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INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESOURCE BASED CONFLICTS
AMONG THE KARAMOJA CLUSTER GROUP OF THE EASTERN AFRICA REGION.**

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been submitted for any degree to any other university.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my family who encouraged me to pursue this Master's degree. I also dedicate it to the Almighty God for his abundance strength.

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ABSTRACT

This study is an ethnography which examines the resource based conflict among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa who are pastoralist by way of life and therefore share a common culture. The Karamoja people are found in four nation states of Eastern Africa; north- western Kenya, north eastern-Uganda, south western-Ethiopia and south eastern Sudan. Conflict over scarce resources especially water, grazing pasture, cattle rustling occurs mainly when there is drought hence everyone wants to access, control and exploit what is available leading to competition. The illegal ownership of gun is also a source of conflict in one way or the other because these people perceive that having the weapons assures one of protection especially during cattle rustling whereby the raided animals are then used in the payment of dowry or commercialized in exchange of money or guns since the more the guns one have in this community, the more prestigious he or she is. Finally the approaches used in the management of these conflicts include the use of traditional courts and other conventional approaches which the researcher observed that they are not effective in the long run due to weakened traditional mechanisms and lack of adherence by the community to what has been passed so that peace and security is achieved all round. The study used both secondary and primary data but explorative method was mostly applied because through it the researcher was in a position to find out how these people survive in the arid and semi-arid karamoja cluster and the issues affecting them to hence conflicts. Target groups were the pastoralists themselves, clan elders, non-governmental organizations and the academicians. Sample size and sampling involved use of the standard deviation formula by Mugenda for population of more than 10,000 people hence total 384 respondents. The method of sampling varied depending on the target group as a result both probability and non-probability approach was applied while tools for data collection were both open and closed ended questionnaires and focus group discussions. The study ends with discussing the findings, conclusion and recommendations.

ABBREVIATIONS

AK47:	Automatic Kalashnikov
ATT:	Arms Trade Treaty
DCA:	DanChurchAid
EAPCCO:	Eastern Africa Police Chief Cooperation Organization
GSU:	General Service Unit
HIV/AIDS:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IGAD:	Intergovernmental Authority for Development
INGOs:	International Non-Government Organizations
KDF:	Kenya Defence Forces
LDUs:	Local Defense Forces
MoU:	Memorandum of Understanding
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organizations
OSCE:	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OSCE:	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
SALW:	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SDGs:	Sustainable Development Goals
TUPADO:	Turkana Pastoralists Development Organization in Kenya
UN:	United Nations
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNEC:	United Nations Economic Commission
UNSC:	United Nations Security Council
UNTOC:	United Nations Conventions against Transnational Organized Crime
UPDF:	Uganda Peoples Defense Force
WMD:	Weapons of Mass Destruction

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the study

This study examines the implications of resource based conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group of the Eastern Africa. The study explores the effects of competition over the shared scarce natural resources in terms of pasture, water and land which lead to the struggle over ownership, control and access to the resources. Moreover it aims to find out the nexus between resource based conflicts and gun culture among the Karamoja cluster group. The third objective provides empirical literature on the approaches used in the management of these conflicts. The study therefore provides the background of the study, statement of problem, research objectives, research questions, justification of the study, the empirical literature review and research methodology.

1.2 Background

According to the United Nations report of 2005 on the pastoralists', it highlights that conflicts have been witnessed globally between countries, regions and even at international levels like the scramble for Africa by the European countries. From this point of view, one can argue that some conflicts in Africa are due to competition over nonrenewable natural resources such as raw materials for their industries, land, water, oil, forests, gold and many others especially in the west and central Africa.¹ Moreover, the United States Aid Baseline report of 2005 conducted among the Karamoja cluster of Kenya and Uganda reported that pastoralists conflicting within the

¹ Mattysen, Ken, Et Al., Eds 2010. The Karamoja Cluster of Eastern Africa; Arms Transfer and Their Repercussions on Communal Security Perception. Antwerp; International Peace Information Service Vzw, Chicago: Transarms – Research. December

greater Horn of Africa occurs mainly in arid and semi-arid areas and are thus principally resource-based conflicts revolving around livestock.²

The incompatibility of interests between or among parties may arise because of the different perceptions, goals, and ideas over resources and the interference from each other over the use of available resources. Despite the negative effects of conflict, Mwagiru argues that conflict also has importance in the society because if there is no conflict, the society will be stale and sterile in that conflict is inevitable but if well managed, it serves an essential purpose of warning when things are going wrong in regards to the unity of the society. Conflict can be identified in the society by looking at its history, identifying the epicenter and emerging real issues.³

Therefore, natural resources in the Eastern part of Africa are seen to be in plenty and they include the forests, land, lakes, energy, flora, fauna and other minerals such as crude oil, gold and gas that have been discovered. As a result, natural resources are a major cause of conflict when poorly managed, distributed or controlled in an unfair or unequal manner. It can also be a source of conflict because of the different interests being pursued by different people and when they disagree it results into a dispute.⁴

This study as a result focuses on the Karamoja cluster group of people who are agro-pastoral herders. This means that they are farmers who mainly rear domestic animals, fed on crop residues and field by-products for a significant period of time, furthermore they use natural

² *ibid*

³ Professor Mwagiru Mukumi. "Environmental conflict management in the horn of Africa. The experience of Kenya", 1996

⁴Pastoral Land Tenure in Kenya: Maasai, Samburu, Boran, and Rendile Experiences 1950-1990. *Nomadic Peoples*34/35: 55-67.

pastures and sometimes they migrate occasionally; or are nomads who practice random agriculture when the raining period is on. They live along the border between south-western Ethiopia, north-western Kenya, south-eastern Sudan and north-eastern Uganda. A good number of them are Nilotes by origin and they constitute of a population of around 14 pastoral tribes who share a common culture.⁵ Those of Kenya include the Turkana; Uganda (Karamajong) includes the Dodoth, Jie, Matheniko, Bokora, Pien, Tepeth, Upe, and the Teso; Southern Sudan includes; Jiye, Diding and Toposa; Ethiopia includes; Merille, Degodia and Nyangatom. The name Karamajong is said to have originated from phrase “ekar ngimojong” which means the old men cannot walk past where they have reached. Rainfall is unpredictable in among this cluster hence drought and animal diseases become common when these happens, it results in food insecurity. Their main livelihood activity is herding livestock with cattle raids being perceived as their tradition which has a social and cultural importance.⁶

Karamoja people derive their income mainly from grazing pastures, water, livestock, natural vegetation and many more hence any hindrance to access, control and exploitation of the fundamental resources escalate into violence that emanates to conflict in the long run. This study therefore focuses on the resource based conflicts among the Karamoja with an emphasis on the shared water, land, livestock raiding and the implications of illegal ownership of guns.

