunt the community and the elders who reported them. Some people also complained of arrests of innocent people by the police and the military on charges of wandering but they are accused of releasing criminals for brides.

**Unemployed youth**

The young males repeatedly said, “When you have nothing, you cannot just sit there and do nothing.” As a result, the desperate youths from towns were accused by the communities of
stealing foodstuffs, ox-ploughs, saucepans and anything they could lay their hands on in order to provide for their families. The youth or ngikaracuna without gainful employment are said to be the biggest threat to peace in the communities. They beat up their parents and even kill elders who oppose to their criminal activities.

**Ethnic divisions**
Historically and today, raiding has caused tensions between the Karamojong and their neighbors, as well as within Karamoja itself. The different ethnic divisions have naturally caused tensions within the sub-region. For example, a person from Matheniko is not comfortable staying with the Jie whom they consider to be their enemy and vice versa. Some people complained that the prayers made by the council of elders also create tensions. For example when praying they say, ‘let all the cows from the other clan come here -- such prayers creates suspicion (Focus Groups with Youth)’. The communities in Kaabong also complained of tricky peace meetings in which the Jie send their elders negotiate for peace pacts with the Dodoth while those left behind are organizing raids.

### 2.1.5 Local capacities for peace in Karamoja

The communities identified local capacities for peace to include individuals, peace committees, the police and the military, the council of elders, the local councils, and civil society organizations (See Figure 4).

**Peace committees**
There are peace committees at different levels of the local government structures. The anti-violence groups or peace committees were formed with the help of Mercy Corps to help in resolving conflicts within the communities, right to the household level. These groups comprise of women, men and youths and the community development officers (CDOs) are also part of the groups. The peace committees arrest the culprits and recover stolen animals, facilitate constant dialogues within the community and are involved in inter-ethnic, intra-ethnic and cross-border conflict resolution efforts. The groups started in June 2012 in Dodoth and those supported by IRC in southern Karamoja started as early as 2005. They report the problems beyond their control to the elders.

**The council of elders**
The council recovers stolen animals, holds dialogue meetings, apprehends culprits, and investigates complaints. Back in the days, elders were regarded by many as the wise and their wisdom provided guidance to the errant youths. They were accorded much respect. The most common mechanisms for resolving conflict include meetings. These are normally mediated by elders. The elders’ councils apprehend culprits and
return stolen cattle to the rightful owners or ensure they are compensated in cases when the stolen animals can no longer be recovered. The council of elders comprises of both elderly men and women and their decisions are final. They report difficult cases to the police.

**Police and military**
The police apprehend and keep culprits, keep law and order and community policing. The anti-stock theft units (ASTUs) guard cattle and local defence units (LDUs) are involved in tracking armed culprits, recovery, grazing and guarding animals. The communities interviewed would like to see the police stopping to accepting bribes. Corruption hinders people from reporting for fear of the criminals paying their way out and targeting those who reported them.

The increased presence of intelligence in the communities is also a crucial factor in the reduction in violence. For example, there are Parish Intelligence Officers (PISOs) and Sub-county Intelligence Officers (GISOs) in addition to community policing. There are also Paralegals educating the people on the law and settling minor disputes. The UPDF provides overall security. Where things have gone out of hand culprits are taken to courts of law to prove their innocence and if convicted they serve their sentences. Both the police and the military are represented in the district peace and reconciliation team (DRPT).

**The district peace and reconciliation team**
The DRPT is composed of the district security organs including the Resident District Commissioner (RDC), the District Intelligence Security Officer (DISO), the District Police Commander (DPC) and the LCV Chairman, kraal leaders, women’s representatives, civil society representatives, religious leaders, youth representatives and elders. The Division Commander, RDCs and DISOs attend the meetings whenever there is a problem with security. This team is responsible for policy related issues and cross-border security matters involving pastoralists from neighbouring countries. The local council is represented in the DRPT by LCV. The LCs system also helps in resolving conflicts at the village level. LC courts handle simple problems in the community. The majority of the leadership of the local councils is men, with women often occupying only the mandatory position of women’s representative. The civil society are promoting women to be engage in leadership positions over and above the community groups and the mandatory positions in the LC system.

**Civil society**
There are a number of peace building CSOs/NGOs such as IRC, Mercy Corps, ACORD, and World Vision operating in Karamoja to reduce the likelihood and implications of conflicts through interventions such as facilitating peace meetings, mediation, dialogues, recovering and returning stolen animals, engaging in peace education for elders and the general public and facilitating the creation of peace associations. There are groups formed on gender base violence at the community level and it involves both men and women. Each group is comprised of 35 members each with different roles. These groups are being supported by Mercy Corps with representatives at village levels. CSOs have also trained and equipped Community Resource Persons. The communities interviewed are of the opinion that this is not enough. There is need for more support from other NGOs and Government.

**Faith-based organizations (FBOs)**
Religious leaders are involved in promoting peace among people in their respective communities and congregations. The religious leaders have the ability to speak the truth, advice and remind those errant youths to behave morally well and respect the will of the people for peace. Other groups include the Mother’s Union from the Anglican Churches. They move to each village to talk peace.

2.1.6 Economic and livelihood systems

The major livelihood activities in Karamoja are agriculture, unskilled wage labour, livestock management and brewing (See Table 2 and Figure 5). The women are predominantly overrepresented in subsistence farming, unskilled labour, and brewing. The recent disarmament process also contributed to changes in gender roles with women taking on additional roles of foraging for natural resource products due to restriction on men’s mobility by the military. The communities ranked petty trade and agro-pastoralism as the most significant livelihood activities (See Figure 6). Other sources of livelihood include causal labour, collecting wild fruits and vegetables, and artisanal mining. These community perceptions are in congruence with information we obtained from the literature review (See Table 2).

Table 2: Karamojong livelihood activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livelihood activity</th>
<th>% of households</th>
<th>National average (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>78.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled wage labour</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock management</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewing</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial activity</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petty trading</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage labour</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled labour</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: McKinney (2009)

Agro-pastoralism

The Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) characterizes Karamoja in three livelihood zones: i) the Wet-Agricultural Zone in the west, ii) the Agro-Pastoral Zone in the center of the region, and iii) the Arid-Pastoral zone on the far eastern border of Karamoja (Karamoja Action Plan for Food Security, 2009). Community consultations and literature review shows that crops and livestock are the only major dual sources of livelihoods in the region (Gray, S. et al, 2003). Nevertheless, animal-based livelihood is the mainstay of the pastoral livelihood especially in the agro-pastoral and arid-pastoral zones. The loss of livestock profoundly affects the food security and human security of households and manyattas (Stites, E., et al, 2007). The disarmament programme has made livestock rearing a male-dominated economic activity. Because of the centralized protected kraal phenomenon, the livestock are protected by the military with the participation of men. The women used to keep some herds and cows for milk in the manyattas or settlements but even this has changed due to disarmament.
There has been a shift in livelihood practices with more and more Karamojong such as the Pian and the Bokora in the arid-pastoral and agro-pastoral zones engaging more heavily in agriculture while still maintaining some herds. Other groups such as the Nyangia and the Labwor in the wet-agricultural zones are relying almost exclusively on crop production. The most common crops cultivated include maize, sorghum, groundnuts, millet, bulrush millet, beans, sunflower, simsim, cucumber (Adekela).

