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Conflict, climate change, food security and mobility in the Karamoja Cluster

A study to analyse interactions among conflict, food security, climate change, migration and displacement factors



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Foreword

Karamoja Cluster has one of the highest levels of food and nutrition insecurity in the world. Its acutely food-insecure population represents 20 percent of the 135 million global total highlighted in the Global Report on Food Crises 2021–2022. This is because of the multiple threats to food security that are accelerated by violent conflicts, severe drought since 2019, followed by widespread floods that affected more than three million people at the tail end of the year 2019, and the worst wave of invasion of desert locusts in 25 years. Persistent conflict and insecurity in the region force millions of people to abandon their homes and livelihoods and migrate within their countries and across borders in search of better opportunities.

At the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic, desert locust invasion, persistent drought and flooding in the region, our three organizations – the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) under the Peace and Security Division, IGAD Cross-Border Development Facilitation Unit (CBD FU) and Interpeace, in collaboration with IGAD member countries of Ethiopia, Kenya, South Sudan and Uganda, came together to conduct a study aimed at generating evidence on the linkages between

conflicts, climate change, food insecurity, migration and displacement in the Karamoja Cluster. This report presents the findings and recommendations of the regional study.

The report provides a comprehensive analysis of the magnitude and severity of resource-based conflict and its interaction with climate change, food insecurity and malnutrition, displacement and migration. It should serve as a key reference document and a vital instrument for informing programming and policy decisions on sustaining peace, food and nutrition security, climate change adaptation and mobility for humanitarian, development and peace actors.

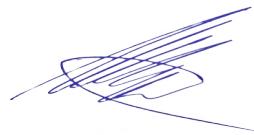
We hope that the momentum from the collaborative study will be sustained and efforts to bolster food security, migration and displacement, and peace and stability will be scaled up in the region and beyond. Indeed, the actions required to address drivers of conflicts, food insecurity and malnutrition in the region go beyond the capacity of any single institution. Multisectoral and integrated approaches, including strong partnerships, are needed. How governments respond today will impact the options available to future generations.

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The report was written by Michael Odhiambo, with invaluable inputs from Bettie Atyam, Paul Opio, Paul Mutungi, Koen Joosten, Mading Juach Williams, Sally James, Kim Christensen, Maria Norton, Phillip Priestley and Julius Jackson (FAO); Dr Sunday Okello, Dr Kathryn Langat (IGAD-CEWARN); Dr Dominic Kathiya Lokeris (IGAD-CBDFU); Hassan Ismail, Oliver Unverdorben (Interpeace); and Edith Bajurizi (Horn of Africa Peace and Cohesion Foundation).

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Abbreviations

AfDB	African Development Bank
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
CAO	Chief Administration Officer
CBDFU	Cross Border Development Facilitation Unit
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
CEWERU	Conflict Early Warning and Response Unit
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CSRC	Conflict Sensitivity Resource Centre
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EWCA	Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Authority
FEWS NET	Famine Early Warning System Network
FSIN	Food Security Information Network
FSNWG	Food and Nutrition Security Working Group
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GRFC	Global Report on Food Crises
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICPALD	IGAD Centre for Pastoral Areas and Livestock Development
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
KAPES	Karamoja Peace and Environment Services
KISEDP	Kalobeyei Integrated Socio-Economic Development Programme
KRSU	Karamoja Resilience Support Unit
LAPSSET	Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport Corridor
LOKADO	Lotus Kenya Action for Development Organization
LTWP	Lake Turkana Wind Power Project
NDMA	National Drought Management Authority
RUCODET	Rupa Community Development Trust
SAPCONE	Sustainable Approaches to Community Empowerment
SPLM/A	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Force





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Executive summary

This report presents the findings of a study commissioned by FAO, IGAD CEWARN, IGAD-CBDFU and Interpeace and undertaken between November 2021 and April 2022. The study was aimed at analysing resource-based conflicts in the Karamoja Cluster to generate evidence on their causes and drivers, major parties, impacts and trends, with a view to recommending strategies for conflict-sensitive and peace-responsive programming that will address the root causes and drivers of conflict to strengthen food and nutrition security, address the drivers of displacement and enhance the capacity of communities to adapt to climate change.

The study was undertaken by a team of experts from the three organizations using a methodology adapted from a tool developed jointly by the three organizations. The methodology integrates multiple and complementary data collection methods, including desk review of literature and policy documents, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. In the course of the study, the team visited different parts of the Karamoja Cluster and interacted with diverse stakeholders from communities, relevant government departments and non-state actors.

The report is divided into five sections. Section 1 introduces the study and explains its purpose. Section 2 presents the study methodology and conceptual framework. Section 3 provides an overview of the general context of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster. Section 4 presents the findings on the key issues canvassed by the study, analysing the dynamics of conflict and peace in the Cluster; the interactions between conflict and food security, climate change, displacement and migration; and the major challenges experienced, and lessons learned in programming and implementation of conflict management and peacebuilding initiatives in the Cluster. Section 5 presents conclusions and recommendations.

The focus of the study was the border areas between Kenya and Uganda (Turkana County and Karamoja Region); Uganda and South Sudan (Karamoja Region and Eastern Equatoria State); Kenya and Ethiopia (Turkana County and South Omo Region); and South Sudan and Ethiopia (Eastern Equatoria State and South Omo Region). Livestock keeping is the main land use, livelihood and production system in this region, which is characterized by aridity and climatic variability that has become increasingly unpredictable because of the impacts of climate change. The situation is compounded by challenges associated with population increase and the spread of land uses that are incompatible with livestock production,

which exert pressure on the rangelands leading to overgrazing, depletion of the surface water table and degradation of rangeland resources, which undermine pastoral and agropastoral livelihoods.

Addressing the challenges of conflict ranks among the major development and governance concerns in all the countries of the Karamoja Cluster. In each of the four countries, the regions that fall within the Karamoja Cluster are among the most deprived in development terms. At the national level, the countries are implementing policies and programmes and have established institutions to address development challenges and resolve and manage conflict. Some of the countries have established specific ministries with mandates to oversee social and economic transformation of regions that fall within the Karamoja Cluster. At the regional level, they are actively engaged within the framework of the African Union (AU) and IGAD in implementing policies and programmes that offer scope for cross-border collaboration on pastoralist development and conflict transformation. These include the Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa, the Framework and Guidelines on Land Policy in Africa at the AU level and the IGAD Transhumance Protocol.

The study makes the following major findings on the key issues:

1. The two **major causes of conflict** in the Karamoja Cluster are competition for access to pasture and water, and cattle rustling. The **key drivers of conflict** include climate change, unemployment, insecurity of communal land tenure, the limited reach of government and poor enforcement of the rule of law, proliferation of firearms, persistence of cultural attitudes and practices that glorify violence, commercialization of cattle rustling, forced displacement and migration, the politicization of conflict, erosion of authority and effectiveness of traditional institutions of governance and natural resource management, and simmering interstate border disputes.
2. The three **major hotspots for cross-border conflict** are Karita in Amudat, Kobbe in Moroto District and Kibish on the border between Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan. The communities most active in cross-border conflicts are the Turkana, Jie, Toposa, Pokot and Nyangatom.

- 3. The **major actors in conflict and peace** in the Karamoja Cluster are communities, states (individually and through AU IGAD and the United Nations), the business community and other non-state actors, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), faith-based organizations (FBOs) and research institutions.
 - 4. The **main impacts of conflict** in the Karamoja Cluster are evident in the way they undermine livelihood security and cause or drive food insecurity and environmental degradation and constrain the communities' adaptation to climate change.
 - 5. Communities in the Cluster have adopted **resilience factors** to enable them to cope with the challenges of conflict. These include diversification of livelihoods, keeping of small stock, negotiation of intercommunity peace agreements, community peace rituals and migration in search of economic opportunities and safety.
 - 6. There is a **direct correlation between conflict and food and nutrition security, climate change, displacement and migration** in the Karamoja Cluster. The said challenges cannot be addressed effectively without addressing conflict, and managing conflict and building sustainable peace is not possible without addressing the challenges.
- There are critical challenges to programming and action to manage conflict in the Karamoja Cluster due to the complexity of the conflict situation in terms of causes and parties, spatial spread of the Cluster and diversity of actors and interventions, as well as the diversity of institutional and policy arrangements within and across the national borders. Key lessons learned with regards to regional programming:



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1. Establishing appropriate facilities and markets at border points facilitates cross-border trade and enables communities to engage in productive interactions that strengthen intercommunal relationships.
2. The cross-border spatial spread of the Karamoja Cluster and communities calls for a regional approach to addressing conflict.
3. Social and cultural events that bring together cross-border communities provide opportunities and a forum for them to celebrate and assert their common heritage, identify their shared opportunities and challenges, and agree on strategies to promote cross-border collaboration and peaceful coexistence.
4. It is important to organize events to commemorate cross-border peace treaties and to celebrate their impact on enhancing peaceful coexistence.

The study makes the following recommendations for programming of interventions in support of cross-border conflict management and peacebuilding in the Karamoja Cluster, and specifies actions and interventions for each:

1. **Strengthen coordination of policies, programmes and actors** on cross-border conflict management and peacebuilding for more efficient prioritization and scaling of interventions.
2. **Support and facilitate traditional cross-border resource-sharing and peacebuilding initiatives** in the Karamoja Cluster.
3. **Support updated mapping of cross-border conflict hotspots, lines of conflict and alliances** to provide a basis for programming interventions for conflict management and peacebuilding.
4. **Support the effective implementation of the IGAD Protocol on Transhumance** as a means of regulating cross-border pastoralist mobility to avoid conflict.
5. **Develop a comprehensive, multi-year programme on conflict management and peacebuilding** that integrates conflict and gender-sensitive programming approaches and defines interventions to address food insecurity, mainstream climate change adaptation and respond to the realities of displacement and migration in the Karamoja Cluster.



1. Introduction

This report presents the findings of an analysis of resource-based conflicts in the Karamoja Cluster. The analysis, which was commissioned by FAO, IGAD-CEWARN, IGAD-CBDFU and Interpeace, was undertaken between November 2021 and April 2022. It sought to generate evidence on causes and drivers of resource-based conflict, major parties to and lines of conflict, its impacts and trends. The evidence has been used to update the analysis of conflict in the Cluster, with a view to recommending appropriate strategies for conflict-sensitive and peace-responsive programming that will address the root causes and drivers of conflict to strengthen food and nutrition security, address the drivers of displacement and enhance the capacity of communities to adapt to climate change.

The three organizations have a particular interest in addressing conflict generally and within the Karamoja Cluster specifically. By mandate and experience, each of them is actively engaged in the search for solutions to challenges arising from conflict and the interface between conflict and food security, climate change, displacement and migration. Together they bring on board critical global, regional and local, as well as intergovernmental and civil society perspectives, experience and expertise relative to conflict transformation and peacebuilding.

FAO has a long history of implementing country and regional programmes aimed at addressing conflict in the Karamoja Cluster within the framework of its investments in support of food security, agriculture and rural development generally, and livestock production in particular. It implements ongoing national and regional level projects in the border areas of all four countries of the Cluster where it is present. FAO also implements projects in support of policies of the respective governments in partnership with them individually, as well as collectively through IGAD.

CEWARN is a mechanism for regional cooperation on conflict prevention and mitigation among IGAD Member States. Established by a protocol signed by all the Member States in 2002, CEWARN monitors potential conflict situations, collects and analyses data and provides technical support to Member States and IGAD on early warning and response to prevent or mitigate conflicts in the region. As a technical agency of IGAD, it is answerable to the Member States collectively, and its functions are embedded in government structures of all the States through conflict early warning and response units (CEWERUs), which ensure seamless links with relevant departments and information.

IGAD-CBDFU was established by the IGAD Secretariat in 2018 within the framework of its role and mandate in promoting, leading and coordinating activities in cross-border development in general; and the implementation of IGAD strategies, policies and programmes, such as the IGAD Drought Disaster Resilience and Sustainability

Initiative (IDDRSI), in particular. The unit is IGAD's principal agent and representative on the ground, serving to execute the obligations of its role and mandate in cross-border development, including coordinating activities, harmonizing policies and procedures, capacity building and technical backstopping, facilitating cross-border cooperation and being a key rallying point for transboundary development. In this regard and within the framework, IGAD-CBDFU established an office in Moroto, Uganda to facilitate cooperation in the implementation of IDDRSI among the four countries that share boundaries in the Karamoja Cluster – Ethiopia, Kenya, South Sudan and Uganda.

Interpeace is a peacebuilding and conflict management civil society organization (CSO) with more than two decades of experience working in different environments across the globe. It specializes in promoting locally owned and locally driven peacebuilding approaches that draw on traditional mechanisms and aim to empower community institutions to mediate conflicts and secure peaceful coexistence between communities. The organization has worked in Kenya since 2016, promoting these approaches to address intercommunal conflicts in Northern Kenya and the North Rift region, achieving significant successes in Mandera, Wajir and Kerio Valley.

Based on this analysis, the organizations plan to bring their respective mandates and experiences, competencies and comparative advantages to bear on the programming of interventions to address the underlying causes of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster. They aim to develop and implement the programme in partnership with the four governments of the Karamoja Cluster, other relevant UN agencies as well as civil society and other non-state actors. The programme, which will consist of interventions at local, national and regional levels, drawing on and feeding into policies and programmes of relevant sectors of government and IGAD, will integrate conflict management and peacebuilding in interventions on food and nutrition security, adaptation to climate change, and displacement and migration.