The Eastern Africa region has also a problem of illegal acquisition of weapons which can also be referred to as the gun culture due to the porous borders. The Karamoja use the guns in inter clan and cross border cattle or livestock rustling and they argue that livestock is their way of life

⁵ibid

⁶ Dyson-Hudson, Niville (1966), Karamojong Politics, Clarendon Press, Oxford

whereby for men to pay dowry they need cattle. They also perceive that ownership of guns is for the sake of protecting themselves from their neighbors and restoring or getting property from other nation states and within in terms of raiding. This has made raids become more violent due to acquisition of Automatic Kalashnikov (AK47s) among the cluster. The easy acquisition and relatively low cost of weapons enables the pastoral communities to guarantee a sustained market hence continued tension within pastoral communities. The small arms also contribute to increase in crime and violence hence instability in cities of the nation states involved.⁷

There was an endeavor by the Ugandan government to disarm the Karamajong but the deal was perceived not to be good because the government was not ready to pay the needed number of cattle in exchange for the guns. These small and light weapons are perceived to be coming through the porous borders of Somalia and Sudan due to their high level of instability in their nation state to the Karamoja cluster group.

1.3 Statement of Problem.

The competition over shared scarce resources among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa is seen to be persistent and hence the major trigger of conflict in the region. This is due to their way of life as nomads, negative effects of climate change, inequitable distribution of resources, increase in population, the illegal acquisition of weapons (gun culture) by the pastoralists and even the continued marginalization of this cluster group. This has affected the society because it has resulted into violence among the pastoralists over access, control and

⁷ Kees Kingmma et al. Security Provision and Small Arms in Karamoja: A Survey of Perceptions. Small Arms Survey Special Report No.17. September 2012.

exploitation of the grazing land and water for themselves and their animals and even raids which motivates them to acquire guns illegally as a form of protection.

When resources depreciate in volume due to drought which is seasonal, pollution, or human activities in general, the pastoralists in the region move in search of the food which results to fights over the little water and pastures that is available in the host country.⁸

This study therefore seeks to find out why the problem of conflict over resources among the Karamoja cluster group are recurrent despite the massive resources, mechanisms and strategies that different institutions and governments have invested in to enhance peace and security in the community. It also seeks to find out why the management of these conflicts are not effective in the long run. The governments should therefore take an initiative of educating the Karamoja cluster group which is marginalized on how to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts associated with resources such as water, grass and minerals.⁹ Moreover, the Karamoja should be aware of the other sources of livelihood apart from being pastoralists. For example, keeping forage and fodder which should be used during the drought season and generally getting education so that the impacts of conflicts are reduced and peace-building mechanisms upheld hence sustainable development¹⁰.

⁸ *ibid*

⁹ Spencer, Paul (1998), *the Pastoral Continuum: The Marginalization of Tradition in East Africa*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (Pp. 99-119)

¹⁰ Homer-Dixon, T. (1994). "Environmental Scarcities And Violent Conflict: Evidence From Cases." *International Security*, Vol. 19, No.1 (Summer 1994), Pp. 5-40.

1.4 Study objective

1.4.1 Research questions

- i. What is the impact of competition over shared scarce resource conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa?
- ii. What is the nexus between resources based conflicts and gun culture among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa?
- iii. How are the resource based conflicts managed among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa?

1.4.2 Main objective

The main objective is to assess the implication of the resources based conflicts in the Eastern Africa with Karamoja cluster group as the ethnography.

1.4.3 Specific objectives

- i. To analyze the effects of competition over the shared scarce resources and conflicts among the Karamoja of Eastern Africa region.
- ii. To explore the nexus between resources based conflicts and gun culture among the Karamoja of Eastern Africa region.
- iii. To examine the approaches used to manage resource based conflicts among the Karamoja of Eastern Africa region.

1.5 Literature review

This sections reviews literature on the effects of competition over shared scarce resources, the implication of the gun culture by pastoralists and finally the approaches used to resolve the

conflicts resulting from resources within the Eastern Africa as Karamoja being the main study point.

1.5.1 Theoretical literature review

This section discusses conflict theory, resource scarcity theory, tragedy of the common theory and realism which in one way or the other support, related and are applicable to resource based conflicts in the Eastern Africa. ¹¹

Resource scarcity theory is applicable in this study because it expounds on the limitedness of resources which are supposed to satisfy the needs of the individuals or groups in the society hence competition for what is available. The scarcity of shared resources as a result can be caused by increase in population growth and when this happens, the supply of the product decreases since water and land are not renewable products. Conflicts can also erupt when the supply of the resources are very low as compared to its demand. This can be due to environmental degradation like deforestation, loss of biodiversity through human activities and the negative effects of climate change which results to drought. ¹²

Tragedy of the common as a theory is spearheaded by William Forster Lloyd. This theory is applicable in resource based conflict because of the shared and unregulated resources like lakes, oceans, seas, rivers, air and non-renewable energy forces like oil and gas. The Karamoja who are pastoralists by way of life share a common culture and common parcel of land when grazing their animals and if grazing is overdone, the common (grass and water) is depleted and destroyed

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Smith, V.K. (1978). Measuring Natural Resource Scarcity: Theory and Practice. *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*, 5 (2), 150-171.

in the long run. Resources despite being of commons, they should be recognized and be well managed in order to prevent conflicts.¹³

Realism theory argues that the state is the main actor in international relations. The state as a result will always seek to protect its foreign policy and gain supremacy so that it dominates over others. In this perspective, the Karamoja being a transnational group in the eastern Africa, each nation state tries to protect the interests of its population by making sure that the grazing land and water points are well secured and not maximized by the intruders from other countries especially during drought season. For example, the Turkana of Kenya protect their natural resources in favor of its people especially when drought strikes and prevent the Karamajong of Uganda from excessively exploiting what is available since when groups migrate, there is competition over the shared scarce resources that results into conflict.¹⁴

However, conflict theory stands out as the best of others because it is wide and fills the gaps left by other theories.