Over dependence on cattle keeping and crop farming perpetuate impoverishment because during crop failures and cattle raids the communities are left vulnerable to starvation and deprivation. Often the women bear the brunt of bad harvests and loss of livestock as they solely take on the role for providing for the family in difficult times through sale of charcoal, firewood, and causal labor. As such, the Karamoja Private Sector Foundation is encouraging growing of crops such as upland rice, sunflower, sorghum and cotton in the wetter and semi arid belt of Karamoja region for both food and income generation (sorghum is needed by Nile breweries, sunflower by Mukwano company and cotton by cotton industries).

**Petty trade**
The women in the communities visited said they engaged in petty trade as a coping strategy in response to environmental shocks that affect agriculture and livestock keeping. The male youth are engaged in riding boda boda motorcycles while women are predominantly engaged in petty trade activities including brewing and charcoal burning. These are risky livelihoods with potential of women being killed or raped by thugs, contracting respiratory tract infections from the charcoal dust and risks associated with heat from charcoal, especially during the time for removal. The women cited cases of miscarriages by pregnant women and sometimes death of the unborn child due to charcoal burning as illustrated in the following:

A lady by the name Longoli was seriously involved in charcoal burning and all the process that involves charcoal burning yet she was very pregnant, the time that she was expecting a child, she gave birth to a dead child (still birth) as a result of the too much heat she had exposed herself and the unborn baby to.

We have a lady here in our village by the name Nacungai, she one day went for charcoal, brought her charcoal from wherever it was made almost halve a sack ready for the market, unfortunately there was fire in it that kept on burning as she continued with her journey to town to sell the charcoal. Before reaching, the sack caught fire on her head and burnt her head and as we talk now Nacungai doesn’t have hair on her head. She was rescued by people and taken to hospital. That is what poverty can do. It even creates for you more problems in an attempt to solve the current problem of poverty.

**Causal labour**
The major form of casual labour involves moving of men and women from the rural to the urban centres daily or on temporary basis to work as porters in the construction sites, brick-
making, ferrying goods for local businessmen, cutting of compound grass in wet season, brewing and domestic workers. Those involved reported earning a paltry Ush 2000 per day or given food for work. Women usually take on domestic tasks like washing clothes, cooking, or fetching water. The money raised is used to acquire essential household items like food. However, the communities interviewed cited a lot of risks associated with this kind of work. One respondent in an FGD in Kotido said:

Some of us who go to work in town in people’s homes also face a lot of challenges from our male employers. For example a young girl from our village here went to work in a home of a certain man in town, the man again turned the young girl into his wife, he defiled the girl but when we reported the case to police, the only thing that we remembered done was taking the girl to hospital to be checked whether the man had infected her with AIDS. It was found that the girl was safe, up to now we don’t know where that case has ended. Maybe it was ignored because the girl was from a poor family, who knows.

**Hunter-gathering**

Dependence on natural resources for food and income is another common source of livelihood identified by the communities. Wild fruits are important resources for human consumption and nutrition – both from the fruits’ flesh and from seed oils – and for their role in rituals. Other wild foods such as honey and ants are also highly valued. Households and individuals are intensifying certain strategies, such as natural resource exploitation - gathering of wild foods to supplement diets and in the sale of firewood, charcoal, and building poles for cash or food (Stites, E., et al, 2010). Foraging is mainly done by women and girls to augment family resources. They collect wild vegetables and fruits (*ebisinai, edwil, esoboliat, akeo, ebabui* plus fruits like *ngimongo, ngakalio, ngiru, ngacok, adilat*) especially in times of poor harvests and loss of animal assets through raids. This activity is equally dangerous for the women involved. They reported incidents of snake bites and accidents. For example they cited a case of a woman called *Nangiro* who fell and died when she climbed a tree locally known as *ekorete* to cut the leaves and cook for the family. This happened in 2011.

**Artisanal Mining**

Artisanal mining is another form of livelihood activity employing both men and women. Minerals, such as limestone and marble, are important to communities for income generation. Workers at stone quarries access basic necessities with profits they earn from selling extracted limestone and marble to cement companies. The extraction of marble from the slopes of Mount Moroto for sale to cement factories is a relatively new livelihood activity. Communities in Rupa sub-county are already involved in open cast mining of Gold on individual basis. Marble and limestone mining is also an ongoing activity in Rupa and Kothiro sub-counties in Moroto district. The markets for these mines are available locally, nationally and internationally in Kenya.

According to FAO (2010), market access is improving in Karamoja for locally produced livestock and agricultural goods, as well as minerals and other natural resources both within Uganda and the wider region. There is considerable interest and opportunity in increasing such investment in resource exploitation, in products such as aloe vera, tamarind, gum arabic, gold, limestone and marble. Gum arabic and aloe vera have been certified as meeting international standard in Europe and the US (Ondoga 2010). Limestone and marble are readily sold to the Tororo cement factory.
2.2 Understanding dimensions of poverty and vulnerability

The problem of poverty and vulnerability in Karamoja has various causes, consequences, and implications.

2.2.1 Causes of and consequences of poverty and vulnerability

The major causes are attributed to environmental degradation, insecurity, and political marginalization of Karamoja by previous administrations since colonial time.

2.2.2.1 Environmental Degradation

The communities identified natural resource degradation as the most significant threat to their livelihood system. Almost half the people we interviewed perceived environmental degradation to be the cause of poverty and vulnerability. (See Figure 6).

The respondents in all study sites emphasized the decline in resources in recent years due to persistent droughts and intensified use of charcoal and firewood for income generation due to poor harvests. Many respondents attributed changes in seasonal patterns to prolonged drought which diminished the amounts of seasonally regenerative resources such as water, pasture and wild fruit. The respondents confirmed that both cattle and crops are threatened by disasters like droughts and floods. The drought of 1994 is still fresh in the minds of the people and the floods of 2012 due to too much rain. The women pointed out that charcoal and firewood are becoming scarce. They move long distances to collect water and firewood. In some points the people share water with animals.

According to FEWSNET (2005), the effects of climate change, population displacement, population growth, restriction on mobility owing to government pressure and environmental degradation are exacerbating competition over resources such as land, water, food and fodder across Karamoja (Eriksen, S.H., 2000). The population overwhelmingly prioritized water, pasture and trees as their most important natural resources. The men and elders prioritized pasture primarily in connection to sustenance of livestock. The women prioritized trees and water because they are a source income and food for household consumption. For example, local wood is used to make stools, kitchen equipment, chicken coops, and so on. These products are sold on the local markets. Lumber is also used to burn charcoal, which is sold to urban areas and cities. Leaves and seeds from certain trees are used as feed for goats and cattle (Eriksen, S.H., 2000).