The report is divided into five sections. Following this introduction, section 2 presents the methodology and conceptual framework used in conducting the study. This is followed by an overview of the general context of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster in section 3. Section 4 presents the findings on the key issues set out in the terms of reference (TOR). The section analyses the dynamics of conflict and peace in the Karamoja Cluster; the interactions between conflict and food security, climate change, displacement and migration; and the major challenges experienced, and lessons learned in programming and implementation of conflict management and peacebuilding initiatives in the Cluster. Section 5 presents conclusions and recommendations based on the analysis and in line with the TOR.



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2. Methodology, methodological challenges and limitations

The study was undertaken between November 2021 and April 2022 by a team of experts drawn from the three lead organizations.¹ It was deliberately designed as a joint study and undertaken with the direct involvement of experts from the three organizations, each of them bringing their specific skills, experience and networks in the cluster to bear on the study. This enabled the organizations to interact directly with key stakeholders in the field, thereby gaining an understanding of their perspectives on the changing context of conflict in the cluster. Team members from FAO, IGAD-CEWARN and IGAD-CBDFU, all of which have ongoing work in all the areas visited during the study, were able to receive valuable feedback on how stakeholders perceive their ongoing engagements. At each location, the study team was joined by staff from FAO country offices and CEWERUs in the respective countries.

The methodology used by the team was adapted from a tool developed jointly by FAO, CEWARN and Interpeace, which integrates multiple and complementary data collection methods, including desk review of literature and policy documents, key informant interviews (KII) and focus group discussions (FGDs). The team reviewed the literature on conflict in the Karamoja Cluster, as well as national and regional policies that have a bearing on conflict management generally and the interface between conflict, food security, climate change, displacement and migration specifically, to gain a proper appreciation of the policy and institutional context in which conflict plays out both within and across national borders in the Karamoja Cluster, and to identify opportunities and challenges that exist in the context for the design of appropriate strategies for conflict transformation.

In addition to the desk review of literature and policies (see References list), the team conducted field visits to different parts of the Karamoja Cluster, namely Kapoeta (Eastern Equatoria) in South Sudan, Turkana in Kenya, Karamoja in Uganda and South Omo in Ethiopia. Table 1 lists the specific locations visited and where interactions with stakeholders were held. At each of these locations, the team met and interacted with stakeholders through KII and FGDs (See Annex 1, List of Persons Interviewed).

The team interacted with representatives of communities, subnational and national governments, and civil society organizations working on conflict, food security, climate change, and displacement and migration. Deliberate efforts were made to ensure participation of women and youth in KII and FGDs (see List of Persons Interviewed, Annex 1). A total of 31 KII and 25 FGDs were conducted over the period, engaging 373 individuals.

At each location, the team engaged stakeholders with a view to understanding the general context; peace and conflict dynamics, including types of conflict and major causes thereof; the interface between conflict and food security, climate change, migration and displacement, and the impact thereof on gender dynamics; community coping strategies and resilience factors; whether and to what extent development actors integrate conflict sensitivity in their programmes and projects; as well as lessons learned and gaps for further research on conflict. The team also sought to identify policy and institutional arrangements at subnational, national and regional levels that touch on these issues, and the opportunities and constraints they present for programming and action to address conflict in the region.

Table 1: Locations of field visits and interactions with stakeholders (in order of country visits)

Country	South Sudan	Uganda	Kenya	Ethiopia
Area(s)	Juba and Eastern Equatoria	Karamoja	Turkana	Addis and South Omo
Location	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▶ Juba▶ Kapoeta Town▶ Kapoeta South County▶ Kapoeta North County▶ Kapoeta East	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▶ Moroto▶ Kotido▶ Amudat	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▶ Lodwar▶ Kakuma▶ Lokiriam	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▶ Addis Ababa▶ Jinka▶ Kangaten▶ Dimeka▶ Omorate▶ Hawassa

¹ The core study team was led by Michael Ochieng Odhiambo and comprised, from FAO – Paul Opio, FAO Regional Pastoralism and Livestock Advisor, Bettie Atyam, FAO Regional Conflict-Sensitive Programming Specialist and Paul Mutungi, Regional Field School Support Officer; from IGAD-CEWARN – Dr Sunday Angoma Okello, Conflict Analyst, Dr Kathryn Langat, Research and Training Officer and Dr Kathiya Dominic Lokeris, CBDFU Coordinator, Karamoja Cluster; and from Interpeace – Hassan Ismail and Edith Bajurizi Isingoma.

Stakeholders were invited to share their perspectives on appropriate strategies for programming and partnerships for effective conflict management in the cluster. Annexes 2A and 2B list the issues canvassed by the team in KIIs and FGDs respectively.

Although the team made every effort to ensure that the analysis would be as comprehensive as possible, it faced a number of challenges and constraints, particularly in the field interactions with stakeholders. The vastness of the Karamoja Cluster meant that the team could only visit a limited number of locations, which in effect limited the coverage of field visits and the number of stakeholders the team interacted with. A further challenge was posed by the limited amount of time that the team could spend in each location. Moreover, as the field visits were undertaken at a time when the threat of the COVID-19 virus was still real throughout the region, public health restrictions limited the scope for movement and convening of meetings.

The team took these challenges into account in planning the field visits and adopted appropriate strategies to limit their impacts. Locations for field visits were identified in close consultation with country-level stakeholders and with a view to reaching as wide and as diverse a group of stakeholders as possible and exposing the team to the full range of conflict typologies in the cluster.

In the field, the team split up to cover as much ground as possible in the time available. In the end, the methodology and approach adopted for the study proved appropriate to the task of enabling the team to gain an up-to-date understanding of conflict dynamics, impacts and trends, and to identify key actors in conflict transformation.

2.1. Conceptual framework

Conflict is “a universal part of the way that humans organize and mediate individual and group relations and is therefore part of our everyday experience”(Bradbury, M. 1994; Consortium. 2012). In pastoral and agropastoral communities, access to land-based natural resources is a key determinant of livelihoods security for individuals and groups, and thus defines and shapes social, cultural, political and economic organization. Competition for access to land, water, pasture and other natural resources is inevitable, and if not effectively managed may cause or drive conflict.

Managing and resolving conflicts engendered by such competition is an essential part of governance. Such conflicts are variously described in the literature as “land conflicts”, “land-related conflicts” or “resource-based conflicts”. They encompass a whole range

of struggles, contestations and violence in which land is a factor, arise in situations where at least two identifiable groups are in conscious opposition to each other as they pursue incompatible goals (Huho, J.M. 2012), and may range from non-violent disputes over access and management of natural resources to intensive armed violence between organized groups (FAO, 2019).

The study specifically looks at the dynamics of conflict, i.e. changes that occur in a conflict situation over time with respect to the behaviour of actors or the broader environment in which conflict occurs (Jones, B.T. and Metzger, S.K. 2018). Such changes may manifest, among other things, alterations in composition and interactions between the conflicting parties, alterations in the conflict environment or alterations in the context (local, national, regional or global) that underpins the conflict. Dynamics of conflict are shaped in large measure by the causes, drivers, stakeholders and lines of conflict.

Although different types of conflict occur in the Karamoja Cluster, resource-based conflicts are the most significant and consequential in impacting livelihoods security. In some instances, conflicts may be triggered directly by competition for access to resources. In other instances, competition for access to resources may underpin the context in which other forms of conflict occur and even shape how such conflicts evolve.

Pastoral and agropastoral conflicts and food security

In line with the final declaration of the 2009 World Summit on Food Security, this report understands food security to exist “when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.” (FAO. 2009). It further recognizes the four pillars of food security namely availability, access, utilization and stability. Based on these parameters, there is a direct correlation between conflict, livelihoods and food security in the Karamoja Cluster.

Conflict undermines or constrains access by communities to strategic natural resources such as water points, pastures and riverine areas where crop production is possible. In particular, insecurity arising from resource-based conflicts or inter-ethnic clashes restrict mobility, which is a critical strategy for livestock production and rangelands management in the Karamoja Cluster. In this connection, not only does conflict undermine livestock production and productivity, but it also drives rangelands degradation,

as herders are forced to overuse specific areas of the rangelands (Smith, P. et al 2019). This undermines long-term food security. Restriction of mobility also impacts negatively on women's access to productive land, as livestock end up being grazed even in land that women ordinarily use for strategic crop production.

Conflict-food security-displacement/migration-climate change interface

On the one hand, the study sought to establish the circumstances in which conflict causes food insecurity and drives displacement, migration and climate change; and on the other hand, the circumstances in which food insecurity, climate change, displacement and migration can be drivers of conflict.

It focuses specifically on conflicts over access to natural resources that have cross-border dimensions, either because they involve communities that live across national borders or because although involving communities within the borders of one country, they have the potential to draw in communities from across the border due to strategic cross-border alliances that exist between communities in the Cluster.

The study sought to establish, on the one hand, the manner and extent to which conflict causes displacement, as communities move in search of safety and livelihoods; and on the other hand, how displacement can drive or exacerbate conflict as displaced communities compete with host communities for opportunities and resources. In this connection, it is important to distinguish between migration and displacement. Seasonal migration with livestock is common and normal within the Cluster as a strategy for managing climate variability of the arid and semi-arid land. Seasonal migration is traditionally managed through resource-sharing arrangements between communities, both within and across national borders. It is when such arrangements fail that seasonal migration can cause or drive conflict. Displacement on the other hand is involuntary, and often results from disaster or conflict.

Finally, the study sought to understand whether and to what extent climate change is a factor in conflict. On the one hand, the team examined how the impact of climate change on the health and productivity of rangelands drives conflict, and on the other hand how conflict affects the capacity of the communities to adapt to the impacts of climate change.



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3. General context of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster

Karamoja Cluster encompasses the land along the border that runs for approximately 8 382 km in the region that straddles the southwestern parts of Ethiopia, northwestern Kenya, southeastern parts of South Sudan and northeastern Uganda. This study specifically focuses on the border areas between Kenya and Uganda (Turkana County and Karamoja Region), Uganda and South Sudan (Karamoja Region and Eastern Equatoria State), Kenya and Ethiopia (Turkana County and South Omo Region) and South Sudan and Ethiopia (Eastern Equatoria State and South Omo Region). In the field, the study team interacted directly with the Turkana in Kenya, the Karamojong and Pokot in Uganda, the Toposa in South Sudan, and the Dassenach and Nyangatom in Ethiopia.

The Cluster is inhabited by at least 13 pastoralist and agropastoralist communities (Intergovernmental Agency on Development. 2022), with a population of approximately 4.5 million people (FAO. 2021), most of whom share common historical, social and cultural attributes, Ateker ancestry and language². Some of these communities are found on both sides of national borders and all of them have a long history dating back to pre-colonial times, of interaction with each other while traversing the rangelands of the region with their livestock to access pasture and water. When national borders were created in the region, they were superimposed upon this reality.

Although the establishment of national borders created a new reality in law, it did not substantially change the de facto situation between the communities. Indeed, the incongruence between the

situation in the border regions as defined by law (see Box 1) and the way in which communities actually live and interact, constitutes one of the causes of abiding tension and drivers of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster (World Bank 2020). The land in this region is characterized by aridity and climate variability which has become increasingly unpredictable as a result of the impacts of climate change.

The situation is compounded by challenges associated with population increase and the spread of land uses that are incompatible with livestock production, which exert pressure on the rangelands, leading to overgrazing, depletion of the surface water table and degradation of rangeland resources, which undermine pastoral and agropastoral livelihoods.

Livestock keeping is the main land use, livelihoods and production system in the Karamoja Cluster. It constitutes an integral part of the cultural identity of local communities. Indeed, so important is livestock keeping to pastoralists' lives and livelihoods that loss of livestock can lead to loss of life. In Omorate, South Omo, the study team was informed of pastoralists who had committed suicide because they had lost all their herds due to drought and 'saw no reason to live'³.

Livestock keeping informs the economic, political and sociocultural organization of communities, shapes the economic prospects of the region and defines and shapes governance and management of land and natural resources, as well as relations between communities within and across national borders. Among pastoralists, owning large numbers of livestock increases an individual's social mobility,

Box 1: Impact of national borders on pastoralists and pastoralism

By the end of the colonial period, pastoralists throughout the entire Horn of Africa region found themselves literally at the margins of every state. Pastoral social order was in disarray, with people being cut off from their kin, customs, leaders, markets and sacred places. As a result, social cohesion, economic security and political ties were seriously impaired. The disintegration of the pastoralist domain proved to be an enduring legacy of colonialism, as the fracturing of pastoralist communities has not healed, but has instead become a point of friction with the state. The lifeline of pastoralism, free movement, was also challenged by the boundaries of the new states, triggering resistance. But while colonialism relied on the creation, maintenance and exploitation of ethnic differences in setting up indirect rule, the disorder created remains an obstacle to the establishment of the modern nation-state (Onyango, E.O. 2018). In reaction, attempts were heightened to coerce the pastoralists into integration within the new state and to force them to adopt economically 'modern' ways of living.

² The communities include the Dassenach and Nyangatom in Ethiopia; Pokot and Turkana in Kenya; Didinga and Toposa in South Sudan; and the Bokora

³ Interview with mixed group, Lobite, Omorate, 8 March 2022.

wealth and opportunities for creating social networks through marriages. As a result, pastoralists are under constant pressure to increase herds or replenish lost ones. Traditionally, the raiding of livestock from neighbouring communities was one way of doing this. Even today, livestock production and the livestock economy remain key to the attainment of food and nutrition security and achievement of sustainable development in the Karamoja Cluster.

Pastoralist mobility

To live in this arid and variable environment and as a means of coping with recurrent droughts, pastoralists use livestock mobility as a strategy for managing the rangeland, moving with their livestock across wide territories both within and across national borders. Ideally, mobility enables pastoralists to maximize livestock productivity in an environment characterized by spatial and temporal variations in rainfall and variations in the quantity and quality of forage, through flexible and dynamic adaptation to and maximization of scattered and unpredictable resources (FAO. 2022).