1.6 Empirical literature review

This section explains the literature around the three objectives being investigated.

1.6.1 Effects of competition over shared scarce resources based conflict among the Karamoja cluster of eastern Africa.

Competition over scarce resource is a global phenomenon in the 21st century whereby people (mostly pastoralists) are scrambling for the little available water and grazing land which in the long run leads to conflicts. According to UNDP human report of 2006, it was found out that

¹³Hardin G. (1968). "The Tragedy of the Commons". Science 162 (3859): 1243-1248.

¹⁴Kenneth N. Waltz. Realism and International Politics. Published by Routledge. March 13, 2008. ISBN-10:9780415954785

households in cities enjoy access to a lot of liters of water bought to their homes at low prices while the poor marginalized people in rural areas of the same countries have access to little water that can meet their basic human needs.¹⁵

The competition over shared scarce water is therefore inevitable. The scarcity affects the fresh water sources like lakes, rivers and ground water aquifers as well as marine resources hence a Trans boundary impact leading to conflict. The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) also focuses on access to safe water and sanitation and the management of the fresh water ecosystem so that peace is enhanced when it comes to accessing water.¹⁶

Different literatures show that developing countries which rely much on agricultural products and natural resource are much prone to violence. For example in Pakistan and Bolivia there was protest over the distribution of water and this led to violence. Water scarcity is therefore the major contributor of conflict since many of the world shared rivers and underground aquifers exists across national borders.¹⁷

Scholars argue that the struggle over access, control and exploitation of scarce natural resources is what triggers violence which results into conflict among the pastoral communities with example being the Fulani of West Africa and Karamoja cluster group in the Eastern Africa. The

¹⁵ Human development report 2006: beyond scarcity; power, poverty and the global water crisis. Published for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). 1 UN Plaza, New York, 10017, USA.

¹⁶ SDG Indicators. Global Indicator Framework for The Sustainable Development Goals And Targets Of The 2030 Agenda For Sustainable Development. Retrieved 12 December 2018.

¹⁷ Adu,S.D. (2014) Fresh Water Scarcity: A Threat To Peaceful Co-Existence Between Farmers And Pastoralists In The Northern Nigeria. Int.Journal of Development and Sustainability ISSN, Vol. 3 No. 1 Pages 242-251

regions therefore faces challenges associated with inequalities in the share of land, water, and other natural resources.¹⁸

The Nile river water has also led to disagreement about its distribution among Ethiopia, South Sudan and Egypt. There is a debate about who controls the larger part of the water and who therefore is entailed to maximize on its use for example by constructing of dams or cultivating along it. Water scarcity among the Karamoja is intensifying due to the growing population and changing climate hence conflict. The level of insecurity has also a significant impact on food production leading to poverty among the Karamoja community forcing them to cross the border in order to purchase food.¹⁹ Despite the 2018 year long rains in the Eastern Africa, some water reserves like dams are still not holding the water capacity as needed, there was also flooding that destroyed the crops, swept the livestock, spread of water borne diseases and even led to displacement of the population.

Land on the other hand is also an important resource since it includes the surface of the earth, the materials beneath, the air above and all things that are fixed to the soil. The denial of access, use or control of land and acquisition of land by the rich is also a cause of conflict among the pastoralists. In addition, the change in traditional communal property ownership to private ownership can also be argued to be causing conflict in this community because these people have been used to sharing land communally hence these move is not accepted by all. The failure of the government in compensating the pastoralists after allocation of grazing land, effects of drought or even raids is a negative precursor to peace. Land primarily made for livestock grazing

¹⁸ Homer-Dixon, T. (1999) *Environment, Scarcity and Violence*. Princeton, New Jersey; Princeton University Press

¹⁹ Hardin, Garrett (May 1 1998). "Extension of the Tragedy of the Commons" *Science* 280 (5364): 682-683.

diminishes while the number of livestock doubles. This fuels conflicts between pastoral land use and other uses.

In Nigeria middle belt specifically Benue and Taraba states, more than two thousand people were killed during clashes between herders and farmers between year 2011- 2016 while in the Sahel area particularly in Mali and Senegal similar violence have erupted.²⁰ In the Eastern Africa, climate change is a persistent issue especially among the Karamoja cluster group due to the shared geo-physical conditions and the global commons of river basins. When there is no rainfall which results to drought, the Karamoja are forced to migrate to places where they are in a position to get water and pastures for their animals hence 'shifted 'conflict. Livestock density per hectare of grazing land has increased while forage and fodder production lowered hence the seasonal movement of cattle from one grazing ground to another which increases pressure on croplands and the risk of conflicts in host countries. Water points like dams, natural wells, boreholes, springs and rivers are perennial and seasonal hence conflict emerges due to competition over who controls and accesses these points.²¹

Drought has led to scarcity of essential resources whereby while the karamoja people are trying to survive due to the negative effects of drought, they move closer to the river banks where there is more grass growth and only opt to go back to where they came from when conditions are better. For example the Orma who mostly stay longer along the river and whenever they leave the Pokomo start intruding their space by cultivating the farmland resulting into land conflict.