2.2.1.2 Insecurity

Forty five percent of the people we interviewed identified insecurity as the second most serious threat and cause of poverty and vulnerability in Karamoja. (See Figure 6). The presence of the
illegal firearms in the past significantly contributed to the impoverishment of the people. Families relied only on subsistence production for survival. Insecurity restricts people’s access to resources such as fertile agricultural land, water, and livestock due to frequent raids. The women pointed out that insecurity exposes them to rape and limits their access to natural resource supplies like fruits, vegetables, firewood and charcoal from places far from their settlements. Natural resource access has undergone a shift as human settlements have become more densely grouped in response to insecurity (Stites, E., et al, 2007). As a result, a greater number of women draw upon natural resources in the immediate vicinity of manyattas and kraals. As more people turn to livelihood strategies based on heavy resource exploitation, the distance that has to be travelled to reach adequate resources grows ever greater.

Desperation is pushing a growing number of people into criminal behavior, and that most incidents of theft are driven by the perpetrators’ need to support their own families. The rise in crime has resulted in asset-stripping of productive and essential assets, including livestock, household items, relief food and farming implements. Many people throughout Karamoja cite “hunger” as the primary factor behind increased insecurity. Respondents explain that desperation is pushing a growing number of people into criminal behavior. In many areas attacks are occurring on locations where there is no livestock – such as inside the manyattas or on women collecting natural resources in the bush.

As pointed out in Section 2.1.2, disarmament exercise has reduced greatly reduced large scale insecurity associated with cattle rustling but insecurity still remains. The communities interviewed attributed incidents of insecurity to the absence of alternative livelihoods. For example, three boda boda men were killed in December. One was killed along Nakapiripirit road by angry cattle thieves after a failed mission, a second boda bada cyclist was killed on the road to Kenya along Nakiloro, and the third man was slaughtered and his motorcycle taken by someone who pretended to be a passenger.

2.2.1.3 Political marginalization

The trend of pastoral poverty and marginalisation has contributed to the institutionalisation of armed violence and livestock raiding as part of the pastoralist political economy in Karamoja. As shown in Figure 7, nine percent of the respondents are of the view that political marginalisation has contributed to the pastoral poverty and vulnerability. They said Karamoja has received minimal attention from the various administrations since colonial times to the present with the exception of recent disarmament campaigns. Others felt the remarks made by the former president Dr. Milton Obote (RIP) that “we cannot wait for Karamoja to develop” justify the neglect of the region by the various regimes. As such, the level of literacy is low, the road infrastructure is poor and access to credit is poor (See Table 1, Section 2.1). For example, Kaabong has only one bank which is a subsidiary of the bank in Kotido. The newer districts are still struggling to establish infrastructure. Service delivery is still poor across all the districts.

2.2.2 Consequences of poverty and vulnerability

2.2.2.1 Consequences on women and girls

Women in pastoral areas in East Africa have long played important livelihood roles in caring for animals, particularly ruminants, young offspring, and the milking herd left near the home. As pastoral livelihoods have gradually transformed in Karamoja, women have decreased their
involvement in animal husbandry. Milking animals are farther from homesteads, the military discourage and prevent women from spending time in the protected kraals where they would be responsible for tasks such as watering the animals. The traditional kraals have not fully returned to southern Karamoja since the partial disbanding of the protected kraals. Women have taken on more responsibility for household food security to counter the decreases in animal proteins and income (Stites, E., et al, 2007).

This governance gap has been exacerbated by gendered shifts in livelihood roles, whereby women are taking on increased responsibility for household survival as traditional pastoral livelihoods erode. Household subsistence was previously based on livestock products (milk and blood), but has moved towards resources collected by women and exchanged for cash, bartered for food or local brew residue in urban markets, or consumed (in the case of wild fruits and vegetables). One respondent said,

In the past, dependence on natural resources was minimal since people had enough milk and food to depend on. Because of more reliance on natural resources, elders are finding it difficult to manage them. Their role in the management of natural resources is declining.

Employment in towns is experienced differently by men and women. Very few women in the study population have steady jobs with regular and reliable payments -- most do leji-leja or causal work to string together enough small jobs to cover the daily expenses. Most women in the study population live with other family members, and are responsible for their on-going domestic duties while also engaged in their new livelihood activities. Women who commute to urban areas on a daily basis can face problems with their husbands at home if they are unable to procure enough work to feed their family in a given day. “Domestic violence is [normal] in the household when a woman fails to get something for feeding in the household that day. Men beat their women. My husband drinks on credit and expects me to pay the debt.” (Stites March 2012 pg 11).

Women reported a greater number of violent incidents the further they ventured into the bush. Incidents of gender-based violence against women and girls are part of the overall rise in insecurity. The nature and prevalence of gender-based violence varies from one area to the next. In Moroto, rape and sexual assault occur primarily when women go to the bush in search of natural resources. Enemies frequently “undress” women found in the bush and steal their clothes and beads. In some but not all cases, being undressed is followed by rape (Stites March 2012 pg 11). Rape was reported less frequently by the study population in Kotido than in Moroto with the exception of Kacheri Sub-County. Women in Kacheri say rape is a problem when passing through Kaabong to visit the Nyangia. Although the Jie have had hostile relations with the Dodoth for many years, rape is a recent development.

### 2.2.2 Community perceptions social exclusion

Social exclusion is when someone is left out of mainstream society by systematically depriving them of opportunities for participation in economic, social and civic processes (UNDP, 2013). Women in Karamoja as in other parts the country face the highest risk of exclusion because of cultural biases, attitudes, and social status. Other groups at risk of discrimination and exclusion are the terminally ill especially people living with HIV/AIDS and the disabled (See Figure 7).
Wealth or economic status
The respondents in all study sites were in agreement that not everyone is equal in the communities. The women are socially excluded because of the perception that they are inferior to men. Their inferiority is determined by their lack of ownership of productive resources, in fact they are considered property of the men because of the bride wealth paid in marriage. A key respondent said:

Women are socially excluded from the ownership of land, land doesn’t belong to the women because just like land, Women were seen as property bought to work for you the man, although things are now changing with the emancipation of women that attempts to address issues of gender inequalities, and the culture that births negative attitudes towards women (Key Informant, Moroto).

Poor men and young uninitiated men are also discriminated because of poverty. The poor people are labeled the “Ngikuliak” and the rich labeled “Ngikabarak.” The Ngikuliak are people without cattle. They suffer the shocks of disasters like drought and poor harvests because they have no reserves or safeguards to fall back to. They eat one meal a day or even stay hungry some days to cope with deprivation. The Ngikuliak cope in bad times through temporary migration to neighbouring communities to look for food. Some of them migrate permanently out of the region. The majority of these migrants are women and girls (See Section 2.2.2.3).