In the process of mobility, pastoralists may come into conflict with other pastoralists and with other land users, particularly sedentary farmers, as they compete to access rangeland resources. A whole range of institutional arrangements and networks existed traditionally to manage such conflict. Today, however, pastoralist mobility faces many challenges at practice, policy and institutional levels. The authority of traditional institutions and systems of governance has been eroded, creating an institutional gap that undermines effective coordination of mobility. Mobile pastoralists come into conflict with local communities and governments as they encroach into protected areas, undermining local natural resource management arrangements or trespassing into national parks.

Many non-pastoralists perceive the practice of pastoralism and specifically pastoralist mobility as the primary cause of resource-based conflicts. This perception continues to inform policy and institutional responses that aim to settle pastoralists and curtail mobility. Those who push for such policies often do not appreciate that pastoralist mobility does not in itself cause conflict, but rather that conflict occurs because a combination of factors, including the shrinking of rangelands due to the expansion of competing land uses such as green energy development (Eulenberger, I. 2019), mining (Human Rights Watch. 2014), oil exploration (Schilling. J. 2015), and commercial agriculture (Gebresenbet, F. 2021). Population growth and “the negative impact that territorial ethnicization has on rangeland

management” (World Bank. 2020), has undermined the practice.

Pastoralist mobility has been further undermined in recent years by the increasingly more frequent, complex and violent resource-based conflicts in the Cluster, due to a combination of factors that include the spread of small arms, the collapse of traditional systems and institutions of natural resource management and conflict resolution, ineffectiveness of formal systems of governance and impacts of climate change.

Over the past two years, additional emerging challenges and threats such as desert locusts and the COVID-19 pandemic have further exacerbated the situation. In addition to constraining pastoralist mobility, these factors pose serious challenges to national and regional security and stability in a context characterized by simmering grievances over historical political and economic exclusion that fuel discontent and even radicalization (IGAD. 2022). The combination of factors complicates the conflict situation and makes the search for solutions much more challenging.

Contested state borders also constitute a major constraint to pastoralist mobility in the Karamoja Cluster. A case in point is the Ilemi Triangle, control of which is contested between Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia. The region was historically a dry season grazing area for Turkana, Toposa, Nyangatom and Dasenach communities. Kenya currently exercises de facto control of the region following an agreement it reached with the Sudan People’s Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) during the Sudanese civil war. That the legal status of the region remains contested creates tensions between the four communities, as the Turkana are reported to claim priority access to the area by reason of Kenya’s de-facto control thereof (Feyissa. 2020). A similar situation exists at the border between Kenya and South Sudan, where there is contention over the location of the border points at Nadapal, Nakadong and Karanga.

Food (in)security

Karamoja Cluster is the most acutely food insecure part of the IGAD region. The 2020 Global Report on Food Crises (GRFC 2020) identifies three major factors driving food insecurity in the region to be the fact that livestock, the most important source of income and food for communities, is poorly integrated into national livestock health monitoring systems and market routes, the increasingly frequent recurrent droughts, and climate change-induced desertification and rangelands degradation. The report also notes that restrictions on pastoral

mobility caused by “changing borders within states” worsen intercommunal conflicts and disputes over increasingly scarce natural resources and undermine productivity and food security.

The GRFC 2021 Regional Report on the IGAD Region identifies conflict as one of the primary drivers of food insecurity in the region through displacement, disruption of productive activities and the functioning of markets and constraints on delivery of essential services (FSIN and Global Network Against Food Crises. 2021).

GRFC 2022 notes that “cattle raids and armed confrontation between security forces and raiders within Karamoja and from Turkana in Kenya” aggravated poor food security outcomes in Karamoja by constraining access to milk and other livestock products and reducing incomes from sales of live animals and livestock products (FSIN and Global Network Against Food Crises. 2022, p. 206). While this is stated with specific reference to the Uganda-Kenya border region of the Cluster, this linkage between conflict and food security applies across the entire Cluster.

The food security situation in the Karamoja Cluster has declined over the past two years as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. The disruptions caused by the pandemic led to closure of markets, reduced the flow and availability of food, triggered increases of prices of foodstuffs and reduced income from employment and businesses, especially livestock and crop-based trade (Arasio, R. L., Catley, A. & Ayele, M. 2020). These disruptions compounded the challenges to food and nutrition security in a context in which access to food had already been problematic. Although the severity of the pandemic had decreased at the time of the study, its disruptive impacts were still evident, and it was clear that even if the pandemic was brought under control, it would be a long time before the food security situation stabilized.

Displacement and migration

Conflict has a bearing on population movement across national borders in the Karamoja Cluster, which has a long history of both voluntary and involuntary population movement. Apart from seasonal pastoralist mobility, communities in the Karamoja Cluster also move voluntarily within and across national borders for purposes of trade and in search of economic opportunities. Labour migration, which refers to population movement in search of employment opportunities, is particularly relevant in this regard. Such movement is linked to increased urbanization in the Cluster and new employment and economic opportunities created directly or indirectly by the

extractive sector (mining in Karamoja, oil in Turkana) and mega infrastructure projects such as the Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) Corridor and Lake Turkana Wind Power (LTWP) Project. Lodwar (Turkana County, Kenya) and Moroto (Karamoja Region, Uganda) have been identified as major migrant destinations in the Cluster.

Local communities complain that the new opportunities are being exploited largely by non-pastoralists, as locals are disadvantaged for lack of qualifications by reason of historical marginalization that restricted access to education and training. This creates an additional driver of conflict as migration is politicized and ‘divisive categories’ of ‘natives’ and ‘outsiders’ emerge (Feyissa, D. 2020. p3)

Involuntary movement is primarily caused by violent conflict, drought and other climate-related disasters. In recent years, the Cluster has also experienced instances of development-induced displacement, the most prominent examples of which include the Gibe Dam, LAPSSET and the LTWP project. Displacement occasioned by drought and other climate-related disasters have been exacerbated by increased climate change(Feyissa, D. 2020).

Forced displacement drives refugee flows into the Karamoja Cluster and explains the existence of Kakuma Refugee Camp in Turkana West, which hosts nearly 200 000 refugees from all over the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region and has been a refugee camp since 1992. Relations between refugees and host communities are generally peaceful, although tensions occasionally occur, particularly over concerns that refugees have better access to social services than host communities (Aukot, E. 2003). In an effort to promote peaceful coexistence between refugees and host communities, the Turkana County Government has adopted the Kalobeyei Integrated Social and Economic Development Programme (KISEDP) as a framework for partnership between government, UN agencies and development partners for the integrated provision of social services to refugees and host communities in Turkana West Subcounty (UNHCR. 2018).

Displacement caused by droughts, floods and other climate-related disasters is of a periodic nature, with the displaced returning to their homes once the drought ends or the rains subside. Although for the most part such communities live peacefully with the host communities, their relations are underpinned by periodic tensions, with recurrent threats of eviction. In April 2022, Turkana pastoralists displaced with their livestock into Uganda due to drought were blamed for the brutal killing of three geologists and two Uganda People’s Defence Force (UPDF) soldiers in Lokisilei

village in Lotisan Subcounty. As a result, a joint security operation led by the UPDF reportedly forced an estimated 40 000 Turkana pastoralists out of Moroto district back to Turkana (Daily Monitor, April 13, 2022).

Climate change

Climate variability is endemic to the rangelands, and communities in the Karamoja Cluster have a long history of managing this variability through various strategies to optimize livestock production and productivity while conserving the rangelands. However, the impacts of climate change have become so pronounced as to undermine traditional coping mechanisms. The frequency and severity of droughts and other extreme weather events have increased over the past century and rainfall has become ever more erratic and unpredictable.

While there may be no causal link between climate change and conflict, it is generally acknowledged that climate change is a driver of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster primarily on account of its impact on the ability of the rangelands to provide pasture, water and other resources that support pastoral and agropastoral livelihoods. Specifically, the impact of climate change on the health and productivity of the rangelands exacerbates competition for resources and increases the potential for conflict (Climate Diplomacy, 2021; Herrero J. et al. 2016 p417-433; Hesse, C. and Cotula, L. 2006)

Conflict dynamics

The factors that underpin the dynamics of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster include pastoralists' perceptions and interactions with land and natural resources, seasonal variations in the availability of water and pasture, the state of inter-ethnic relations, social and economic dimensions of livestock ownership and the culture of revenge.

For pastoralists, the key concern in land management is to secure access to land-based resources that support and sustain their livelihood and production system. As a result, land-related conflicts involving pastoralists are primarily over access, use and control of land-based resources such as pastures, water and salt lick. Pastoralists engage in such conflicts as communities with a view to securing control of a territory to guarantee access to these resources and to secure routes that facilitate movement of livestock to locations where the resources are situated. This explains why conflict hotspots in the Karamoja Cluster tend to be in locations of strategic (dry season) grazing resources or the routes leading to such locations.

Seasonal changes play a major role in shaping conflict in the Karamoja Cluster in the way that they determine

availability and spread of pasture, water and other rangeland resources. Most conflicts occur during the dry season, when pastoralists are forced to move over long distances with their livestock in search of water and pasture. In the process, they interact with other pastoralists either along the route or at their destination, and depending on the relations between their respective communities, such interactions may or may not lead to conflict. With the onset of rains, as pastoralists head back to their areas of origin, they raid livestock from other pastoralists on their route and may get into conflict with farmers when their livestock feed on newly planted crops.

The state of relations between different ethnic groups is also a factor in conflict involving pastoralists in the Karamoja Cluster. There are communities that are perennial enemies, constantly engaging in conflict. Inter-ethnic conflicts also pit alliances of communities against each other, both within and across national borders. There are instances of intra-community conflicts as well, particularly among the Karimojong of Uganda.

The culture of revenge among pastoralist communities moreover shapes and drives conflict and cattle raiding in the Karamoja Cluster. The communities in the Cluster ascribe to an ethic of revenge, which requires that every cattle raid and every killing of a community member be avenged. This ethic creates and sustains an unending spiral of revenge raids and attacks that date back decades. Indeed, every communal cattle raid and every killing in the Karamoja Cluster is explained as revenge, and motivates counter-revenge.

3.1. Opportunities in the policy and institutional context

Addressing the challenges of conflict ranks among the major development and governance concerns in all the countries of the Karamoja Cluster. The concern is closely linked to efforts to promote livestock production as a means of facilitating development. In each of the four countries, the regions that fall within the Karamoja Cluster are among the most deprived in development terms.

The four countries are all implementing policies and programmes and have established institutions that focus on these regions to address their development challenges generally and to resolve and manage conflict specifically. Some of the countries have established ministries with specific mandates to oversee social and economic transformation of regions that fall within the Karamoja Cluster. Together with decentralized and devolved governance structures (regions in Ethiopia, counties in Kenya, states in South Sudan and districts in Uganda), these constitute the main partners for

programming to address the root causes of conflict and promote sustainable peace in the Karamoja Cluster.

At the regional level, the four national governments are actively engaged within the framework of the AU and IGAD in implementing policies and programmes that offer scope for cross-border collaboration on pastoralist development and conflict transformation. Within the AU, the four countries have committed to the implementation of the Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa and the Framework and Guidelines on Land Policy in Africa.

The Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa was adopted by the Member States to facilitate securing, protecting and improving lives, livelihoods and rights of pastoralist communities. The policy framework recognizes the challenge of conflict to pastoralist livelihoods and development specifically and to national and regional peace and security generally and calls for sustained conflict resolution. It underscores the importance of pastoral strategic mobility in ensuring efficient use and protection of rangelands and facilitating adaptation to climate change.

It also promotes regional approaches to programming for pastoralist development and to address challenges to pastoralism in view of the cross-border nature of many pastoralist communities. The framework calls for governments to develop policies to support cross-border mobility, noting that the development of such policies “requires an understanding of the wider system of boundaries within which pastoralists move, and...dialogue and involvement of both pastoralists and non-pastoral actors” (African Union. 2010. p29)

The Framework and Guidelines on Land Policy in Africa seeks to strengthen land rights, enhance productivity and secure livelihoods. It recognizes the importance

of pastoralism and livestock production to agricultural development in Africa and calls for policies and programmes to protect pastoral ecosystems and strengthen pastoral land rights, including through resolution of cross-boundary disputes. The Framework and Guidelines provide a basis for development of land governance policies that strengthen tenure rights for pastoralists and facilitate pastoralist mobility within and across national borders. By the Declaration on Land Issues and Challenges in Africa adopted in July 2009, AU Member States committed to, among other things, adopt policies and establish land governance institutions that will facilitate equitable access to land and related resources among all land users. IGAD is the Regional Economic Community responsible for promoting the mainstreaming of these AU policies into national frameworks and for facilitating and tracking their implementation.

Within IGAD, the four countries have committed to the implementation of the IGAD Transhumance Protocol, which aims to facilitate effective coordination of pastoralist mobility across national borders. IGAD is the foremost regional actor on conflict and pastoralism in the Horn of Africa. It has established specialized technical agencies that focus on pastoralism and livestock development (ICPALD), climate change (ICPAC), land governance (IGAD Land Governance Unit) and water resources management (IGAD Water Unit). Most importantly, it has established a coordination office for the Karamoja Cluster in Moroto, the IGAD Cross-Border Development Facilitation Unit (IGAD-CBDFU). However, IGAD has significant capacity challenges that need to be addressed for it to deliver effectively and efficiently. For instance, the coordination office in Moroto is staffed by one person with responsibility for the entire Cluster. The office needs more capacity to enable it to deliver on its important and critical mandate.