²⁰ Abbass, I.M. (2012). No Retreat No Surrender: Conflict for Survival between Fulani Pastoralists And Farmers in Northern Nigeria. *European Scientific Journal*, Vol.8. No.1 Pp331-346.

²¹ Brown, O., Hammil, A., And Mcleman, R. (2007) Climate Change As The 'New' Security Threat: Implications For Africa. *International Affairs*, 83:6 (2007) 1141-1154

Therefore competition over shared scarce resources occurs due to increase in population growth and per capital resource consumption levels and also due to depletion and degradation of natural resources that cannot be renewable by natural processes. Resources that results to disputes are often due to historical and symbolic values that may be linked to marginalization of a group like the Karamoja cluster group with their way of life as pastoralists or to a specific livelihood. Competition over access and ownership of grazing land and water points among them often occurs in seasonal cycles which in the short run creates tensions that escalates into violence leading to sudden shocks or stress in the system hence conflict.²²

In conclusion, competition over access and ownership of grazing land and water points among the Karamoja often occurs in seasonal cycles which in the short run creates tensions that escalates into violence leading to sudden shocks or stress in the system hence conflict. Therefore, natural resources can be a blessing to the society but when poorly managed and unequally distributed in it becomes a major driver of instability in the society or region and might have a spill over to international level.

1.6.2 The nexus between resources based conflicts and gun Culture among the Karamoja cluster group of eastern Africa.

The United Nations panel of experts argue that SALWs are any portable dangerous weapon that expels or launches, or can be easily converted to expel or launch a shot, bullet or projectile by the action of an explosive.²³ The illicit arms and light weapons can come from illicit brokers,

²² ibid

²³ Sarah Parker with Marcus Wilson. Handbook 'A Guide to the UN Small Arms Process' 2016 Update. Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies. Maison De La Piaux, Chemin Eugene-Rigot 2E, 1202 Geneva, Switzerland

weapons left over from conflicts, illicit manufacturing, smuggling, leakages from military or police stockpiles and also theft which is carried out mostly through the porous borders. The adoption of the Programme of Action during the United Nations conference aimed at preventing, combating, and eradicating the illicit trade in SALW without swaying the prerogatives of the nuclear disarmament, weapons of mass destruction and conventional disarmament.²⁴

Illicit trade in guns in Africa stimulates conflict which brings about poverty and derails development among nation states. The United Nations as a result has targeted this act by calling for a worldwide quash on illegal guns dealers and introduction of strict regulations since the weapons are mostly owned by non-state actors and this has fuelled conflict especially in fragile countries. Liberia for instance has been in a fourteen year war which has been fuelled by illegal guns and light artillery leading to suffering of the youth in terms of low education levels, unemployment and high rates of HIV/AIDS. Moreover, insecurity increased in the Central Africa between year 1993-1999 due to increase in illegal ownership of guns. This resulted to conflict in Congo whereby around seventy four thousand weapons had been obtained illegally by militia but later the national government decided to make progress to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate so that peace is achieved.²⁵

In the Eastern Africa, the Karamoja cluster group has been hit by inter and intra ethnic violence due to the availability of small arms in the region which has led to insecurity hence development hindrance. Source of small arms is perceived to be through the unregulated porous borders that are mainly Kenya, Somalia and South Sudan. The proliferation of the weapons is seen to be an

²⁴ OAU. Final Meeting Report, International Consultation On The Illicit Proliferation, Circulation And Trafficking In Small Arms And Light Weapons Addis Ababa 22-23 June 2000

²⁵ *ibid*

increasingly important income generating activity for some pastoralists and business men who specialize in the selling of both guns and ammunitions to the Karamoja.²⁶ These communities argue that they acquire weapons for protection because the government has failed to protect them and their property.

Insecurity among the karamoja is also caused by other factors including the lack of adequate resources which results to competition, poor infrastructure, lack of education and enrooted cultural believes such as cattle raiding. The illegal acquisition and ownership of firearms has made cattle theft and banditry more deadly and prolonged. However, the Karamoja have moved from acquiring arms for protection to having arms as a form of prestige. The role of police reservists has both positive and negative impacts to the Pokot and Turkana of Kenya for instance it is alleged that they are involved in raids and even the illegal trade of firearms which escalates violence. The access to and ownership of arms through counter physical porous borders, has led to the most onset of arms acquisitions such as AK47 rifles, hand grenades and other different kind of ammunitions hence intensifying pastoralists rates of conflict.²⁷

In conclusion, the situation of gun culture among the Karamoja depends much on their accessibility and supply due to the nature of the arms and weapons. Although the influx of firearms is not the cause of conflict, but the abundance of arms at every level of the Karamoja cluster group (society) means that any increase in inter-communal tension and hostility entails an

²⁶ Interpol, In Andrew Mclean (Ed.) Tackling Small Arms In The Great Lakes Region And Horn Of Africa: Strengthening The Capacity Of Sub Regional Organizations Seminar Report 7-8 May 2000, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.

²⁷ Global Violent Deaths 2017: Time to Decide By Claire MC Evoy and Gergely Hideg. Small Arms Survey Report, December 2017

increased likelihood of violence and bloodshed. The Eastern African region through respective governments and IGAD should therefore try and curb illegal acquisition of weapons by building secure armories, maintain a proper weapons registry and mark the weapons. There is also need to raise awareness on the dangers associated with gun culture and its misuse among the Karamoja group, the Eastern Africa, Africa as a region and worldwide as a whole.

1.6.3 Approaches used in the management of resource based conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group of eastern Africa.