The rich people or Ngikabarak are those who own productive resources like cattle, money, have the political clout, and are engaged in gainful employment. Wealth in terms of houses, cattle, and houses gives a person better social status and people respect their opinions. Education and subsequent employment gives one an elevated status irrespective of gender. Wealth is power, the economic power will always create envy from the ‘have not’s. Those perceived as rich often manipulate the poor to work for them. The rich also have many wives and they can afford exorbitant bride wealth. Polygamy and marriage often accords someone recognition in the community. The communities said bachelors and spinsters are derided and are not accepted into serious gatherings and cannot contribute no matter how good their opinions are.

Discrimination based on gender
The Karamojong society also experiences gender inequality as the rest of the country. The women are treated as inferior and socially excluded from decision making and other civic engagements because society accords them little worth. The women’s voice are not heard or not heard as loudly as of men because of the prejudice against women devalues their hearers’ credibility judgments to what they say (World Bank, 2013). This prejudice has effects on gender inequality and poverty because a person whose word is devalued cannot influence others, cannot exercise authority, and cannot defend herself from violence. In fact many of the people we interviewed perceived that domestic violence is normal and wife beating is perceived as
disciplining. The devaluing of women contributes to the common occurrences and beliefs that women should not speak up in public. The men beat women and they don’t want them to talk about it. Women and uninitiated men are excluded from the traditional governance structure. The youth in Kotido testified that:

We are excluded from cultural activities here, though that is of less importance. Women and the youths like us who are not initiated are not acknowledged in any form of social and cultural gathering. We are just like servants. The elders and the men who have been initiated consider themselves much more important. They are the masters of the society and are the ones who pray for the people. They are the ones who resolve conflicts and any other issues that may affect the peace of the community.

Also the men favour themselves, they make themselves far more superior than the women because they are the head of the family and the contributor of most of the house hold needs and women only help in house work. They the men also beat us women and they don’t want us to talk about it, what should we do? Which Government can now help us? (Women focus group, Kaabong).

There is also gender inequality in terms of gainful employment. The women and girls do menial work compared to men. Those interviewed said the boys and men’s work is looking after cattle while women’s work is to digging, weeding, harvesting and threshing grains, collecting firewood/thorns for fencing the home, brewing, fetching water, cooking and child upbringing and in some communities like in Matheniko women are also involved in constructing the hut for family dwellings. Some women we interviewed commented that they are often given only the neck and offals of animals slaughtered during festivals and other traditional gatherings. Some men we interviewed remarked that:

The women are not allowed to go to the shrines (where the bull is being roasted) during the cleansing ceremonies. They sit behind the men in any cultural gathering. This is because women are not purified to go to the shrines -- men don’t eat together with women. The women’s responsibilities are only to brew local beer and serve the men.

**Discrimination of minority groups**

Ethnicity is another source of discrimination. The Ik and the Tepeth are most marginalized ethnic groups in Karamoja. They are socially excluded because their language is not understood by the major groups, their cultural practices and different, and they are few in number. These minority groups are often poorer than the major groups. They are sometimes labeled and referred to as dogs or “Ngingokin.” Some of the people remarked that:

The Ik are very few, they are marginalised in terms of social services. They are marginalised because they practice a culture different from most Karimojong, even their language is different. For example while the Karimojong marry using cows, they marry with gourds, melons. They still use spears, arrows, etc and are predominantly agriculturalists. While Karimojong boys can marry Ik girls, Ik boys are not allowed to marry Karimojong girls. People say ‘whose daughter will you marry with pumpkins and gourds?’ They are called “ngigiraboro” meaning they have nothing to do so they decorate calabashes. They are used to living in the hills. They are in the middle and are considered “double mouthed” victims of both Dodoth and Turkana. When the Turkana raids are unsuccessful, they blame and beat the Ik, saying they passed information to the Dodoth, and vice versa when Dodoth raids fail.

**2.2.2.3 Out-migration**

Out-migration is one of the coping mechanisms during stressful years especially among the women and girls in Karamoja. Male and female youth are the main out-migrants. The migrants
made the decision to leave “on their own,” or “without discussing with their families.” Several women who migrated with their husbands reported that the decision was made by their husbands, but did not express objection to the decision (Stites, E., et al, 2012 pg8). The scale of outmigration is disproportionately high in recent years and has received a lot of attention from the Karamojong political elite, development workers, and academia. There are two groups of migrants from Karamoja at present: 1) Seasonal out-migration for casual labor - temporary basis; 2) those who appear on the streets of Kampala and other major cities, where they engage in a range of livelihood strategies that include begging (usually through the use of children), sweeping mills in exchange for collecting fallen grain, childcare for relatives living in the city, unloading lorries, stocking stores, collecting and selling metal found in garbage dumps and engaging in other odd jobs.

The main underlying causes of migration are insecurity and widespread loss of livestock. Outmigration from Karamoja has a snowball effect, whereby one person follows the next who follows the next, resulting in the out-migration of a network of people who share familial, village, or clan connections. Of all the Karamojong groups, the Bokora are leaving Karamoja in the greatest numbers to seek work as casual laborers, in particular girls and young women, in large numbers to work for employers with whom there is no prior connection or relationship. Women, in particular mothers, appear to be key decision makers in the process of out-migration, with the decision to out-migrate or to send children out with relatives or unknown persons frequently made by the child’s mother.

In seeking to understand this pattern, we recognize that widows are a particularly vulnerable group within Karamoja, even though few are likely to remain technically ‘widows’ for long due to the practice of widow inheritance and the pressure to remarry. Some women and children are more vulnerable upon remarrying, as our data indicate that new husbands are often unwilling or unable to support the women or their children from first marriages. A widow has customary rights to the cattle of her deceased husband, but this asset is often non-existent, split among multiple wives, or lost in the same raid that took the husband’s life. A widow who does inherit cattle upon the death of her husband may lose the cattle through force (i.e., the animals are taken over by the new husband) or through distress sales as she seeks to support herself and her children.

Factors causing outmigration
More than half the people interviewed said migration by individuals or households is a common occurrence (See Figure 8). Migration in northern Karamoja appears to be less compared to the central and southern
parts of the region. The communities in Kotido and Kaabong reported that many people have departed for Acholi, Kenya, Sudan, or other parts of Karamoja.

**Economic factors**

Economic motivation is the most significant reason people leave Karamoja (Figure 8). They go to search for employment and food. Communities migrate away from their designated places of residence when the bread winners fail to raise funds to sustain their families. It is the women who are usually the bread winners and as a result, they struggle to provide for their families by fetching firewood, burning charcoal, etc. to meet their demands. When these fail, they move out of the districts. As a result of lack of gainful employment, the men and boys are migrating to gold mines in Kenya and South Sudan and the women and girls migrate to neighbouring communities to search for employment in homes and sometimes public places. The youths whose parents cannot afford school fees just move out. Some even get killed there. When they get enough money to invest, they come back and set up small businesses at home or in Iriri. Some never come back at all.