4. Key findings

This section presents the key findings of the study, organized around the main issues that were addressed in interactions of the study team with key informants and focus groups.

4.1. Causes and drivers of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster

Both micro- and macro-level dynamics determine the nature of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster, how it evolves over time and the scope, opportunities and challenges to its management and resolution. Micro-level dynamics originate at the community level, while macro-level dynamics emanate from national, regional and global levels. Increasingly, dynamics at the macro level tend to shape the context at the community level and can limit or expand the scope and opportunities for action to manage conflict, although communities have little or no control over them. A clear understanding of the interactions between the micro and macro levels is thus crucial for designing appropriate conflict management interventions.

The distinction between micro- and macro-level dynamics is important for distinguishing between causes and drivers of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster. While micro-level dynamics may shape and constitute the causes of conflict, macro-level dynamics tend to be drivers of conflict and may shape and define opportunities for conflict resolution and management. For instance, a conflict between two communities may be caused by competition over access to water and pasture, but the way in which the conflict plays out will depend on local dynamics such as the availability of these resources, the relations between the communities and the existence or absence of local arrangements for managing access to them.

In managing the conflict, macro-level dynamics such as the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, the policies and institutions of government on land and natural resource management, and the presence and effectiveness of government may affect the effectiveness of local frameworks for conflict management. The team identified two direct causes of resource-based conflict in the Karamoja Cluster –competition for access to pasture and water, and cattle rustling.

Competition for access to pastoral resources

Competition for access to pasture and water is endemic in pastoral and agropastoral societies, but gets heightened during droughts, when different communities converge at locations of strategic dry season grazing and water sources, within or across national borders. The competition degenerates into conflict when pastoralists within whose areas where the strategic resources are located, resist the arrival of pastoralists from elsewhere, or seek to control or exclude them from accessing the resources. Conversely, conflict may occur because the visiting pastoralists ignore or fail to abide by guidelines that the local community has put in place for management of the rangelands. Such situations occur when traditional resource-sharing arrangements cease to be effective in mediating access to water and pasture.

Competition for access to resources may occur within the same ethnic communities, between neighbouring communities in-country and between neighbouring communities across national borders. Intra-ethnic conflict over resources is generally effectively managed by traditional governance and resource management institutions, although as was reported by communities in Kapoeta, such conflicts are often fuelled by political incitement to advance the interests of local politicians.

Intra-ethnic conflicts are most common in Karamoja. Such conflicts may draw in communities from neighbouring countries due to alliances that Karimojong subclans have in place with other ethnic communities from across the border in Ethiopia, Kenya and South Sudan. The team gathered that there are no intra-ethnic conflicts among the Turkana, as there exists a binding agreement that prohibits the killing of a fellow Turkana.

Inter-ethnic conflicts between neighbouring communities can be managed successfully where there is effective coordination between traditional and formal systems. In South Omo it was reported that due to such coordination, there have been no conflicts between the Nyangatom, Dasenach and Hamar over the past three years.⁴

Competition for access to water and pasture was reported to be the cause of conflicts between the Toposa and Turkana at Namerkinyang, a dry season grazing area in Turkana County, when the Toposa migrate there with their livestock during the dry season. Similarly, in Kobebe in Moroto District,

⁴ Debriefing meeting with South Omo Zonal Authorities at Hawassa, 11 March 2022.

Uganda and Kibish on the border between Ethiopia and Kenya, which are green belts that pastoralists in the Cluster have traditionally used for dry season grazing, conflicts occur when different pastoral communities converge at the height of the dry season.

The search for pasture and water during the dry season also pits pastoralists against wildlife conservation authorities in Ethiopia and Uganda. The Karimojong and Toposa come into conflict with the Uganda Wildlife Authority for encroaching into Kidepo National Park and other reserves, while in South Omo, Mago National Park is a major site of conflict between pastoralists and the Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Authority (EWCA).

The potential for competition for access to pasture and water to degenerate into conflict has increased in recent decades as human and livestock populations have grown, in a context where rangelands are diminishing due to land use and land tenure system changes that reduce productivity already impacted by climate change. Furthermore, the weakening of traditional governance and resource management institutions that historically managed access to rangeland resources created a gap in coordination and conflict management. Government policies underpinned by perceptions about land and natural resource tenure that are incompatible with those of pastoralists have undermined the security and effectiveness of communal tenure over rangelands. In South Omo, the study team found that due to the absence of coordination mechanisms to structure interactions between mobile and local communities, conflicts arise when the pastoralists enter with their livestock into areas that local communities have set aside for rehabilitation of the rangelands. Such instances manifest the link between conflict, climate change and migration.

Cattle rustling

Cattle rustling, which is effectively intercommunal theft of livestock accompanied by violence, is as old as the practice of pastoralism. Traditionally the violence that accompanied cattle rustling was structured and limited in scope. The use of traditional weapons such as spears and arrows limited the extent of violence and the number of casualties. Warriors who took part in cattle raids were also constrained by traditional norms specifying legitimate targets and what was permissible conduct during raids. For instance, only livestock was to be taken, and women and children were not to be harmed. While application of these norms would vary according to the state of relations between the contending communities, the extent of violence was generally limited.

Today, the practice of cattle rustling has morphed into “cattle raids”, which are indiscriminate in their targets and methods, and characterized by violence, resulting in substantial risks to life and limb. The shift from cattle rustling to cattle raids is due largely to the proliferation of guns in the Karamoja Cluster. This phenomenon is traced back to the collapse of the Idi Amin military regime in Uganda in 1979 and the civil wars in Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan. The internal conflict in South Sudan since 2013 has further opened up opportunities for civilians to acquire arms. Respondents in Kapoeta reported that due to non-payment of salaries, soldiers are selling guns to civilians for as low as 1 300 South Sudanese Pounds⁵.

Traditionally, cattle rustling served specific functions among the communities of the Karamoja Cluster. It served a redistributive function enabling restocking of livestock lost through drought or disease outbreaks. It was a means for young men to acquire livestock for payment of bride price, and to train and gain experience as warriors. These objectives were met with minimal violence under supervision of elders and in accordance with shared norms in a context where entire communities were involved (Mkutu, K. 2003).

Today, although the cultural underpinnings of cattle rustling are still invoked to explain the phenomenon, the society has become much more differentiated and there is no shared vision on the practice or centralized mechanism for managing it. In the words of one commentator, due to the widespread use of firearms in cattle raids, the Karamoja Cluster has been turned into “a battleground on which armed cattle rustlers engage enemy groups, or exchange deadly fire with the state security apparatus, or lay deadly roadside ambushes, or pillage villages – all under the guise of cattle raiding” (Onyango, E.O. 2018. p 208).

The transformation of cattle rustling signifies the way in which widespread availability of guns has impacted on the social organization of communities in the Karamoja Cluster, especially by realigning the balance of power between elders and youth in the planning and execution of cattle raids. Traditionally, elders played key roles in planning and authorizing cattle rustling. Warriors required the authority, blessing and approval of the elders to act. Today, however, “the gun has made the warriors both the decision-makers and executioners” of cattle raids (Odhiambo, M.O. 2003). The proliferation of guns in the Karamoja Cluster has had conflict implications well beyond cattle rustling. It has resulted in the emergence of new forms of violence and conflict, such as highway robberies, and has encouraged the emergence of organized criminal gangs that have promoted impunity and undermined the rule of law.

⁵ About 10 USD at the time of the team’s visit to South Sudan.

The proliferation of guns is supported by a flourishing trade in firearms among pastoral communities in the Karamoja Cluster, with distribution networks that cut across national borders. In discussions with the security team in Amudat, the study team was informed that the Pokot of Uganda kept their guns with the Pokot of Kenya to secure them from the disarmament exercise in Uganda. In Moroto it was reported that ox-ploughs distributed by the government to communities during the disarmament exercise were stolen and exchanged for guns in South Sudan.

In FGDs in Kapoeta⁶ and Moroto,⁷ the study team received reports that guns are bought and sold in Kapoeta, Kotido, Kaabong, Moroto and Amudat. The expansive and porous borders make it easy for illegal guns to cross from one country to another. Respondents claimed that communities arm themselves because they cannot depend on the state security system for protection. To quote one key informant:⁸

"We used to tell communities that disarmament was the answer to conflict-related challenges. However, the experience of the local community following disarmament has convinced them that they cannot depend on the government for their security and that of their livestock, as those who surrendered their guns have become easy targets for cattle raids, which happen even in so-called protected kraals. People do not trust the government."

The study team repeatedly heard from stakeholders in Moroto, Amudat and Kotido that disarmament cannot be implemented effectively in the Karamoja Cluster in the absence of a regional approach that integrates all relevant countries. This perspective was shared among communities, government officials and local political leaders. As one respondent observed:

"Disarming the Karamojong without disarming the Turkana and the Toposa is not only an exercise in futility, it is counterproductive as it exposes the Karamojong to attacks from their neighbours."⁹

The ready availability of guns has contributed to the commercialization of cattle raids across the Karamoja Cluster. Gangs of armed youth conduct raids to service a flourishing cross-border market in livestock that is said to be linked to international markets in the Middle East. Respondents in Turkana claimed that cattle raids for trade purposes are financed by wealthy

businessmen, politicians and traders.¹⁰

In Moroto, the study team was informed that there is a ready market for stolen livestock in Nakabat.

In Kapoeta, respondents in a FGD with a peacebuilding organization described how livestock are stolen and loaded into trucks at strategic locations to be ferried to Juba and across the border into Uganda and Kenya.¹¹ Cattle raiders reportedly make use of mobile telephones (calls, text messaging and WhatsApp) to communicate with each other as they mobilize for attacks and also with traders to whom they deliver the livestock they capture from the raids.

Macro-level dynamics that drive and exacerbate conflict

Macro-level dynamics that drive or exacerbate conflict in the Karamoja Cluster include climate change, unemployment, insecurity of communal land tenure, limited reach of government and poor enforcement of the rule of law, proliferation of firearms, persistence of cultural attitudes and practices that glorify violence, commercialization of cattle rustling, forced displacement and migration, politicization of conflict, erosion of authority and effectiveness of traditional institutions of governance and natural resource management, and simmering interstate border disputes (see Table 2).

The way in which these drivers affect conflict, and the scope and opportunities for managing it, depend on the policy and institutional context that prevails in specific localities. National policies on governance, development planning, and land and natural resource management are particularly important in this regard. Such policies shape and define the way in which conflict manifests and evolves, and determine the scope and opportunities for enforcement of global and regional commitments to address the underlying causes and drivers of conflict.

In this connection, the study noted that although the four countries of the Karamoja Cluster are all members of IGAD and have signed up to shared commitments on conflict management and resilience building, the nature of conflict in each country and the way it manifests are a function of the policy and institutional context in the specific country. Table 3 identifies some of the major policy and institutional challenges that underpin the context for conflict in the different countries and at the regional level.

⁶ Nakoringomo Village, 1 December 2021.

⁷ FGD with security team at Amudat, 18 January 2022.

⁸ KII with a CSO actor, Kotido, 19 January 2022.

⁹ FGD staff of a CSO in Moroto, 17 January 2022.

¹⁰ FGD with CSO actors at Lotus Kenya Action for Development Organization (LOKADO) offices, Kakuma, 8 December 2021.

¹¹ FGD in Kapoeta, 30 November 2021.

Table 2. Major causes and drivers of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster

Causes of conflict	Drivers of conflict
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Competition to access water and pasture 2. Cattle rustling 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Climate change – droughts, floods and other weather events, reduced productivity. 2. Unemployment and poor governance – absence of social services and economic opportunities. 3. Poor policy and legislative protection for and enforcement of communal land rights. 4. Insecurity and absence of effective administration of justice and rule of law. 5. Proliferation of small arms and light weapons due to intrastate conflicts in countries of the Cluster. 6. Persistence of cultural attitudes and dynamics on livestock keeping, cattle raids and ‘warriorhood’, large numbers of livestock for marriage, revenge attacks, child abduction, etc. 7. Commercialization of cattle rustling. 8. Forced displacement and cross-border migration. 9. Political interference – politicization of conflicts. 10. Weakening of traditional institutions for natural resource governance. 11. Simmering interstate and border disputes, particularly in the Illehi Triangle.

Table 3: Policy and institutional challenges to conflict management in countries of the Karamoja Cluster

Country	Major policy and institutional challenges
Ethiopia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Large-scale commercial agriculture development in the rangelands and riverine areas. ▶ Managing interaction between the flow of water from Gibe Dam and downstream small-scale agriculture along the Omo River.
Kenya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Managing cross-border relations in a context of devolution. ▶ Implementing effective disarmament.
South Sudan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Ineffectiveness of formal governance and rule of law frameworks due to ongoing conflict. ▶ Proliferation of firearms.
Uganda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Proliferation of firearms. ▶ Sustaining the benefits of disarmament. ▶ Managing interaction between military and civilian frameworks for conflict management and peacebuilding.
IGAD region	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Climate change and weather events (droughts, floods). ▶ Proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

The study team identified a number of location-specific challenges across the cluster as specified below:

- In **Kapoeta**, respondents reported a prevalence of both livestock and human diseases due to the lack of veterinary and human health services. The lack of health services was reported to be particularly hard on women, who need to walk long distances to access medical services, with the result that some pregnant mothers die on the way to hospital. Women also complained about insecurity, which affects access to riverine areas where farming is possible. This was reported to be a major constraint on women working on their gardens, which in turn impacts adversely on household food and nutrition security.
- In **Karamoja**, respondents blamed the government's handling of disarmament and its aftermath. They observed that due to the top-down approach adopted in implementing disarmament, not enough work was done to ensure that the process was owned by the pastoral communities. Furthermore, the security that the government promised the communities was not to be as once the exercise was completed, soldiers were withdrawn, leaving the communities more vulnerable to attacks from neighbouring communities now that they were unarmed. Respondents alleged that the Local Defence Units that were entrusted with the defence of communities had become threats to community security as they collaborated with criminal elements by lending them uniforms and guns to carry out cattle raids. Respondents also observed that the government did not put in place a post-disarmament package to help communities cope with the new reality. To quote one respondent in a FGD in Amudat: "Disarmament targeted the hardware of guns but did nothing about the software of mindset". The study team observed that communities were once again rearming to secure themselves and better protect their livestock.
- In **Dimeka and Omorate**, the Dasenach community complained about the destruction of their homes and crops by water released from the Gibe Dam. The study team witnessed populations displaced by floods being supplied with hay bales in Omorate, and the authorities confirmed to the team that there were 11 settlements of displaced populations in the area. Communities complained that they were not given adequate notice and time to relocate their animals and that their crops were still in the field. As a result, they were displaced from their homes, lost livestock that were caught up in the floods and their crops were inundated with water downstream. There is clearly a need for improved consultations with communities around water releases and inclusive resettlement planning in the Lower Omo Valley.