In the 21st century conflicts are experienced at different levels depending on the causes which can be political, economic and even social cultural and hence a spill over. The management of these conflicts also varies depending on the cultural practices at hand. As a result, there is need to first analyze the causes of conflict and whether this conflict is physical or structural. Conflict implies a condition in which the parties at hand have disagreed on a particular interest in terms of addressing their objective or goals. Conflict can be violent, non-violent or structural. Structural conflict is embedded in the relationships and that people can be in this state without realizing directly that they are in a state of conflict.²⁸

Conflict management encompasses the settlement and resolution of disagreements depending on the level they occur so that peace and stability is achieved. This as a result involves techniques and ideas that are used to enhance positive security so that the negative impacts of conflicts are eliminated and best ones embraced. Some scholars like Burton argue that there is a difference between conflicts and disputes and that disputes are all about interests which are superficial and

²⁸ Makumi Mwangiru. Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management. Institute of Diplomacy and International studies. University of Nairobi and Center for Conflict Research. Nairobi

can therefore be negotiated and bargained between or among parties involved. On the other hand, some conflicts are non-negotiable due to the needs at hand hence being inherent. Conflict or dispute settlements do not involve the addressing of the causes of the conflict but rather accommodation which is all about the re-adjustment and regulation of conflicts. Here one party wins while the other loses, this may be due to lack of power as compared to the other. Conflict resolution however is not power based hence it looks at the root cause of the conflict resulting to an enduring outcome.²⁹

International law under the UN charter article 2(4) forbids members from use of threat or force against other members as per the UN regulations. The charter also guides how conflict can be managed under chapter six of the UN charter entitled: the Pacific settlement of disputes and they include; negotiations, mediations, arbitration, litigation, conciliation and inquiry. Chapter 8 of the charter also advocated for regional arrangements in conflict management before a case is mentioned to the Security Council hence the application of IGAD as a regional economic community body. Other approaches include the use of good office and problem solving workshops.³⁰

Negotiations as an approach involve the coming together of the aggrieved parties who sit and talk out voluntarily without being forced. At pre-negotiation point, the agenda is identified and the venue set. The second phase which involves negotiations the parties point out their arguments and this stage they can agree or disagree. Finally at post negotiation, what was agreed

²⁹ M. Mwangi, M Munene & N. Karuru, Understanding Conflict and Its Management. Nairobi:CCR-WLEA Publications, 1998. Pp 32-39

³⁰ UN, Handbook on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes between States. New York: United Nations 1992

on is implemented and the parties abide hence they go out and tell their supporters or constituents what was agreed on.³¹

Mediation on the other hand comes in when negotiation has failed to bear fruits hence need to involve a third party who has to be impartial, have leverage, knows the character of the conflict in terms of origin, values and interests, comes in at the ripe moment, know what can spoil their conflict management progress before and after and finally the mediator has to know if at the end the conflict it will be resolved or managed.³² Judicial settlement involves going to court and this can be either municipal or international court depending on the case at hand. This approach however is time consuming, expensive and coercive and also zero sums whereby one party wins and finally conflicts are usually settled and not resolved meaning such conflicts might come again in different ways. Under arbitrations, an arbitrator (judge) is appointed who listens to both parties and gives a judgment which is binding and one party wins. For conciliation and inquiry, a commission of committee is appointed who come up with a proposal recommending the settlement of the disputes or conflicts which forms a basis for future negotiations.³³

Conflict system is an essential factor to be analyzed so that we understand the epicenter of the conflict hence easiness in identifying the actors, causes, issues and strategies in order design proper management approaches for the conflict at hand. The environmental conflict in the eastern part of Africa in the Karamoja cluster group is based on the effects of the shared scarce

³¹ Harold H.Saunders, 'The pre-negotiation Phase' in D.B. Bendahmane & J.W. McDonald (eds), international negotiation: Art and science (Washington: Foreign Service Institute,(1984). Saunders, 'We Need a Larger Theory of Negotiation: The importance of the Pre-negotiation Phases' Negotiation Journal, Vol. 1 1985

³² Makumi mwagiru.2000 Conflict in Africa: theory, processes and institution of management. Institute of Diplomacy and International studies. University of Nairobi and Centre of Conflict Research Nairobi.2000 page 115-121

³³ J. Bercovitch, Social Conflict and Third Parties: Strategies of Conflict Resolution. Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1984.

resources which has a spill over to other surrounding nation states. The epicenter of this conflict system can be seen to be the North West part of Kenya however, the epicenter changes depending with where the droughts have hit hard.³⁴

Conflict management among the pastoral communities takes different dimension with the aim of enhancing peace. This are mostly carried out by the elders in the clan who come up with strategies on inter-community resource use and grazing management plans so that there is a better way to use, enhance and access the pastures and water. The existence of customary institutions and conflict resolution mechanisms are also essential because if they are strong enough and if supported by the government then their work when it comes to establishment of grazing plans will bear fruits.³⁵

The other approach is the involvement of state security presence in the conflict prone areas whereby each nation state appoints security personnel on their borders so that they regulate the gun culture within the cluster group so that cattle rustling are minimized. For this to be effective, the state nations have to invest in infrastructure in terms of communication and access to the affected people. Promotion of exchange visits and interaction between communities so that there is inter communal dialogues and learning that enhances formation of social alliances. Through the social alliance disagreements are addressed before it escalated to violent conflict in terms of sharing the scare resources and illegal acquisition of weapons for raiding.³⁶

³⁴ Coppoci, D.L.: 'Vegetation and Pastoral Dynamics in the Southern Ethiopia Rangelands: Implications for Theory and Management' In Behnke, Scoones & Kerven (Eds): Range Ecology at Disequilibrium; New Models of Natural Variability and Pastoral Adaptation in African Savannas, ODI (LONDON), 1993.

³⁵ Warner, M., 'Conflict Management in Community Based Natural Resource Projects: Experience From Fiji and Papua New Guinea,' Working Paper No. 135, (Overseas Development Institute, April 2000)

³⁶ Muigua, K., 'Resolving Environmental Conflicts Through Mediation in Kenya' Ph.D. Thesis, 2011, Unpublished, University Of Nairobi

Most of the approaches used by the pastoral communities are in one way or the other derived from chapter six of the UN charter on pacific settlement of disputes. The aim of the approaches is to come up with best methods of settling or resolving issues related to effects of competition over the share scarce resources which are water and pasture and also how to mitigate the gun culture. Alternative and traditional dispute resolution mechanisms are used by the customary institutions to resolve the conflicts and whenever they fail then the matter is supposed to be taken to the courts for better interpretation and ruling. The role of regional economic communities (RECs) like Intergovernmental Organization Authority on Development (IGAD) is one of the eastern African organizations that try to solve issues related to development and drought. On the other hand, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) like Drought Mitigation Initiative among the Turkana and Pokot of Kenya cannot be forgotten when it comes to conflict management.³⁷

In conclusion, resource based conflicts can therefore be violent or structural and can revolve around how individuals at different levels control or gain access to resources within the specific period of drought. The implications of illegal ownership of guns also stimulate conflict hence if the right methods of management of these conflicts are applied then peace and security is the end outcome.