**Political and security factors**

Karamoja like other parts of Uganda is experiencing changes in the political arena especially in the current era of multiparty democracy. Political disagreements arising from campaign losses are exacerbated by insecurity caused by illegal possession of firearms. The communities narrated scenarios of political candidates and their campaign teams being forced to leave the community and migrated to the mines or to Gulu district after losing elections. Sometimes they are taunted and ridiculed by the winning team and even accused of perpetrating violence. However, those interviewed contended that local politics does not contribute significantly to out-migration in Karamoja compared to national politics. The respondents were of the view that national politics contribute to outmigration through denying the local people basic social services because of voting ‘unwisely’.

Linked to politics is the insecurity that forces many people to migrate out of Karamoja. Both the local and national politicking thrives on the sources of tensions and discontents from pastoral conflicts (See Section 2.1.4 on causes of tensions). Some respondents accused politicians of acting as allies of the oppressive state apparatus to divide and rule, especially exploiting the local ethnic alliances among the conflicting groups. Key informants cite 1975 as the first year of substantial numbers of people out-migrating, and explain that the early 1970s through the early 1980s was a particularly harsh period due to the disintegration of an alliance between the Bokora, Pian and Matheniko and the subsequent increase in raids. Attacks by the military under Obote II further eroded human security.

The respondents were of the view that the recent disarmament also forced some young people to flee the region because of the militaristic approach adopted by the UPDF. Some men were forced to flee after being humiliated and belittled before their families by the military when they failed to produce a weapon or if found outside the designated settlement areas. There is also fear among former youth raiders of being arbitrarily arrested and tortured over alleged ownership of more guns. This is because, the UPDF has changed strategy and have massively recruited friendly former youth raiders as local defence units (LDUs), and these know who still have guns.
in the community and continue to hunt them down. Out of fear, some run away to neighbouring districts like Abim, Kitgum or Agago.

**Environmental factors**
The other major reason causing outmigration is the harsh climatic conditions. The eastern and middle dry zones of Karamoja experiences long dry seasons with high temperatures and seasonal pasture and water. The eastern dry-zone bordering Kenya receives relatively little rain, not exceeding 1200 mm per annum and tends to be dry most of the year (FEWSNET, 2005). Eastern Karamoja on the border with Kenya (Moroto and Amudat) tends to suffer erratic rainfall and extended dry conditions, compared to the western side Namalu, Iriri, Abim and Karenga. The region received a lot of rainfall in 2012 which caused flooding. Most respondents anticipate famine due to poor harvests especially in the arid zone of Karamoja.

**Poor social services**
Access to social services has improved due to the recent relative peace ushered in after massive disarmament. Nevertheless, quality is still a problem, especially sanitation and hygiene problems in the urban areas. The population in the urban areas is growing faster than the infrastructure development (which often does not develop at all in urban slums). Families that have realized the value of education leave Karamoja to look for better schools for their children. While they are doing business their children are going to good schools.

### 3.0 Community perspective on priority areas

The communities ranked their top most priorities to be diversification of household livelihood opportunities strengthening the prevailing peace, and provision of education (See Figure 9). The other priorities include support to resettlement schemes for migrants, continue the disarmament program, and provision of health care. The consultants validated these priorities with the members of the Karamoja Parliamentary Group who confirmed that these indeed are a true representation of the needs in their constituencies. All respondents were in agreement that provision of social services has increased in Karamoja especially after the recent government disarmament program but they decried the quality of service. They want to see increased of qualified personnel in the government schools and health centers and ambulance service in health centers.

#### Livelihood diversification

The top most priority and concern of the communities and political elite interviewed is diversification of livelihoods for individuals and households. The communities ranked income generation, improved farming practices, creation of employment opportunities, and improvement in animal husbandry (Figure 10). One Member of Parliament said,
The focus now should be on how to bailout households from poverty. If we could see each household having at least a cow to provide milk for the children and growing enough food to meet their daily needs then we can say we are on the right track with development in Karamoja (Key respondent).

In times of scarcity the burden of providing for the family falls disproportionately on women. The women are engaged in sale of firewood, charcoal, local brew, and labour to get income. The respondents reported that some unemployed male youth are involved in petty trade while others are involved in theft and criminal activities in order to provide for their families. Those interviewed recommended introduction and scaling up of voluntary savings and loans associations (VSLA) especially for women and the unemployed youth. The women and youth want training in record keeping and business management skills.

Others want start-up capital but the political elite were cautious of the need to avoid handout approaches which wrecked the government schemes such as Entandikwa and SACCOs. Most of the districts SACCOs have been closed due to corruption. This often accompanies centralization of power, when leaders are not accountable to those they serve. Most directly, corruption inhibits development when leaders help themselves with money that would otherwise be used for development projects. There is overreliance on weather.

The communities also recommended cash-for-work, growing tree seedlings for cash, and vegetable gardens. A special group of school dropouts want vocational skills in brick making, masonry, tailoring, carpentry, and driving in order to create employment. Some unemployed youth and school dropouts recommend government and investors to build cement and limestone factories in Karamoja instead of ferrying all the raw materials to Tororo, thus depriving the Karamojong youth employment opportunities.

Concerning improvement in farming and animal husbandry practices, the communities would like the government, donors and organizations to support them in acquiring more oxen and ox-ploughs instead of tractors because oxen are sustainable. They also want relevant improved seed varieties, irrigation technologies, cereal banks, and rehabilitation of animal crushes, dips and other veterinary infrastructure for controlling ticks and animal diseases. The communities want government to degazette land from game reserves to create more arable land for the agrarian communities previously displaced due to insecurity.

**Strengthen existing peace to avoid relapse of cattle raids and insecurity**

The second most important priority of the communities interviewed is the need to strengthen the current relative peace to avoid a return to insecurity caused by cattle rustling. Figure 9 shows the greatest needs as strengthening the capacities of local peace structures, sensitizing communities on conflict resolution and building synergies between government, NGOs, and communities to avoid unnecessary conflicting approaches and messages. Other priority areas are the need to ensure equal representation of women and men in the leadership of peace structures and the need to address gender based violence.
The existing peace structures include peace committees comprised of men and women, the council of elders, the local council system, the police and courts, the paramilitary and the military (See Figure 4). The peace committees were formed by NGOs. Some are still active while others are dormant. The major challenge of the peace committees, the elders’ council and local councils is that they work on a voluntary basis. The communities recommended some formal training for these local peace structures on basic principles of conflict resolution like negotiation, human rights, how to handle gender based violence, and basic numeracy and literacy skills. The communities also recommended the government and development partners to provide some form of financial facilitation of the local peace structures to ease their movement, provide for their basic upkeep, and record keeping. Some elders we met with said:

NGOs and local actors should facilitate the elders (peace committees) with transport to make them more effective. Sometimes we have to travel very far to recover stolen animals or to mediate in a conflict on foot and yet our strength is no not there anymore (Focus Group with Jie Elders).