Gender dimensions of conflict in Karamoja Cluster

There are significant gender dimensions to conflict in the Karamoja Cluster. Different gender groups play different roles in conflict and are impacted upon in different ways. For purposes of gender analysis of conflict dynamics, communities can be categorized in terms of male elders, youth and women. Although each group has a role in enabling conflict as well as in conflict management and peacebuilding, the degrees of engagement vary by gender.

Male youth are the primary actors in enabling conflict through their direct involvement as warriors in cattle raids and violent clashes over water and pasture, and through executing highway robberies.

Table 4: Gender roles in conflict

Gender/Roles	Enabling conflict	Conflict resolution and peacebuilding
Elders	Encouraging, blessing and justifying raids.	Negotiate peace agreements, provide sanctions for breach thereof.
Youth	Directly participating in raids, violent clashes over water and pasture, and highway robberies.	Enforce decisions of elders, advocate for peace.
Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Incite sons to participate in raids to facilitate their traditional marriage arrangements. ▶ Use songs to encourage warriors and to shame 'cowards'. ▶ Celebrate warriors with praise song and ululation on their return with captured livestock. 	Mobilize for peace and support intercommunity peace negotiations, actively advocate for peace through song and dance.

Elders and women play secondary roles of support and encouragement. On the other hand, elders and women are the key actors in conflict management and peacebuilding, although the role of women is in some instances undermined by male elders trying to exclude them from peacebuilding activities.¹² Some informants stressed the need for the youth to be actively involved in conflict transformation efforts if the efforts are to bear fruit.¹³ Table 4 presents a summary of gender roles in both enabling and resolving conflict.

Women are mostly identified as being associated with conflict management and peacebuilding. Throughout the Karamoja Cluster, they are at the forefront of advocating for the peaceful resolution of conflicts. In their position as wives and mothers, they bear the greatest burden when they lose their husbands and children through conflict. Women do not have any decision-making roles with regards to the planning and execution of violent conflict. Between men, women and male youth, it is women for whom the losses suffered through conflict far outweigh any benefits received.

In FGDs with communities, the different gender groups trade blame for instigating conflict. Elders claim that the youth no longer seek their blessing to undertake cattle raids, while the youth claim it is elders who bless, facilitate and supervise them. While women accuse elders and youth for perpetuating a culture of violence, but the two groups retort that “women cry when their children die in raids, but celebrate when they bring cattle to the kraal”¹⁴. There is clearly a need for capacity building and sensitization on peacebuilding for all gender groups to realize that just as all play different roles in enabling conflict, they all need to play their roles in promoting peace.

At a deeper level, women are net losers in the militarization of communities in the Karamoja Cluster resulting from the proliferation of guns. The proliferation of firearms increases insecurity and renders women more vulnerable to gender-based violence. Cases of sexual violence, both during and outside the context of cattle raids, have increased due to the proliferation of firearms. Women have

not accepted this situation, and they persist in their quest to contribute to efforts aimed at addressing conflict, even in the face of opposition and deliberate marginalization from such initiatives by male elders. In some parts of the Cluster, women are active in Peace Committees as peace monitors, and some of the most effective peace advocates are women. In Nyangatom Woreda, the study team met and interacted with Maama Peace, a celebrated peace advocate, whose achievements as a peace negotiator and in the recovery of raided animals have been recognized both nationally and regionally.

4.2. Conflict hotspots and lines of conflict

Conflict hotspots refer to places where conflicts are likely to occur, while lines of conflict are linkages between conflicting parties. The two are closely related. While there are many conflict hotspots and lines of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster, this report focuses on cross-border hotspots and lines of conflict. The study team established that in-country conflicts also have cross-border implications, given the alliances that communities establish across national borders. It identified three major cross-border conflict hotspots, each of them identified with a line of conflict between specific communities.

Karita in Amudat was identified as a hotspot for conflict between the Pian of Karamoja and the Pokot of Kenya. Kobebe in Moroto District is a hotspot for conflict between the Turkana and the Jie. Kibish on the border between Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan is a hotspot for conflict between the Turkana, Merille, Nyangatom and Dasenach (see Table 5).

Cross-border conflicts occur in the border areas between Kenya and Ethiopia, Kenya and South Sudan, Kenya and Uganda, Ethiopia and South Sudan, and Uganda and South Sudan, as shown in Table 6. The Turkana, Jie and Toposa are the three communities most embroiled in conflict. The Turkana have conflicts with neighbouring communities across the borders with Ethiopia, Uganda and South Sudan. The Jie have

Table 5: Cross-border conflict hotspots and lines of conflict

Hotspot	Communities in conflict	Border countries
Karita, Amudat	Pokot of Kenya and Pian	Kenya, Uganda
Kobebe	Turkana of Kenya and Karamojong	Kenya, Uganda
Kibish	Turkana, Merille, Dasenach, Nyangatom	Ethiopia, Kenya, South Sudan

¹² FGD with women at Women’s Centre, Kapoeta, South Sudan, 30 November 2021.

¹³ Youth participants in FGD with Men in Rupa, Moroto, 18 January 2022; KII at Caritas, Kotido, 18 January 2022.

¹⁴ FGD Nakoringomo Village, Kapoeta South, 1 December 2021.

Table 6: Communities engaged in cross-border conflict

Border	Communities engaged in conflict
Kenya and Ethiopia	Turkana (KE), Dasenach and Nyangatom (ETH)
Kenya and South Sudan	Turkana (KE), Toposa (SS)
Kenya and Uganda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Turkana (KE), Jie (UG) ▶ Pokot (KE), Pian (UG)
Ethiopia and South Sudan	Nyangatom (ETH), Toposa (SS)
Uganda and South Sudan	Jie (UG), Toposa (SS)

conflicts with neighbouring communities across the border in Kenya and South Sudan. The Toposa are in conflict with neighbouring communities across the border in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. The Turkana, Jie and Toposa are also in conflict with neighbouring communities in-country.

A long history of intercommunal conflict in the Karamoja Cluster has fostered the accumulation of a whole repertoire of beliefs and stereotypes among the conflicting communities against each other. Each community presents itself and its allies as the victims of aggression from the other communities. Thus, in meetings with members of the Toposa community in Kapoeta, the Murle, Jie and Turkana are presented as the aggressors.¹⁵ In Kotido, members of the Jie community point an accusing finger at the alliance between the Turkana, Matheniko and Bokora,¹⁶ even as some informants accuse the Jie of aligning with Bokora to attack the Matheniko.¹⁷ In Moroto, the Matheniko blame the Tepeth, Jie and Dodoth, and a cross-border alliance between the Pian and the Pokot of Kenya.¹⁸ The Turkana blame the Pokot, Jie, Toposa and Nyangatom.¹⁹ In South Omo, the Nyangatom and the Dasenach blame each other.²⁰

Conflicts in the Karamoja Cluster are mainly resource-based and occur largely in locations where strategic resources, such as water points or dry season grazing areas, are located. Kobebe in Moroto District and Kibish on the border between Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan are two examples of such locations. Pastoralists from different parts of the Cluster converge on these locations during the dry season with their livestock to access the strategic resources. In the case of Kibish, the situation is further complicated by the simmering interstate dispute over the exact location of the border.

Most conflict hotspots in the region are located at the boundaries between communities or the borders

between countries, pitting mostly neighbouring communities against each other. Interestingly, the study team found that while communities may be in conflict in rural areas, members of those same communities live together peacefully in urban centres such as Kapoeta, Moroto, Lodwar and Kangaten.

4.3. Major actors in conflict and peace

The main actors in conflict and peace are the communities, as they are the ones that engage in conflict. Within communities, specific groups play different roles in facilitating or enabling conflict. The second major actor is the state, whose policies can drive conflict, but which also has a primary role in enabling conflict management and peacebuilding.

State policies, particularly on agriculture and rural development, and land and natural resource management, may drive conflict in pastoral areas when they promote land uses incompatible with livestock production in the rangelands. Policies that promote large-scale irrigation in the rangelands are most relevant in this regard. By restricting livestock mobility and diminishing pastoral resources, such policies exacerbate competition among pastoral communities and drive conflict. Instances of development-induced displacement alluded to in section 3 are also indicative of policy developments that drive conflict in the Karamoja Cluster.

The business community has become key enablers of conflict due to commercialization of cattle raids, providing the market for livestock that drives cattle raids. Other relevant actors include the wide diversity of non-state actors that play critical roles in conflict and peace, providing emergency response during conflict, addressing the impacts of conflict and promoting peacebuilding and reconciliation. Table 7 lists the major actors in conflict and peace, and their respective roles. The list is by no means exhaustive.

¹⁵ FGD Nakoringomo Village, Kapoeta South, 1 December 2021; FGD Paringa Payam, North Kapoeta, 30 November 2021.

¹⁶ KII at the District Local Government office, Kotido, 18 January 2022; KII Caritas offices, Kotido, 18 January 2022.

¹⁷ Participants in a FGD in Moroto claimed that in Lokisilei in Matheniko County, locals had moved to Rupa and Nadunget after their homes and granaries were burnt down by the Jie and Bokora. FGD at RUCODET, 17 January 2022.

¹⁸ FGD with women in Rupa, 18 January 2022.

¹⁹ FGD with women, Lokirama Centre, 9 December 2021; FGD at TUPADO Offices, 7 December 2021.

²⁰ FGD with women in Omorate, 8 March 2022.

Table 7: Major actors in conflict and peace

Actor category	Role
Community (leadership and groups) – elders, women, youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Different structures and individuals in the community play different roles in organizing, blessing, justifying, facilitating and directly participating in conflict. ▶ Conversely, the structures and individuals engage in conflict management and peacebuilding in different ways.
Governments and state institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Government policies play a key role in enabling or avoiding conflict. ▶ Government institutions spearhead peacebuilding, enforce agreements and apply sanctions.
Non-state actors (including CSOs, FBOs, the private sector, research organizations)	They provide relief and emergency response during conflict, address impacts of conflict and promote peacebuilding efforts.
Regional Economic Communities (IGAD)	IGAD has a critical role given the cross-border dimensions of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster and its mandate regarding pastoralist development conflict management and peacebuilding.
UN agencies and other global frameworks	They develop standards and provide technical, material and institutional support for conflict management and peacebuilding.

The actors are identified by category, recognizing that under each category there will be a whole range of structures and individuals to be identified and engaged at the point of programming. It is also recognized that specific structures and individuals in each category will vary by country and location across the Cluster.

4.4. Major impacts of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster

The impacts of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster are numerous and encompass livelihoods, social service delivery, security, sociocultural development and the environment. In this section the main impacts identified by communities and stakeholders are highlighted.

Livelihoods

Conflict undermines the security of pastoralist and agropastoralist livelihoods by constraining communities from making productive use of the rangelands. In Kotido, a key informant observed that Kobebe Dam “was a peace dam meant to host the Bokora, Jie, Matheniko and Dodoth, but now none of them is accessing it because raids are the norm at the dam”.²¹ In Kapoeta, a woman respondent in a FGD narrated how women, who are the ones engaged in farming, cannot go to their gardens during clashes for fear of being attacked, resulting in harvest getting spoilt in the gardens. In addition, crops are destroyed in the gardens by warriors who attack

their community, resulting in food insecurity. Another woman reported that a few months prior to the visit by the study team, a woman who had gone to her farm with all her children was killed and her children abducted. Following the incident, most women had abandoned their farms.²²

Perhaps the most devastating impact of endemic conflict in the Karamoja Cluster is the way in which it has undermined the confidence of communities and individuals, creating hopelessness, particularly among the youth, pushing them to acts of lawlessness. In Kotido, the study team heard that youth in the area see no hope for themselves and that when urged to embrace peace and avoid engaging in raids, they argue that...

...whether people go to steal or not, they will die from either the gun or hunger. What's the point of peace when we have nothing to eat?²³

Food and nutrition security

Food insecurity is by far the most far-reaching impact of conflict. Communities reckon that conflict causes food insecurity by limiting opportunities for production, such as herding of livestock and cultivation. In a context where timing is critical for taking advantage of the limited opportunities for productive use of land according to the variations in weather, conflict limits timely access to areas of production.

²¹ KII at KOPEIN offices, Kotido, 20 January 2022.

²² FGD with women at Women's Centre, Kapoeta South, 30 November 2021.

²³ KII at KOPEIN offices, Kotido, 20 January 2022.