1.6.4 Gaps in the literature

From the above literature review, little research has been done to evaluate what causes conflict over resources among the Karamoja to be persistent despite different mechanisms applied by different stakeholders. Issues of competition over shared scarce resources by this pastoral

³⁷ *ibid*

community grow in to violence and later conflicts in the region. The effects of globalization which results to climate change and environmental degradation is also seen to be of negative effects which in the long run might lead to drought making the Karamoja people to migrate in search of pastures for their animals and water leading to increase in violence among pastoralists. Issues of population growth among Karamoja have increased hence competition for scarce natural resources on the rise. The other gap which has not been much researched on is that these people are motivated to acquire weapons illegally for protection and also they feel that having the weapons is a sign of being wealthy as per their traditions. The approaches of resolving the resource based conflicts in this community has not been put to public on whether they exist and if so, are effective in both long and short term. There is therefore inadequate information on the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa and their way of life that leads to persistent competition of scarce resources and illegal acquisition of weapons which in the long run brings about conflict.³⁸

This study therefore tries to pursue further gaps and also to identify why the Karamoja cultural practices of raiding to restock their herds and their way of life as nomads leads to conflict.

1.7 Hypothesis

To address the main aim of these study, the investigation about the dynamics of resource based conflict in the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa is answered by analyzing the, following hypothesis.

³⁸ Mildner, S, A., Lauster, G., Wodni,W. 2011. Scarcity and Abundance Revisited: A Literature Review on Natural Resource and Conflict', *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 5(1). 155-172

H₁: There is a relationship between resource and conflict among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa.

H₀: There is no correlation between resource and conflict among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa.

1.8 Justification of the study

Policy justification

This study informs the existing policy and assist policy makers come up with rules and regulations that addresses issues related to conflict over resources, proliferation and illegal ownership of guns and also come up with better approaches to settle or resolve those conflicts at an early stage among the Karamoja cluster group before they spills over to interstate perspective.

Academic justification

This study is important because it create new literature in the area of resources based conflict not only among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa but also at the global level in the field of humanities and social science. This is due to inadequate empirical literature foundation that has resulted from the small number of study on this subject.

Justification to the general public

This study helps the general population to understand the effects of shared-scarce resource based conflict, the implications of illegal ownership of guns and the approaches that can be used to resolve this resource based conflicts. The recommendations if well applied it can be used to help the public and the Eastern Africa sub region especially the Karamoja cluster group on how to handle natural resource for sustainable development and settle disputes arising from it.

1.9 Theoretical framework.

Theoretical framework involves application of a theory which in turn guides the research hence it connects the researcher to the existing body of knowledge giving basis of hypothesis and choice for research method.³⁹ This section seeks to identify the theoretical assumptions in the existing literature and how the theory provides the principal alternative framework for understanding the effects emanating from the competition over shared scarce resources, illegal acquisition of weapons, and the approaches used to settle or resolve the resource based conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa.

This study therefore applies conflict theory which was spearheaded by Karl Marx who argues that conflict is inevitable and is activated under certain specific conditions in the society whenever the population is competing for the limited resources. This theory argues that the society is made up of people belonging to specific social classes who compete for social material and political resources such as water, food, grazing pastures and small arms for protection, housing, employment and education. The social institutions as a result reflects the competition that is based on inherent inequalities hence unequal structures. Some individuals and organizations as a result are in a position to forcefully take and retain more resources as compared to others leading to suppression of those who do not have making the harshness of conflict to vary.⁴⁰

³⁹ Robert V. Labaree. Organizing your social science Research Paper: Theoretical framework. USC Libraries. University of Southern California.

⁴⁰ Manorama Savur. Sociology of Conflict Theory. Journal article. Vol. 3, No.12 1975. Published by Social Scientists.

Some scholars argue that on one hand, human beings are by nature violent and aggressive so that they can gain power or domination over others. On the other hand, others argue that human beings are not violent and aggressive by nature but the environment they live in is what makes them behave in a certain manner. As a result, violence and aggression comes due to environmental conditions in which the Karamoja people are subjected to. For instance, because of the marginalization of this group; the effects of the climatic change in the world which affects their grazing land and water; the raids and gun culture of weapons for protection; their way of life is what motivates them to be violent and in the long run results to conflict.⁴¹

This theory assists in explaining why conflict occurs among the Karamoja people over resources though the people might not be able to immediately realize they are in a state of conflict since conflict is embedded in social structure. Conflict among the Karamoja can also be perceived to be built on the existing historical grievances among the group.⁴²The United Nations Environmental Programme Expert Advisory group on environment argues that as the world population continues to grow and the need for resource increase, conflicts over resources also intensifies. This can lead to further destabilization of the already fragile countries and regions or inject tension into otherwise cooperative interstate relations.⁴³

1.10 Methodology of the study

This section focuses on the sources of data and data collection techniques, sampling procedures adopted and tools for data presentation and analysis.

⁴¹ Grundel, H., 2011. Natural Resource Governance in Conflict-Affected Contexts

⁴² *ibid*

⁴³ Daniel Buckles (eds). Cultivating Peace: Conflict and Collaboration in Natural Resource Management. Publisher- World Bank, IDRC 1999, OTTOWA CANADA.