The government and donor agencies should also develop the capacities of the police in community policing in order expedite transition from military to civilian police oversight in Karamoja region. All stakeholders including local government, civil society organizations, the police, and the military should collaborate and sensitize the communities to sustain the prevailing peace and peaceful co-existence. The most important tool in sustaining the current peace in Karamoja is to disarm the mind of the ordinary person, especially the disarmed youth. The government should also promote peace education in schools.

**Improved access to education and health services**

Education is the third most important priority mentioned by the communities visited and the Karamojong political elites. As illustrated in Figure 12, the communities are very interested in getting full access to education right from primary through tertiary levels. Some of the respondents said:

There is a general need to improve social services in Karamoja. Emphasizing education will reduce discrimination since the elite have social esteem in the community. --- Disarmament has brought peace. There is now peace as opposed to enmity as in the past. To consolidate this peace, there is need to mobilize communities for more enrolment of children into schools and appreciation of education (Key Informant, Napak District).

Both the youth and the parents interviewed called for the government, organizations and donors to provide scholarships and scholastic materials, especially for girls who are prone to dropping out of school. The girls end up marrying at a tender age for lack of support to complete their schooling. The dropout rate in Karamoja seems higher among the girls compared to boys. Other respondents emphasized increase in the number of boarding schools and vocational institutions to cater for children who drop-out of formal schools. A key informant advocating for more boarding schools was of the opinion that:

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**Figure 11: Priorities for social services**

- **Education**
- **Healthcare**
- **Water**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>No. of times mentioned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthcare</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To change the mindset of children, temporarily separate them from their parents by building child-friendly schools with boarding facilities. Make the life in school more interesting and attractive than life at home or in the village. This will encourage more children to be enrolled and to stay in school (Key Informant, Moroto).

**Provide healthcare**
Although access to healthcare and clean water were the least mentioned by the majority of people interviewed, some of the people felt these basic needs should be addressed. Although access to health has improved as a result of the prevailing security, some people interviewed are concerned about the quality of service. They said there are shortages of health workers and medical supplies like drugs and ambulance services. The male and female youth expressed interest in being trained as health workers. The women in Kotido said that:

The government should provide us with ambulance at village level to help us transport the sick. In this village there is no health center. We move for long distances before accessing the health facility (Focus group with Female youth in Kotido).

**Resettlement schemes**
Some people we interviewed expressed the need for governments and development organizations to set up more resettlement schemes to cater for the agrarian communities and migrants. The current resettlement scheme in Koblin in Iriri has attracted communities previously displaced within and outside Karamoja due to insecurity. Those interviewed want recreational facilities in resettlement centers to act as a pull factor and incentive for Karamojong migrants living outside Karamoja.

**Continue disarmament**
Finally, the majority of people interviewed expressed appreciation of the peace dividends attributed to the disarmament exercise in Karamoja. However, not everyone has been disarmed. The communities recommend government to continue disarming those with guns and prevent re-armament by others. Both men and women would we interviewed recommended continuation of disarmament but in a human and empowering way. The previous military approach humiliated men and greatly disempowered them. In addition, others recommend government to maintain the presence of UPDF in Karamoja because cattle rustling is not yet completely eradicated in Karamoja. One respondent said:

In as much as government has done a lot in disarmament, there is a surge in guns. People are rearming themselves. As a result cattle rustling are still going on. The government should weed out some elements in the community who still have guns. The government should put in place internal mechanism to contain peace. The presence and the numbers of UPDF are reducing in the area maybe because of the Somalia situation (Key Respondent, Moroto).

4.0 Programming opportunities to empower women in Karamoja

The key programming opportunities that CARE can engage in to empower women and girls in Karamoja are to improve their livelihoods and wellbeing, support their participation and representation in peace and governance structures. These are the key priority areas identified by the communities interviewed (See Figure 9). Support to livelihoods and is the biggest gap in the current context yet provision for the family borne disproportionately by women and girls. These
recommended programming opportunities are also in line with NUWEP’s theory of change which says that,

If we invest in improving livelihoods and wellbeing; create preconditions for peaceful co-existence and resilience, and improve the functioning and effectiveness of governance structures and processes for effective service delivery, then we will overcome the underlying causes of poverty, vulnerability and social injustice to achieve a peaceful society where women and men are equally empowered to enjoy their human rights.

Supporting access to education and health services was ranked highly but there are other organizations and entities like the local government who are better positioned to address these crucial needs. CARE’s support in this area should be indirect through supporting women to advocate for effective service delivery.

4.1 Strengthen livelihoods and wellbeing

CARE should support women’s livelihood options through diversifying their sources of income and employment opportunities. The women and girls are overburdened with the responsibility of providing for their families as a result of culturally defined gender roles which were reinforced by disarmament. In bad times past, the men would assist women in felling trees for charcoal and hunting game for household consumption. But the men were targeted by the military and restricted from engaging in activities far from their settlement areas. As such, women and girls have almost the sole responsibility for providing for the family through engagement in risky activities such as selling firewood, charcoal, and local brew. As a result, women and girls are exposed to risks like burns from fire, rape, and loss of income through robbery.

The communities are familiar with VSLA activities but everyone in the impact group is reached with the current VSLA activities. CARE should identify women and girls and male youth who are most vulnerable to support through VSLA. Both men and women in different communities we visited said the male youth are vulnerable and prone to criminal activities as a form of survival or coping strategy. The men are disempowered because the military has restricted their movement and activities because of the ongoing disarmament process. CARE should broaden the impact group to include male youth in order to promote a gendered approach to sustainable livelihoods in Karamoja. Some people we interviewed proposed a ratio of 70% women and 30% men in livelihood interventions. CARE should use VSLA as entry point to addressing the livelihood concerns of the impact groups like employment creation, business and marketing training, and inclusion of women and girls in the peace and governance structures. The following are the possible livelihood options to investigate:

- **Milk processing industry**: Milk is the major source of food in the region especially in the pastoral areas. The milk is either taken fresh or churned into cultured milk, or ghee and butter which are processed in a traditional way. Many households in the region would wish to sell milk but because of distant markets and lack of proper milk preservation and processing practices, only those near the trading centers can sell milk and even then with low prices of about Shs 200 per liter in most places. The women are responsible for the preservation of milk. As such, introducing local and appropriate technologies to improve milk preservation and processing into various products would add value and increase household incomes for women and their households.
Poultry keeping and Vegetable growing: This applies to the IK community in Kaabong district and Tepeth on Mount Moroto. The climate on the hills and the soil type favor growing of vegetables such as tomatoes, chilli, cabbages, Irish potatoes, onions, carrots etc. Much of their culture and community life revolves around farming, gathering of wild foods and hunting. Apart from sale of honey and natural resource products such as firewood, charcoal and crafts, there are no other income options for this group. Introducing poultry and rabbit farming in area will generate cash income and provide animal protein in their diet which currently is lacking and may cause serious nutritional problems. The waters running down during rain seasons can easily be harvested by constructing valley dams to irrigate the vegetable fields during dry seasons.