Moreover, due to the reality of conflict, individuals have no guarantee that they will reap the benefit of their productive efforts, and this reduces incentives to invest in production. Observations from the women in Kapoeta about how they are deterred from working their farms due to insecurity arising from conflict, underscores the clear link between conflict and food insecurity. Indeed, one of the women at the FGD in Kapoeta South was emphatic that “insecurity is one of the main reasons why we do not have enough food”.²⁴

Environmental degradation

Conflict contributes to environmental degradation in the Karamoja Cluster, particularly by the way it constrains mobility, forcing pastoralists to over-use specific locations as they are unable to access others. The importance of mobility for ensuring sustainable use of the rangelands is even more acute now given the context of increased climate change. In effect, conflict denies pastoralists the use of mobility, which is their main strategy for managing variability in the rangelands.

In Kapoeta, the study team was informed that due to degradation, there was no grass, pasture or firewood in the rangelands. Apart from livestock not being able to pasture in the rangelands, the community also lacked firewood for cooking and materials for building houses. In this respect, women are the most disadvantaged as they are the ones in charge of preparing food and constructing houses.

Livestock health

Conflict undermines the provision of livestock health services. As a result of uncontrolled migration across national borders, animal diseases are easily transmitted from one country to another. In certain instances, communities resist pastoralist movement into their areas out of concern that the visiting livestock will transmit diseases to those of the host community. In Turkana, it was reported that the Turkana have animal vaccination centres, so their animals are disease-free, but the Toposa do not vaccinate their livestock and thus put Turkana livestock at risk when they cross into Turkana.²⁵

The IGAD Transhumance Protocol approved by Member States in early 2020 aims, among other things, to address such concerns by ensuring regulated and structured transhumance across national borders. It commits Member States to harmonizing legislation and policies on livestock and pastoral practices, animal health and land use to facilitate transhumance and pastoralist development. It aims to build on traditional

practices and frameworks for cross-border pastoralist migration, while also addressing emerging challenges. Adoption of the Protocol marks an important development for pastoralist mobility that provides the mechanism for managing mobility so that it may not drive conflict in the Karamoja Cluster.

Gender dimensions

Although conflict affects all people, its impacts vary in significant ways from one gender to another. Women are particularly vulnerable in situations of conflict and suffer differently from men. Being responsible not just for their children but also as caregivers for the elderly and the disabled, it is not always possible for them to escape during raids. While men may have the option of leaving the village in times of scarcity, women remain at home and are still expected to provide for their children and other persons in their care. Moreover, women are expected to follow the men when they move with livestock to erect their shelter and water the animals,²⁶ which puts them at risk when clashes occur.

The context of conflict exposes women to gender-based violence both in and outside the home. Conflict also undermines the possibilities for women to develop economically, socially and politically. Economic activities that women can specialize in, such as trade, require peace and the freedom to move across communities, which is not possible in the midst of conflict. The possibilities for women to take up leadership roles and participate in decision-making are compromised in situations of conflict.

The prevailing conflict situation exposes women to severe risks to personal security and safety. In Kapoeta, the study team was informed that women need to travel up to 8 km to fetch water, leaving their homes at dawn. In times of conflict, women face the risk of sexual assault during such water-fetching trips. Reports of women being raped and even killed on the way to the garden or to fetch water or firewood are common in the Karamoja Cluster, particularly during conflict.

4.5. Resilience factors – how people cope with conflict

Notwithstanding the reality of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster, communities endeavour to live meaningful and productive lives. They adapt and innovate to survive as best they can in the circumstances. The study team identified a number of resilience factors that enable communities to go about their lives in the short to medium term:

²⁴ FGD with women at Women’s Centre, Kapoeta South, 30 November 2021.

²⁵ FGD at TUPADO offices, 7 December 2021.

²⁶ FGD at TUPADO offices, 7 December 2021.

- **Diversification of livelihoods** away from nomadic pastoralism enables communities to have alternative sources of livelihoods to supplement livestock keeping. In Amudat, the study team was informed that the Pokot have embraced small-scale agriculture and are planting maize, peanuts, green grams and simsim to supplement livestock keeping. They are also moving away from the practice of keeping large herds of cows following the introduction of high-yielding Zebu bulls which they purchase from the neighbouring Sabiny.
- **Keeping small stocks** such as goats and sheep and adapting to production of opportunistic crops that can grow in the arid environments when it rains, or which can be irrigated.
- **Negotiating peace agreements** between communities through community-based dialogues enables communities to experience periods of peace during which they graze their animals freely across the rangelands. A major challenge to these agreements is enforcement, and many of them collapse within short periods. The Nabilatuk Agreement signed in 2014 between the Matheniko, Pian and Jie communities is one example of a peace agreement that did not last for long. The one exception in the region is the Lokiriam Peace Accord, which has sustained peace between Turkana and Matheniko. Turkana and Nyangatom are presently enjoying a period of peace following the negotiation of such an agreement.
- **Community peace rituals** are used in certain communities to resolve conflicts and promote peaceful coexistence. Among the Hamar of South Omo this involved the killing of a young female sheep which has never given birth. An agreement sealed by this ritual is binding and anyone who breaks the agreement can be disowned and punished by the community. For agreements negotiated between the Jie and the Dodoth in Karamoja, lactating mothers from different camps would be asked to exchange their babies to breastfeed them to cement the peace. The study team was informed that such agreements would sustain peace for a generation. Other rituals involved elders from the different communities washing their hands in the same vessel to seal their relationships after peace talks. This, it was reported, would ensure peace between the communities for over ten years.
- **Migration:** Apart from seasonal migration with livestock in search of pasture and water during the dry season, communities in the Karamoja Cluster migrate within and across national borders in search of livelihood opportunities. The youth especially are drawn to urban centres in search of economic opportunities, but even older people migrate as a way of coping with challenges in their home areas. During the visit to Kangaten town in Nyangatom Woreda, the study team saw both young and elderly men from Turkana and Kapoeta who were said to have moved to Kangaten to benefit from the food distributed by the Government of Ethiopia.
- These and other local resilience measures that communities traditionally used to manage the challenges of conflict have been undermined by external influences and are no longer invoked to promote peacebuilding. Efforts should be made to deepen understanding of these measures and to explore opportunities for building upon them to create sustainable peace in the Karamoja Cluster.

4.6. Conflict-food security-climate change-displacement and migration interface

The study team was particularly keen to understand the interface between conflict and food security, climate change, displacement and migration in order to create a basis for programming that will address conflict while also addressing these other challenges. The team confirmed that there is a direct correlation between conflict and these other variables in the Karamoja Cluster and that the challenges cannot be effectively addressed without addressing conflict. Conversely, managing conflict and building sustainable peace is not possible without addressing these challenges.

Conflict is a driver of food insecurity

Conflict is a driver of food insecurity in the way it undermines opportunities for food production and diverts resources that would be used to promote agriculture to security operations. On the other hand, food insecurity can also be a trigger for conflict as demonstrated by youth who participate in raids to get resources to buy food.

Although there is potential for crop production in the Karamoja Cluster and many of the communities are agropastoralists who supplement livestock production with crop farming, it is not possible to practice crop production effectively and sustainably in conflict situations. Women, who are the main crop producers, need security to travel to and work on their farms. They also need guarantees that their crops will be safe from malicious damage by livestock



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and that when the crops mature, they will be able to harvest and not lose the same to thieves. All this is not possible in a conflict situation. Even the opportunity to use ox-ploughs to improve agricultural production is unavailable in some parts of the Cluster as “bringing animals home is a source of insecurity.”²⁷ As an FGD participant in Kapoeta put it, “We cannot farm during conflict, peace is important for sustaining food security”.²⁸

Conflict further undermines food security by the restrictions and constraints it imposes on market operations, which are critical for enabling access to food. Insecurity along roads in the Karamoja Cluster hinders transportation of food to markets. Moreover, conflict undermines the impact of interventions by development partners, including FAO, to support improved access to food in the Cluster, as farmers do not have the opportunity to put into practice the skills they acquire through such interventions. This explains the assertion by the South Sudan’s Under Secretary in the Ministry of Peacebuilding that “FAO’s work on addressing hunger addresses the symptoms; the major cause of food insecurity in South Sudan is conflict”.²⁹

By undermining local food production, conflict has created a vicious cycle of food insecurity and dependence on food aid in the Karamoja Cluster. The implications of conflict for food security are

manifested through “limited safe travel within and between livelihood zones, affecting market access; injuries and deaths of able bodied household members, decreasing households’ income earning potential; loss of livestock and associated food and income; and loss of food and household assets as a result of theft”(FEWSNET. 2012. p13).

Communities report that conflict increases in the region during periods of food scarcity, such as when crops fail. The study team was informed that robberies targeting grain stores and households with food stuff had increased as food scarcity increased in Karamoja.³⁰

Conflict and climate change: a symbiotic relationship

The conflict situation in the Karamoja Cluster is greatly compounded by the impacts of increasing climate change. The study established that there is a symbiotic relationship between conflict and climate change, each exacerbating the other. Conflict exacerbates the impacts of climate change in the manner that it restricts mobility, which is the strategy for managing climate variability in the drylands. Restrictions that conflict places on pastoralist mobility force concentration of livestock in specific locations, resulting in over-use and degradation, which exacerbate the impacts of climate change, manifested in increased droughts and floods. On the other hand,

²⁷ FGD participant, Dimeka, South Omo, 7 March 2022.

²⁸ FGD Nyakiriket Consortium, Kapoeta, 30 November 2021.

²⁹ Interview at his office in Juba, 29 November 2021.

³⁰ FGD at KADP, Moroto, 17 January 2022.

climate change leads to diminished availability of rangeland resources, which exacerbates competition and engenders conflict. It is also the case that as a result of climate change, pastoralists are having to move further and further away from their homes during the dry season, which exposes them to conflict, especially as they cross international borders. In a FGD in Kapoeta, it was reported that Toposa herders moving with their livestock in search of water and pastures only realize they are in a foreign country (Kenya) when they are attacked by the local community (Turkana).³¹

Whereas in the past seasonal migration was for short periods and then pastoralists returned to their homes with the return of the rains, such migrations now last many years as a result of climate change. In South Omo the study team heard that there had been no rain for the last four years, and it was reported that some members of the Hamar community had been away with their livestock for all that period. Indeed, some herders reported that they have not returned to their communities for as long as ten years.³²

The reality of climate change is evident all over the Karamoja Cluster. Communities note that the seasonal calendar has been distorted and is no longer predictable. They can no longer plan their production in alignment with the seasons. In every meeting that the study team held, participants drew attention to the changes in the seasonal calendar. When the rains come, they come late and are either inadequate or in excess, meaning that at any given time communities are confronted with a climate-related crisis in the form of drought or floods. While unpredictability and uncertainty are characteristics of the arid and semi-arid lands, communities assert that the situation has worsened as a result of climate change.

Climate change has led to reduced productivity of both livestock and crops. According to a woman participant in a FGD in Dimeka, South Omo:

“As the seasons have become drier, the pasture and water have also become scarce, resulting in reduced milk production by our animals, which has adversely affected our nutrition and household incomes adding more pressure on us to try and survive.”³³

Climate change has brought in its wake new threats to agriculture and livestock production. In recent years, desert locusts and fall armyworm have decimated

crops and vegetation all over the Karamoja Cluster. In South Omo, fall armyworm was reported to have undermined and reversed investments in diversification, devastating crops just when the uptake of maize production was picking up.

Pastoralists also report more frequent outbreaks of animal diseases, which are compounded by the fact that animals are weak due to lack of pasture and water and are therefore more susceptible to infection. Foot-and-mouth disease, which is ordinarily endemic to wet areas, is now reported to be common in Karamoja. Animal disease outbreaks lead to quarantine, which affects livestock markets with negative impacts on livelihoods and food security.

The impact of conflict on livelihoods has a direct bearing on climate change. As conflict has undermined the livestock economy, many pastoralists have resorted to selling firewood and burning charcoal to generate income. In Kotido, the study team was informed that well over 300 families in Taranganya and Lapole were engaged in charcoal burning “as their sole source of livelihoods” and that this was driving rangelands degradation.³⁴ In South Omo, the team observed stacks of firewood and sacks of charcoal on the roadside and confirmed that households increasingly depend on charcoal burning as a source of income.

Women bear a disproportionate share of the impact of the interaction between conflict and climate change as they make greater use of the natural resource base to deliver on their roles in ensuring food for their families and in constructing houses. These roles are made much more complicated as a result of climate change and the degradation of the rangelands.

Displacement and migration

Conflict induces displacement and migration in the Karamoja Cluster both directly and indirectly. Directly, forced displacement occurs when communities relocate to flee conflict and insecurity. At an FGD in Moroto, the study team was informed that the Pokot fled to Pian in Nakapiripit in search of safety.³⁵ There were reports of some members of the Matheniko community having been displaced to Turkana due to attacks by the Jie, while others from Lokisilei were forced to move to Rupa and Nadunget to flee from attacks by the Jie and Bokora.³⁶ In Kotido, the team learned that over 2 000 women had been displaced to Acholi in search of safety and food, many of them

³¹ FGD at Nakoringomo Village, Kapoeta South, 1 December 2021.

³² FGD, Dimeka, 7 March 2022.

³³ FGD with men and women at Dimeka Woreda, 8 March 2022.

³⁴ FGD at KAPES Ministry, 19 January 2022.

³⁵ FGD at KADP offices, 17 January 2022.

³⁶ FGD at RUCODET offices, 17 January 2022.

having lost their husbands in raids.³⁷

Voluntary migration involves mostly young people moving to urban centres to flee conflict and to seek better economic opportunities. In both Moroto³⁸ and Kotido,³⁹ respondents reported that due to conflict, food insecurity and lack of opportunities in the area, young men and women have migrated to urban centres in Uganda and as far as Kenya, where many of them end up in menial jobs as guards and housemaids respectively. Even women were reported to be leaving the kraals and taking up hawking in marketplaces to fend for their families.