1.10.1 Research design

Kerlinger defines research design as a plan and structure of investigation that is applied so that the researcher comes up with research questions and answers that are justifiable, impartial, correct and economical.⁴⁴Harwell argues that research design is the methodology used in the study in terms of data collection and analysis so that the needed ideas are brought out and key features and information communicated⁴⁵This study therefore used more of qualitative than quantitative design approach because the study is an ethnography that involved observing, describing, discovering and understanding the experiences of the Karamoja people. The design is more precise since it involved description and interpretation of events in a careful and natural way. It is also more on narration of facts and characteristics concerning the entire group of Karamoja that share the common culture hence identification of the norms, beliefs, social structure and other factors affecting the entire group.⁴⁶

1.10.2 Research site

This study focused on the Karamoja cluster groups that live in the four different nation states in eastern Africa which are the north western part of Kenya, north eastern Uganda, south eastern Sudan and south western Ethiopia.⁴⁷ However the focus site was along the borders where the different ethnic tribes meet and clash and it includes: Pokot- Karamajong, Matheniko – Turkana, Turkana-Toposa, Turkana-Pokot, Nyangatom-Turkana and those working in these surroundings.

⁴⁴ Fred N. Kerlinger. Foundations of behavioral research.3rd edition. Publisher by Holt, Rinehart and Winston. New York. 1986

⁴⁵ Michael R. Harwell. Research design in qualitative/quantitative /mixed methods. University of Minnesota.

⁴⁶ Nicholas Walliman, 2006. Social Research Methods. Sage Publication Ltd. London

⁴⁷ I. Farah “Human Security and the Livelihood of Pastoral Communities in the Horn of Africa,” p 181-199, in Mwangiru, Human security- setting the agenda for the horn of Africa, Africa peace forum, 2008.

1.10.3 Research target population

The target group in this research included those working with the NGOs involved with the pastoralist group helping mitigate the conflicts arising from resources that are scarce and also help in curbing illegal acquisition of guns. The clan elders, pastoralists and finally the academicians were also a target because through them the research was able to get wider information concerning resource based conflicts among the Karamoja cluster.

1.10.4 Sample size and sampling

Research sample is that fraction of the population which can give information on behalf of the entire population hence being representative. The standard deviation formula of a population more than 10,000 people was applied.⁴⁸

$$n = \frac{Z^2 P_q}{d^2}$$

Z = standard level of deviation measured in %

P = proportion of the population that has the characteristics/ estimated to have characteristics being measured in %.

Since the researcher does not know, p is taken as 50% or 0.5

q = 1- p which is the remaining proportion without measure

d = level of statistical significance /confidence level that is measured in %

Z is 1.96

$$n = \frac{(1.96)^2(0.5)^2}{d^2}$$

⁴⁸Mugenda, O. & Mugenda, a. (2003). Research methods: quantitative and qualitative approaches. (1st ed). Nairobi: African Centre for technology studies (ACTS).

$$\begin{aligned}
& 0.05^2 \\
& = \underline{3.8416 \times 0.25} \\
& 0.0025 \\
& = \underline{0.96129} \\
& 0.0025 \\
& = 384.516 \\
& = 384
\end{aligned}$$

Table 1.1 Sample size and population

Target groups	Population	Sample	Sampling technique
Non-governmental organizations	18	13	Convenient
Clan elders	42	26	Stratified random
Pastoralists	50,000	330	Simple random
Academicians	35	15	Purposive
Total	50,095	384	

Source: (Author 2019)

The procedure of selecting the subject is formulated and it includes the probability sampling that involves the simple random, stratified random while non-probability one includes the convenient and purposive technique.

Simple random sampling best applied to a larger population whereby each member of the population was equally likely to be chosen as part of the sample hence no biasness. For the clan elders, use of stratified random sampling was applied whereby the population was divided into

strata depending on the common attribute at hand. This ensured that there was adequate representation of all subgroups. Non probability sampling technique on the other hand relied on the subjective judgments of the researcher.

Purposive sampling for the academicians was appropriate because the researcher looked at a particular characteristic of the academicians that are of interest and have the knowledge about what is being researched on.

Convenient sampling involved collecting the sample from somewhere near or convenient hence the NGOs among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa were applied.

1.10.5 Data collection method

This study adopted the primary and secondary method of data collection. Primary data collection method involved the use of questionnaires and focus group discussions while secondary data included use of books, academic journals, internet and any other literature that was relevant to the study.⁴⁹

The use of both open and close ended questionnaires was utilized so that the researcher gathers information from respondents who are literate simultaneously hence saving time during data collection. On the other hand, focus group discussions were used to get in depth information from the respondents. The researcher interacted with the respondents during group discussions hence obtained accurate information that met the specific objectives.

⁴⁹ ibid

1.10.6 Data analysis and Presentation

Data analysis is a process that comes after administering the research tools which can be field data or from the library. It involves the process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming and modeling data with the aim of coming up with new useful information that explains the possible findings of the study hence more of content analysis method. Presentation is in form of pie-charts, graphs, frequencies tables and even narrations.⁵⁰

1.10.7 Piloting

This is an important aspect because through piloting the questionnaires, the researcher is in a position to refine and remove the unnecessary information. The tools as a result were given to a small number of people belonging to the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa.

1.10.8 Scope and limitation of the research.

The study is academic in nature and it focused on resource based conflicts among the Karamoja cluster of Eastern Africa. The study considered the issues of time and limited resources available in order to come up with a comprehensive study. As a result, there was limitation in collecting data from the south-western Ethiopia bordering Kenya in Kibish Turkana because of limited resource and high level of insecurity.

1.10.9 Ethical considerations.

Ethics in research is an essential part of planning and implementation process. It increases consciousness of the need for strict ethical guidelines for researchers and also provides procedures or perspective for deciding how to act and analyze complex research problems and

⁵⁰ Nicholas Walliman, 2006. Social Research Methods. Sage Publication Ltd. London

issues. As a result it displayed standards of discipline for the conduct of the researcher and responds for the research work.