Honey and wax industry: The honey from Karamoja is of high quality because it is obtained from Acacias and Aloe flowers which have medicinal characteristics. The Ik community and some sub-counties in Amudat are already involved in processing honey.

Natural resources products: Karamoja region is blessed with natural trees and plants such as Gum Arabic (plenty in Napak District and used in soft drinks industries for making soda), aloe sap (used for making soap, tea leaves and in pharmaceutical and printing industries), tamarine, Amarelle and palm sap that can be used in conventioneer, pharmaceutical, printer, wine and juice industries. Karamoja Private Sector has already registered and trained 2002 members in harvesting, handling and processing of Gum Arabic and Aloe products. Attempts have already been made by KPS to train women groups in Nakapiripit, Abim, and Moroto districts. The four groups are already processing tamarine into juices and wine which is marketed locally and nationally. The products have already been tested for certification and the results have met national standards (Stites, E., et al, 2010). KPS has also got market and links with international companies such as CNI of France, Heady Group of Ireland, Kenya and in national companies in printing industries (Ondoga, J. J. (2010). CARE should link up organized groups with financial institutions to provide soft loans so that they can be able to improve on their quality of their products and production levels.

4.2 Ensure Participation and representation of women in peace and governance structure

CARE should partner with other organizations to increase the number of women in leadership positions in the local councils and local peace committees to increase the profile and voice of women at these lowest levels. The first step is to get women’s numbers up and the next is keeping them there to lobby for effective service delivery especially in health and education. The need to ensure equal and full participation was mentioned but the issue of gender equality did not come out strongly (See Figure 7). A possible explanation is that both women and men in the various study sites see gender inequality or unequal power relations between men and women as normal. Karamoja like many other places in Uganda is a patriarchal society where women occupy to lowest social ladders. Although women are represented in the peace committees and elder’s councils, their participation is limited to composing songs for sensitization and ceremonial functions.

The women ought to be equally represented in the leadership and decision making bodies such as peace committees, elders’ councils, and local council. CARE and partners should work with
councils to assess the level of knowledge on gender and peace, identify strategies to address the gaps, develop action plans on gender mainstreaming, build capacities of councils through on-the-job training to implement the action plans, and design a monitoring and evaluation mechanism to identify good practices, and reward innovative councils in an annual event in which good practices are shared. CARE should also establish a link between the local women politicians and those at the national level to ensure that local experiences feed into national policy debates. The members of the Karamoja parliamentary group are keen on participating in CARE activities in order to promote local buy-in, ownership and sustainability.

4.3 Partnership with existing local organizations

CARE should explore the possibility of linking these initiatives to the right markets. CARE can do this in partnership with already existing organizations such as the Karamoja Private Sector (KPS) programme. CARE should help KPS to provide mature groups with startup capital in form of soft loans for value addition. A well-implemented program will lead to increased incomes and the purchasing power for food items especially during poor harvests. The people will avoid distress sale of cattle at giveaway prices.

5.0 Conclusions

Evidence from available literature and fieldwork indicate that Karamoja is in a post-conflict status and that the most urgent need is for the government, aid agencies, and development organizations to support livelihoods. The prevailing peace has opened up many opportunities for all stakeholders to integrate Karamoja into the mainstream development of the country through translating provisions in Uganda’s development frameworks including the National Development Plan (NDP) and other plans such as KIDDP into tangible benefits for the ordinary people. The Karamojong are struggling to reconstruct and diversify livelihoods after decades of violent cattle raids and insecurity. The major pastoralists’ livelihoods such as agro-pastoralism have been severely affected by environmental degradation caused by harsh climatic conditions and years of insecurity. Most people especially women and children are vulnerable after years of exposure to extreme poverty and deprivation which has led many to migrate out of Karamoja in search of alternative livelihoods.

Improving livelihoods of women, girls, and the vulnerable male youth will greatly contribute to their civic engagement and holding government accountable for service delivery. CARE should focus on supporting women’s groups to develop their leadership skills and wellbeing by using VSLA as an entry point. Women who are economically empowered are more likely to take up leadership in local councils, local boards, and peace committees. Supporting women’s representation and participation in local councils is strategic because local government is where the national policies are implemented in terms of service delivery. The communities prioritized access to education and health as critical areas but this can only be realized at the local government level with the full and equal participation of women. Available literature on women’s participation in governance show that women councilors are more accessible, hard working, honest, and pro-peace. Women prioritize the wellbeing of their children and society.
6.0 Annexes

Annex 1: Terms of Reference

TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR NUWEP SUPPLEMENTARY SITUATION ANALYSIS IN KARAMOJA

Background
Northern Uganda Women Empowerment Program (NUWEP) is a multi-year post-war recovery and development programme comprising a coherent set of initiatives for sustainable positive change and social justice in the lives of women and girls of reproductive age affected by armed conflict. CARE International in Uganda’s analysis of the underlying causes of poverty and social injustice has identified this population group as among the most vulnerable and marginalized. The choice of women and girls of reproductive age affected by conflict as the impact population arises from CARE’s experience in Northern Uganda which shows that the prolonged LRA conflict and Karamoja cattle rustling disproportionately affected women and girls. Besides, the situation is compounded by the patriarchal systems systematically disadvantage women and girls. CARE’s experience in Northern Uganda is further influenced by global experience and research which emphasises that women empowerment is central to addressing the underlying causes of poverty and social injustice. Besides, gender equality is a universal human right guaranteed by international conventions and the constitution of the Republic of Uganda. Besides, women and girls constitute a majority of Uganda’s population and are a potential factor to successful national development.

Driven the conviction to create sustainable positive change in the lives of the most vulnerable population, in 2009, CARE made a strategic global shift from project (short term) to programme (longer term) intervention. Subsequently, all CARE’s interventions Northern Uganda have been aligned under Northern Uganda Women empowerment Programme – NUWEP. NUWEP is a multi-year post-war recovery and development programme focusing on sustainable livelihoods, gender equity, prevention and response to SGBV, addressing the psychosocial needs of the community, addressing challenges of clean water & sanitation, addressing disaster risk reduction and climate change, governance and advocacy issues in Northern Uganda. NUWEP’s Theory of Change (ToC) encompasses the contribution from all relevant actors and initiatives, not just CARE Uganda’s anticipated interventions.

As part CARE International in Uganda’s broader response to the plight of vulnerable groups especially women and girls in Northern Uganda, NUWEP intends to conduct a supplementary situation analysis in Karamoja region.

Since Uganda got independence in 1962, Karamoja experienced decades of systematic intra-Karamoja, cross-district and cross-border conflicts as a result of persistent pastoralist struggles over cattle, pasture and other natural resources. The region suffered widespread interpersonal disputes, large-scale cattle raids and counter raids, commercial attacks, and violence between the Karamojong and state forces. Meanwhile, the culture and proliferation of Small arms and light weapons is strongly perceived as the source of pastoral security, identity, status and livelihood. This is exacerbated by the weak traditional and modern justice, law and order systems and the climate for impunity for criminals. The conflicts in Karamoja manifest itself in four dimensions:
(intra-Karamojong), nationally (Karamojong vs. neighboring districts), regionally (Karamojong vs. pastoralist from Kenya and Sudan), and internationally.