Development-induced displacement is common across the Karamoja Cluster. Discovery of mineral and oil deposits in parts of the Cluster have resulted in alienation of large chunks of communal lands, which communities can no longer access to support their livelihoods. In Karamoja, the study team heard of land grabbing by mining companies and certain government agencies in the aftermath of the disarmament that brought 10 years of peace to the region. Communities were reportedly displaced for the expansion of Namalu Prison Farm, the establishment of an Industrial Park in Moroto District and to facilitate mining operations.

4.7. Challenges, lessons learned and gaps for further research

The challenge of conflict management and peacebuilding in the Karamoja Cluster is an enormous one. It is a challenge that has no easy answers, as is evident from the fact that it continues to persist despite many years of programming and huge investments. It is important to reflect on the enormity of the challenge and lessons that have been learned from programmes. It is also important to appreciate that while there are common challenges that apply to the entire Cluster, there are challenges that are specific to certain areas, and which are defined by local environmental, economic and political realities and contexts.

The main challenge to addressing resource-based conflict in the Karamoja Cluster is its complexity in terms of causes and actors. To many outsiders, cattle raiding is the face of conflict in the Cluster and embodies its cultural antecedents. But today, cattle raiding has evolved to the extent that it bears little resemblance to what happened in traditional pastoralism. Indeed, it is no longer a cultural practice, but rather a means for unemployed youth to generate

income and for entrepreneurs to make profit. In Kapoeta, Moroto and Kotido, the study team were informed by diverse groups of respondents that unemployed school drop-outs form themselves into gangs that engage in alcohol abuse and organize cattle raids and other forms of theft “even for purposes of getting money so as to clear their bar debts”.⁴⁰ In these circumstances, measures aimed at transforming the conflict situation must include structural reforms that address youth unemployment and strengthen policing and administration of justice.

The challenges of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster have persisted despite huge investments and a large number of actors. Communities complain of a lack of coordination among the many actors and about projects being implemented without adequate consultation with them about their priorities. They contend that this is the reason many projects and interventions have little or no impact on the ground. At an FGD with men in Rupa Subcounty in Moroto, the respondents complained that interventions by NGOs working in the area are disempowering communities and undermining their resilience. As one respondent put it:

“They give communities cash for work at times when people should be busy preparing gardens for cropping, thus drawing people away from producing their own food. And every NGO here supports people to form groups to which they distribute vegetable seeds, but these are not our priorities. What we need is support to strengthen skills that enable us to survive on our own using our own tried and tested livelihood strategies.”⁴¹

The challenge of coordination is underpinned by the spatial spread of the Karamoja Cluster, the multiplicity of actors, the diversity of local contexts and the cross-border dimension. Cross-border coordination is particularly difficult given the diversity of governance and policy contexts across the countries of the region. The vastness of the Cluster and diversity of local contexts pose a challenge to approaches and scaling of interventions, creating the need for a balance between the specific and the general. On the one hand, interventions need to be sufficiently aligned to local realities to respond to them. On the other hand, they need to be scaled at a level that ensures adequate impact.

The diversity of institutional and policy arrangements in the four countries creates its own challenge to the programming of interventions. The context in

³⁷ FGD at KAPES Ministry offices, Kotido, 17 January 2022.

³⁸ KII at Mercy Corps office, Moroto, 19 January 2022.

³⁹ KII at the office of the Chief Administration Officer (CAO), Kotido District Local Government, and Caritas Office, 18 January 2022.

⁴⁰ Respondent at FGD with men in Rupa, 18 January 2022.

⁴¹ An elder at FGD with men in Rupa, 18 January 2022.



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the Cluster is characterized by layers of institutions, policies and mandates, some complementary and others pulling in different directions. Although forms of decentralization and devolution exist in all the four countries, structures of governance and the balance of power and authority between local governments at the conflict sites and central governments in the capital cities vary in significant ways. The study team found that some of these differences play out in cross-border meetings with adverse consequences. For instance, officials in Uganda complain about “kraal leaders from Kenya being sent to deliberate on peace with a Resident District Commissioner”,⁴² while Kenyan officials complain about the involvement of four-star generals in peace meetings, which for Kenya are mediated by civil servants.⁴³ These protocol and bureaucratic dynamics may complicate decision-making processes and hinder effective implementation and follow up. There is a need for IGAD to assist the countries in addressing such challenges to ensure effective cross-border coordination of policies and programmes.

Lessons learned

A major lesson for programming to address resource-based conflict in the Karamoja Cluster is the need to appreciate that while communities in the Cluster share many characteristics and face many similar challenges,

the scope and opportunities available for responding to conflict can vary substantially across the landscape. This means that innovations and good practices need to be adapted to the circumstances and realities of specific locations if they are to have lasting impact. Many development partners make the mistake of seeking to transfer approaches and innovations from one locality to another on the assumption that what works in one area will work in another just because the communities are similar and face the same challenges.

In Dimeka, the community narrated how an African Development Bank-funded (AfDB) project facilitated members of a community’s experience-sharing visit to Borena for the Hamar to learn how Borena communities manage their natural resources. The members of the Hamar community were impressed by the impact of the natural resource practices they saw in Borena, and on return sought to implement the same in their locality. However, it soon became clear that the approaches were not appropriate or sustainable in Dimeka which, unlike Borena, is situated in the highlands. Unlike the situation in Borena where water is available from springs, the Hamar would need substantial investments in deep wells infrastructure to access water. Thus, innovations in climate smart agriculture that apply in Borena will not apply in Dimeka in the same way.

⁴² FGD with district officials, Kotido RDC's office, 19 January 2022.

⁴³ Interview with County Commissioner, Turkana, 7 December 2021.

Interventions for conflict transformation can either directly target conflict management – strengthening institutional arrangements, improving capacities for operational efficiency, etc. – or contribute to improving productive opportunities for pastoralist communities. Intervention should be strategically targeted to ensure appropriate actions at community, subnational, national and regional (cross-border) levels.

A major lesson learned with respect to community-level interventions is the need to include women and youth in conflict management and peacebuilding initiatives. At the time of the field visit to South Omo, the community had enjoyed 10 months of uninterrupted peace between the Nyangatom and the Turkana. The youth were reported to have played key roles in building and sustaining the peace by actively engaging in negotiations between the two communities and enforcing agreed sanctions and penalties against those who engage in cattle raids.

At the national level, the key lesson learned with respect to conflict management and peacebuilding is the importance of effective national policy and institutional frameworks for peacebuilding. The Policy for Peace and Security in Ethiopia offers useful lessons for other countries on how to foster peace by investing in post-conflict activities. The experience of Kenya with its National Policy for Peacebuilding and Conflict Management offers lessons on the amount of time that ought to be invested in developing a peace policy (Government of Kenya. 2014). South Sudan was in the process of finalizing its Peace Policy at the time of the field visits to Juba and Kapoeta. The importance of a policy is that it provides a framework for coordination of different actors to a common objective and establishes structures and procedures for such coordination. Peace policies of countries in the Karamoja Cluster should recognize and integrate cross-border dimensions of peacebuilding.

The following key lessons have been learned with regards to regional-level programming:

1. Establishing appropriate facilities and markets at border points facilitates cross-border trade and enables communities to engage in productive interactions that strengthen relationships. The one-stop border post at Moyale on the border between Kenya and Ethiopia is reported to have

had just this kind of impact, enabling orderly and peaceful interaction with children crossing from Ethiopia to go to school in Kenya and vice versa. Border markets at Kibish on the Ethiopia/Kenya border and Lokirrama on the Kenya/Uganda border have promoted interactions between the border communities and cemented relations, reducing threats of conflict. Trade between the Dasenach and Turkana through the market at Kibish is credited with enabling peace between the two communities, evidenced by the fact that at the time of the study, there had been no conflict between the two communities for 10 months. At Lokirrama a thriving livestock market has emerged, attracting traders from Moroto, Kotido, Turkana and West Pokot.

2. The cross-border spatial spread of the Karamoja Cluster calls for a regional approach to addressing conflict. Regional frameworks such as IGAD can effectively facilitate mobilization of political will and commitment at the highest levels of government to create enabling environments for sustainable solutions. Bilateral agreements such as exist between Kenya and Ethiopia and between Kenya and Uganda are critical for enabling effective cross-border coordination of interventions to address conflict. However, for regional commitments and bilateral agreements to work, they must be followed up by concrete programming that incorporates all major stakeholders including communities and non-state actors.

3. Social and cultural events that bring together cross-border communities provide opportunities as well as a forum for them to celebrate and assert their common heritage, identify their shared opportunities and challenges, and agree on strategies to promote cross-border collaboration and peaceful coexistence. The annual Tobong'u Lore Festival⁴⁴ provides a fitting framework on which to build, with a focus on peace and development.

4. It is important to organize events to commemorate cross-border peace treaties and to celebrate their impact in enhancing peaceful co-existence. Communities on both sides of the Kenya/Uganda border expressed disappointment at the failure of authorities to organize celebrations to commemorate the Lokirrama Peace Accord.

⁴⁴ An annual cultural event hosted by Turkana County Government to celebrate cultural diversity and promote peace, it brings together the greater Ateker from the entire Karamoja Cluster.



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5. Conclusions and recommendations

This report presents the findings of a study on conflict in the Karamoja Cluster. The study, commissioned by FAO, IGAD-CEWARN, IGAD-CBDFU and Interpeace was undertaken between November 2021 and April 2022. It sought to analyse conflict dynamics with a view to recommending strategies for programming that will address the root causes of conflict in the Cluster to strengthen food and nutrition security, stem the tide of displacement and migration, and enhance the capacity of communities to adapt to climate change.

The report has reviewed the context of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster, analysed the dynamics of conflict and peace, considered the interactions between conflict and food security, climate change, displacement and migration, assessed resilience factors that enable communities to cope and examined the policy and institutional issues that influence conflict and peace. It makes the following conclusions on the major issues that it explored:

1. The general context of conflict in the Karamoja Cluster is defined largely by the challenges of practising pastoralism and agropastoralism in an arid and semi-arid landscape that extends across national borders.
2. The dynamics of conflict and peace in the Cluster are shaped by the social, cultural and historical ties that link the communities of the Karamoja Cluster, many of which are found on both sides of national borders and whose interactions and sharing of resources predate the establishment of the states of the region and the fixing of their borders.
3. There are correlations between conflict on the one hand and food security, climate change, displacement and migration on the other hand. Conflict shapes the opportunities and challenges of food security, climate change, displacement and migration. At the same time, food security, climate change, displacement and migration drive conflict.
4. Communities living in the Karamoja Cluster have over time identified resilience factors – such as diversification of livelihoods, negotiating peace agreements and migration – that enable them to survive and get on with their lives in the

midst of the conflict situation. Such resilience factors constitute important entry points for programming to address conflict in the region.

5. National policy and institutional contexts prevailing in the four Karamoja Cluster countries play a critical role in shaping both opportunities and challenges to cross-border conflict management and peacebuilding. The need for the effective regional coordination of policies, actors and interventions cannot be overstated.

The study makes the following recommendations for programming of interventions in support of cross-border conflict management and peacebuilding in the Karamoja Cluster:

- a. **Strengthen coordination of policies, programmes and actors** on cross-border conflict management and peacebuilding for more efficient prioritization and scaling of interventions. In this connection:
 - i. Map and review national and regional policies and institutional arrangements for cross-border conflict management and peacebuilding in the Karamoja Cluster to identify opportunities, challenges, gaps and lessons in good practice.
 - ii. Map ongoing programmes and projects on cross-border conflict management and peacebuilding in the Karamoja Cluster, assess the extent to which they are complementary or divergent and identify opportunities, challenges and key lessons for better programming.
 - iii. In partnership with IGAD and the four Karamoja Cluster countries, convene a regional forum on lessons learned, opportunities and challenges to conflict management and peacebuilding in the Karamoja Cluster to agree strategies for better programming.
- b. **Support and facilitate traditional cross-border resource sharing and peacebuilding initiatives** in the Karamoja Cluster. In this connection:
 - i. Review existing cross-border resource

sharing agreements and other peacebuilding initiatives negotiated by communities through their traditional institutions and assess their effectiveness, opportunities and challenges to identify lessons in good practice as well as gaps.

- ii. Support the convening of a regional forum on cross-border resource sharing agreements and peacebuilding initiatives, bringing together traditional and formal institutions and development partners to agree strategies for the effective implementation of the agreements and initiatives.
- iii. Develop a programme for strengthening the implementation of cross-border resource sharing agreements in partnership with IGAD and the four Karamoja Cluster countries.
- iv. Establish shared resources such as dams, markets, schools and health centres along national borders to spur productive cross-border interactions between communities.

c. **Support updated mapping of cross-border**

conflict hotspots, lines of conflict and alliances to provide a basis for the programming of interventions for conflict management and peacebuilding. In this connection:

- i. Review existing maps of cross-border conflict hotspots, lines of conflict and alliances in the Karamoja Cluster with a view to identifying gaps.
- ii. Facilitate an updated digitized mapping of Karamoja Cluster cross-border conflict hotspots, lines of conflict and alliances.
- iii. In partnership with the IGAD Centre for Pastoral Areas and Livestock Development (ICPALD) and the four Karamoja Cluster countries, convene a forum of relevant leaders and sector specialists to disseminate the updated map(s) and agree strategies for collaboration on conflict management and peacebuilding in the identified hotspots.
- d. **Support the effective implementation of the IGAD Protocol on Transhumance** as a means of regulating cross-border pastoralist mobility to avoid conflict. In this connection:

- i. In partnership with ICPALD, map ongoing initiatives within the Karamoja Cluster in



support of the implementation of the IGAD Protocol on Transhumance and identify actors involved in those initiatives.