Successive governments in Uganda initiated a number of disarmament programmes in Karamoja, for instance the 1970 ad hoc disarmament, the 2006/7 Cordon and Search Operation and the recent Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme/Plan (KIPP). Over decades the government of Uganda marginalized and exploited the Karamojong as pastoralist economically, socially and politically. As such Karamoja is highly impoverished, underdeveloped and incapacitated to sustain communities’ livelihood.

Since 1986, both the government and CSOs invested in preventing and resolving conflicts in Karamoja. The government preferred a militarized disarmament while the CSOs continued to advocate for a peaceful resolutions of the conflicts. Various Organizations including Oxfam, LWF, ACORD, KISP among others organized numerous peace initiatives to provide an enabling environment for a negotiated settlement of intra-Karamoja, cross – district and cross – border conflicts.

It is evident that Karamoja remains a volatile situation because stakeholders fail to address the root cause of cattle rustling and arms trafficking, thus continued violation of rights of vulnerable groups. Therefore, it is critical that a situational analysis be undertaken by CARE International in Uganda to inform future engagement in the region.

**Overall Objective:**
The overall objective of the supplementary situation analysis is to document socio-economic and conflict dynamics and how it has impacted the vulnerable groups especially women and girls.

**Specific Objectives:**
1. To analyze the socio-economic dynamics in Karamoja.
2. To analyze the current conflict dynamics in Karamoja.
3. To assess the socio-economic and conflict impact on women and girls.
4. To identify programming opportunities that would empower women and girls to engage in socio-economic activities within the current context in Karamoja.

**Key guiding questions**
6. In undertaking the analysis, it is important to answer the following questions:
7. What is the general profile of development across Karamoja?
8. Is migration politically, economically, environmentally or socially motivated?
9. Do some districts harness more political power than others?
10. Are there socially excluded groups? If so where are they?
11. Where are enduring forms of social exclusion practiced?
12. Where livelihood systems are most threatened by disasters or depleted natural resources?
13. In what areas do livelihood systems perpetuate impoverishment or exclusion?
14. Where does conflict produce insecurity or difficult accessibility?
15. What are the sources of tension in the region?
16. What peace capacities exist among the communities in the region?
Expected Output:
A final report of no more than 30 pages, single space, 12 font, new times roman, covering the overall and specific objectives of the study. However, the consultant is expected to share a draft report with CARE-NUWEP before presenting the final report.

Scope of work:
The consultant is expected to undertake an in-depth literature review, conduct key informant interview, focus group discussion to include women, girls, district leaders, elders, development partners, and members of Parliament etc. from all the districts in Karamoja.

Reporting and Supervision:
The Consultant will be guided will be supervised by the Program Manager NUWEP. This will ensure that the consultant maintain focus and quality of the study.

Duration: The Study will take no more than 30 days including the field work and reporting as outline below:
Preparation and conceptualizing the study – 1 days
Literature review – 4 days
Field work – 14 days
Report writing - 6½ days
Draft report, Briefing of NUWEP and validation of report – 3 days
Final report presentation – ½ day
The consultancy is expected to begin 1 November 2012.
CARE International in Uganda will pay for 21 days excluding the reporting days.

Terms of Payment:
After completion of the contract, the Consultant is expected to cover travels and other associated expenses during the study. CARE shall pay per diem and lodging at CARE rates, Other terms associate with the consultancy will be stipulated in the contract between CARE International in Uganda and the Consultant.

Key competencies:
• Broad knowledge and experience of Karamoja
• Skills in conflict analysis and mapping;
• Research and analytical skills
• Must have carried out baseline or situational analysis preferably in Karamoja.
• Excellent writing and communication skills.
• Knowledge of local language is an added advantage.
# Annex 2: List of persons consulted

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<td>Deputy Chief Administrative Officer</td>
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Annex 3: List of documents consulted

References


Annex 4: Community perceptions on most powerful districts in Karamoja

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<th>Kaabong young males</th>
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</table>
| Moroto              | - Tarmac roads  
- FM Radio  
- Tap water  
- Electricity (generator)  
- Many schools  
- Regional HQs  
- Has many NGOs  
- The epicentre of k’ja  
- Pioneer district  
- More developed  
- Has facilities e.g. banks, Army HQs  
- Good hotels  
- Many secondary schools  
- Cradle land of Karamoja |
| - Banks (Centenary and Stanbic)  
- Cathedral  
- Private schools  
- Good hotels  
- Landlocked  
- Dry belt mosty  
- Agro-pastoralists  
- They learnt to coexist with the Turkana  
- The Jie are stronger organisationally and culturally  
- organised district  
- high business potential  
- highly educated  
- strong political representation  
- many NGOs  
- Faster infrastructure growth |
| - Electricity  
- Private health centre  
- Good roads  
- Tap water  
- Have more arable land  
- Closer to civilisation  
- The first people in the government, the Lorikas, the Naburis, the Asios, the Kodets, the Kadam mountains with mirrah, bamboo, etc.  
- In terms of resources-they drive the economy and politics of Karamoja-Lokoris  
- Green belt good for agriculture  
- Good road potential  
- Prominent persons  
- Escarpment – has tourism potential  
- Good access road network  
- It is the food basket of Karamoja |
| - Electricity  
- Hospital  
- Has many NGOs  
- Has loan facilities for youths  
- Grazing grounds  
- Rain catchment  
- Closer to civilisation  
- transport corridor/business hub  
- Gold reserves  
- High tax base  
- Green belt good for agriculture  
- Infrastructure – good roads, health centres  
- Good access road network  
- Fertile soils  
- Agro-pastoralists  
- Most educated  
- In the sub region –over 80% of children in every family have reached S.4 (O-Level)  
- They are pro-development, there is no cattle rustling |
| - Has state lodge at Morulinga  
- Biggest private hospital (Matany)  
- Has best girls’ school (Kangole)  
- Most educated  
- The British came there first and established development  
- The G8-Dr. Limlim, Philip Limlim, Joshua Maruk, etc.  
- good infrastructure  
- existent District Service Commission  
- good r/ship between technical and political leaders  
- Proximity to Moroto  
- Benefitted from infrastructure that used to belong to Moroto  
- Road network |
| - Limestone mining  
- Cross-border trade  
- Private hospital  
- Good roads  
- Cheap goods  
- New district  
- The geographical set up –it is rocky and accessibility is difficult  
- People there are still nomads and not settled to bring about development  
- There are pastoralists and get revenue from animal sale |
| - Bad roads (bridge to Kidepo broken)  
- No electricity  
- No tap water  
- Dilapidated hospital with no drugs  
- Minister of Ethnics and closer to the president  
- It has a game park, but is too far off to attract investors  
- Gold mining  
- Game park for tourism |

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