- ii. In partnership with ICPALD, convene a meeting of local government leaders and relevant sector specialists from border districts/counties/woredas/states in the four Karamoja Cluster countries to deliberate on the opportunities and challenges to implementation of the IGAD Protocol on Transhumance and to agree strategies for collaborating in its implementation.
 - iii. In partnership with ICPALD and the governments of the four Karamoja Cluster countries, organize an exchange visit for relevant officers and staff to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and its Member States to share experiences in the implementation of a protocol on cross-border pastoralist mobility.
- e. **Develop a comprehensive, multi-year programme on conflict management and peacebuilding** that integrates conflict and gender-sensitive programming approaches and defines interventions to address food insecurity,

mainstream climate change adaptation and respond to the realities of displacement and migration in the Karamoja Cluster. In this connection:

- i. Facilitate the mapping of programmes, projects and actors that work at the interface between conflict and food security, climate change, and displacement and migration in the Karamoja Cluster.
- ii. Convene a regional forum for relevant state and non-state actors to review experiences and lessons learned from working at the interface between conflict and food security, climate change, and displacement and migration, and to identify strategies for better programming.
- iii. Develop a bankable funding proposal for a programme on conflict management and peacebuilding in the Karamoja Cluster that integrates interventions to promote food security and climate change adaptation and address challenges of displacement and migration.



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Annex 1

Persons interviewed (in order of country visits)

South Sudan		Interviewer(s)/Lead(s)
KIIs Juba		Michael Odhiambo, William Mading Juach, Kathryn Langat
1. John Christopher Jagu, Head, Humanitarian Affairs and Conflict Studies, Institute of Peace and Development Studies, University of Juba 2. Ding Kwir, Research Advisor, Conflict Sensitivity Resource Centre (CSRC) 3. Robert Lewis, Learning Advisor, CSRC		
KIIs Kapoeta		Dr Kathryn Langat, Hassan Ismail, Epone Emmanuel, Bettie Atyam and William Mading s
1. Angelo Romini, County Commissioner, Kapoeta North 2. Juma Justin, County Executive Director, Kapoeta North 3. Lemma Seifegebral, Head, FAO Field Office, Kapoeta		
FGD 1: Ministry of Peacebuilding and Conflict Management, Juba		Michael Odhiambo, Bettie Atyam, William Mading Juach
1. Pia Philip Michael, Undersecretary, Ministry of Peacebuilding, RSS 2. Anthony Angu, Ministry of Peacebuilding 3. Abraham Deng, Director for Coordination, Ministry of Peacebuilding and Conflict Management 4. Martin Mamuot, Director for Administration, Ministry of Peacebuilding and Conflict Management 5. Elizabeth Demagish, Advisor, Ministry of Peacebuilding and Conflict Management		
FGD 2: State Ministry of Agriculture, Eastern Equatoria State, Kapoeta		Michael Odhiambo
1. Jino Odu Mark, Assistant Director, Crop Production, State Ministry of Agriculture, Kapoeta 2. Jacob Owotia, Director of Agriculture, State Ministry of Agriculture, Kapoeta 3. Roman Doka, Coordinator, State Ministry of Agriculture, Kapoeta		
FGD 3: Nyakiriket Consortium Office, Kapoeta		Michael Odhiambo, William Mading Juach, Bettie Atyam
1. Lopaka Maxwell, Nyakiriket Consortium 2. Clement Boys 3. Peter Lokwang 4. Juliet Nakai		
FGD 4: Elders and Youth, Paringa Payam, Kapoeta North	18 participants, all men	Dr Kathryn Langat, Hassan Ismail and Epone Emmanuel
FGD 5: Women, Paringa Payam, Kapoeta North	12 participants (3 elderly women, 9 young mothers)	
FGD 6: Staff of Catholic Relief Services (CRS)		Dr Kathryn Langat
1. Ekidor Joseph, in charge: Silk Saving Internal Lending Cooperative 2. Lam Paskal, in charge: Livestock Development 3. Ladima, in charge: Agriculture 4. David Oriema Lolan, Project Officer, Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR)		
FGD 7: Nakoringomo Village, Kapoeta South	36 participants (27 female; 9 male)	Bettie Atyam, Joyce Lolibae , William Mading Juach

FGD 8: Women's Centre, Kapoeta South	Bettie Atyam
15 women in attendance	
Uganda	
KIIs Moroto	
1. Vincent Lomunia, Field Coordinator, KRSU 2. Sulayman Bagaya, Programmes Manager, Mercy Corps 3. Kotol Denis Rex, Senior Technical Advisor, EKISIL Project, Mercy Corps 4. Emmanuel Okwerede, Peace Building Officer, Mercy Corps	Dr Kathryn Langat, Dominic Kathiya, Hassan Ismail, Edith Isingoma, Florence Kirabira
KIIs Amudat	
1. Mesel Fitsum, Livelihoods Advisor, ZOA 2. Martin Etolu, Programme Advisor, ZOA 3. James Loporon, Programme Coordinator, Mercy Corps	Dr Kathryn Langat
KIIs Kotido	
1. Igena Anne, Assistant CAO, Kotido District Local Government 2. Dr Lachap Paul, Executive Director, CARITAS 3. Milton Lopera, Director, Warrior Squad 4. Romano Longole, Coordinator, KOPEIN	Kathiya Dominic, Edith Isingoma, Michael Odhiambo, Sunday Okello, Bettie Atyam
FGD 1: With men in Rupa Subcounty	Bettie Atyam
21 participants – kraal leaders, elders and youth	
FGD 2: Women in Rupa Subcounty	Bettie Atyam
18 participants	
FGD 3: Staff and members of Rupa Community Development Trust (RUCODET)	Bettie Atyam
5 participants (1 woman, 4 men)	
FGD 4: Staff of KADP, Moroto	Bettie Atyam
1. Abura Stephen, Programme Manager 2. Abura Margaret, Farmer Field School and Watershed Management Specialist 3. Richard Putany, Accountant	
FGD 5: Staff of GIZ Technical Cooperation Facility, Moroto	Dr Kathryn Langat
7 participants (2 women, 5 men)	
FGD 6: Tepeth Community, Mt. Moroto	
7 participants (2 women, 5 men)	
FGD 7: With District Officials	Sunday Okello, Bettie Atyam
5 participants (all men)	
FGD 8: Karamoja Peace and Environment Services (KAPES) Ministry, Kotido	Kathiya Dominic, Edith Isingoma, Bettie Atyam
10 participants (7 men, 3 women)	
FGD 9: Community at Panyangara, Kotido	Michael Odhiambo, Dominic Kathiya, Bettie Atyam
13 participants (4 women, 9 men)	
FGD 10: Amudat Security Team	Dr Kathryn Langat, Paul Opio, Florence Kirabira
14 participants (2 women, 12 men)	

Kenya

KIIs Lodwar and Kakuma	Sunday Okello, Paul Mutungi, Edith Isingoma, Dan Irura, Kathiya Dominic, Bettie Atyam, Michael Odhiambo
1. Patrick Mwenja, Manager, Kenya Forestry Research Institute – Lodwar Office	
2. Stephen Emojong, Deputy County Commissioner, Turkana West	
3. Dennis Musioma, National Drought Management Authority (NDMA) County Director of Livestock, Turkana	
4. Bobi Ewoi Ekadon, County Director of Livestock Management	
5. Susan Ouko, Ag. Dean, School of Adult Education and Social Science, Turkana University	
6. Dr Tioko Logiron, Chairman, Department of Development Studies and Social Work	
7. Joseph Imuton, Head of Programmes, Sustainable Approaches to Community Empowerment (SAPCONE)	
8. Achelei Peter, Peace Coordinator, SAPCONE	
9. Joshua Napoco, Subcounty Administrator, Turkana West	
10. Philip Natapar, Deputy Subcounty Administrator, Turkana West	
11. Tioko L. Sammy, Chief, Lokiriama Location	
FGD 1: CSO representatives at LOKADO offices, Kakuma	
11 participants (10 men, 1 woman)	
FGD 2: Women at Lokiriama Centre, Loima	Bettie Atyam, Edith Isingoma, Daniel Irura
10 participants	
Debrief meeting	
Muthama Wambua, County Commissioner, Turkana County	Sunday Okello, Paul Mutungi

Ethiopia

KIIs Dimeka and Kangaten	
1. Taye Lowoyo, Deputy Administrator, Dimeka District	Abdurahman Mohammed, James Bwirani, Dr Gezahegn Aboset
2. Gello, Peace and Security Officer, Dimeka Woreda	
3. Murule Lokanyang, Deputy Chief Administrator and Woreda Head of Peace and Security, Nyangatom Woreda	
FGD 1: Mixed group, Beshala Kebele	Abdurahman Mohammed, James Bwirani, Dr Gezahegn Aboset
20 participants (10 men, 6 women, 4 boys)	
FGD 2: Mixed group, Asile Kebele	
31 participants (15 men, 6 women, 10 boys)	
FGD 3: Mixed group, Lobite Kebele, Omorate	Yacob Chaka, Paul Opio, Bettie Atyam
50 participants (30 men, 20 women)	
FGD 4: Mixed group, Kangaten Town, Nyangatom	Sunday Okello, Edith Isingoma, Michael Odhiambo, Dereje Asaminew
14 participants (12 men, 2 women)	
FGD 5: With women in Lobite Kebele, Omorate	Bettie Atyam, Hiwot Ayalew
24 participants	
Debrief meetings	Yacob Chaka, Paul Opio, Dereje Asaminew, Sunday Okello, Edith Isingoma, Bettie Atyam, James Bwirani, Michael Odhiambo
1. Mamo Tega Bobeto, Deputy Bureau Head, Hawassa Zone	
2. Lore Kakuta, Deputy Pastoral Affairs Bureau Head, Hawassa Zone	
3. Amigra, Bureau Head for Agriculture	
4. Fatuma Said, FAOR, Ethiopia	

Annex 2A

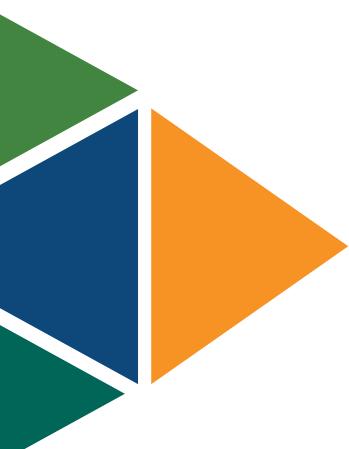
Issues canvassed in key informant interviews

ISSUE	INFORMATION/DATA SOUGHT
1. General context	Population, ethnicity, livelihood, gender roles.
2. Peace and conflict dynamics	Conflict typologies, causes, peace structure, gender roles in peacebuilding and conflict management.
3. Conflict-food security interface	Number of food insecure, food security situation, food aid/assistance, coping mechanisms, links between conflict shocks and food insecurity, comparison between conflict and food security in terms of severity, population groups most at risk of food insecurity, cross-border food trade.
4. Climate change links to conflict and food (in)security	Water sources, relationship between climate/weather events and conflict, impact of climate change on food production capacity and migration patterns, impact of climate change on food prices.
5. Migration, displacement and their impacts on conflict and food security	Whether there are internally displaced people and refugees in the area; what makes them relocate to the area, number of people who have migrated to escape conflict or climate change impacts.
6. Resilience factors that prevent conflict, climate change and food insecurity from getting worse	How community copes with food insecurity, adverse impacts of climate change and conflict.
7. Conflict-sensitive programming	Extent to which development partners in the area apply conflict-sensitive programming in the design and implementation of projects addressing food security, climate change and migration.
8. Policy and institutional issues	What policies and institutional arrangements exist within national and subnational government to address conflict, displacement, climate change and food insecurity in the area; how successful are the initiatives; what challenges do they face; what lessons have been learned in implementing them; any cross-border initiatives active in the area?

Annex 2B

Issues canvassed in focus group discussions

ISSUE	INFORMATION/DATA SOUGHT
1. General context	Predominant ethnic group, dominant livelihood, gender roles in livelihoods.
2. Peace and conflict dynamics	Conflict issues, causes, drivers, triggers, actors, stakeholders and their influences, role of diaspora, impacts on different population groups/gender, trends in recent years, outlook; structures for peacebuilding and conflict management, peace actors, capacities; opportunities and challenges, incentives and disincentives to peacebuilding; political will for peace among conflicting parties.
3. Conflict-food security interface	Household food security situation – whether conflict has led to food insecurity, displacement, migration, malnutrition; existence of projects to improve food security (identify them); gender differences in impact of food insecurity; how household food security is influenced by external factors.
4. Climate change links to conflict and food (in)security	Perceptions of climate change in area; how climate change has affected pastoralism, farming and food security; how climate change affected household food production in the last three years.
5. Migration, displacement and their impacts on conflict and food security	Any groups displaced from community due to conflict, food insecurity, climate stress, and how this has affected peace dynamics; existence of social structures that regulate access to resources in community; any state policies, programmes supporting migration for better livelihoods.
6. Resilience factors that prevent conflict, climate change and food insecurity from getting worse	How households and communities cope with conflict, climate change and food insecurity.
7. Lessons learned on coping mechanisms and gaps for further research	What can be learned from coping strategies; how can factors that cause conflicts and block effective cooperation be streamlined; lessons from existing initiatives on conflict prevention/management, climate change adaptation, improving food security, managing and reducing displacement and illegal migration; roles and entry points for development partners for linking conflict, migration, climate change and development in ensuring complementarity; how to support transformative actions for agriculture, food and nutrition security that are also migration- and conflict-sensitive.



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