To facilitate access to data from the public, the researcher applied and secured research authorization permit from National Commission for Science, Technology and innovation board. The researcher also ensured the rights of participants were protected. The principle of voluntary participation was applied whereby the respondents were not coerced into participating in research. Therefore, the respondents were given a background of the study and why his or her response was important. The researcher guaranteed the respondent that his or her participation is confidential and that their names were not to be disclosed to anyone who was not directly involved in the study. The researcher treated the people (respondents) with respect and courtesy.

1.11 Chapter outline

Chapter one: Introduces the topic and gives the background to it. It also sets a broad context of research study, the statement of the problem, justification, theoretical framework, literature review, hypothesis and methodology of study.

Chapter two: Discusses the impacts of competition over shared scarce resources and conflict among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa

Chapter three: Discusses the nexus between resource based conflict and of gun culture among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa.

Chapter four: Analyses and examines the approaches used to manage resource based conflict among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa.

Chapter five: Gives findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

EFFECTS OF COMPETITION OVER SHARED SCARCE RESOURCE BASED CONFLICTS AMONG THE KARAMOJA CLUSTER OF EASTERN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

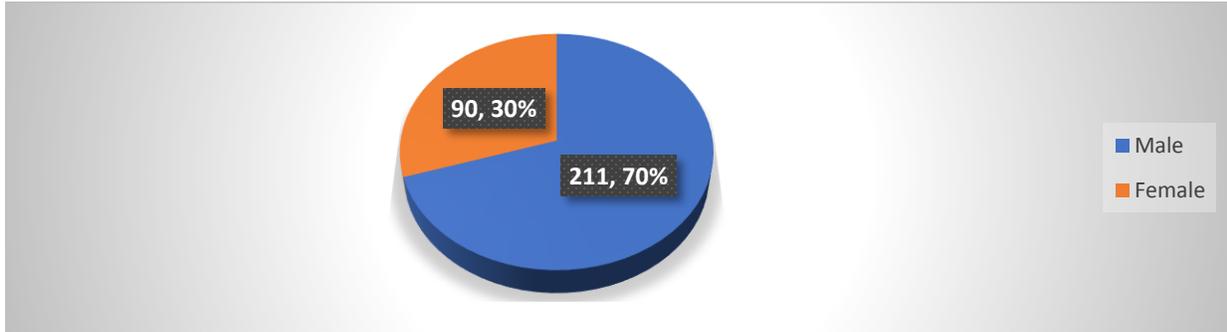
This chapter discusses the conflicts over shared scarce resources among the Karamoja cluster group who are agro-pastoralists. It focuses mainly on the competition over water and pastures as a major source of conflict and the effects associated with it. The chapter also examines other sources of conflicts that include livestock and land whereby whenever these pastoralists meet where the resources are, everyone scrambles for what is available so that he or she can access, exploit and control it hence conflicts. The chapter starts by examining the demographic characteristics of the study.

2.1.1 The study Demographic Characteristics

According to Vogt & Johnson in Connelly et al, they describe demography as a field of study in which the researcher analyses the quantifiable statistics of a particular population.⁵¹ This information is very important in this research because it describes composition of the targeted population in terms of age, gender, activities they engage in and the level of education.

⁵¹ Connelly, Lynne. "Demographic data in research studies." MLA 8th edition. MedSurg nursing, 2013. Gale academic onefile.

Figure 2.1 Gender



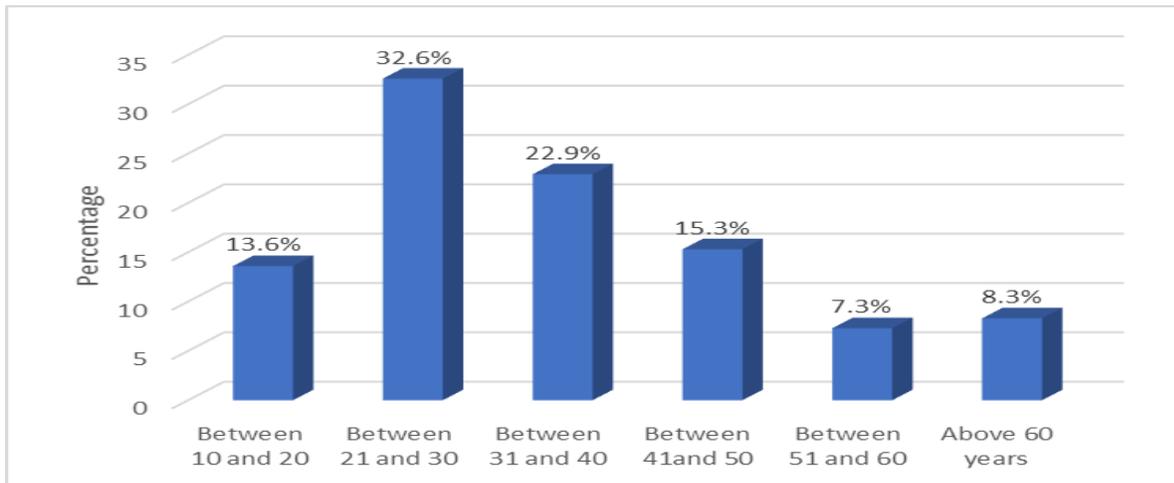
Source: Field Data 2019

The study involved participation of different genders from the targeted population so that the researcher is able to understand how different gender groups are affected differently by the social problems associated with the resource based conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group. Despite the researcher offering same opportunities to the sampled population, it was observed that most of the respondents were of male gender as compared to the female because the Karamoja cluster group is more of patriarchal whereby the male speaks on behalf of the community.

From figure 2.1 above 70% of respondents were male while female occupied 30%. This implies that most of the people who migrate during dry season in search of water and pastures are those of male gender as the female ones remain at home to take care of the children. From this, we can deduce that the Karamoja cluster group is male dominated in nature hence the men are the main providers in the society while women are the care givers. According to Harold Schneider in

Dorothy, he argues that among the pastoralists of East Africa, the control of livestock by men gives them power to also control the women hence dependence.⁵²

Figure 2.2 Age Bracket



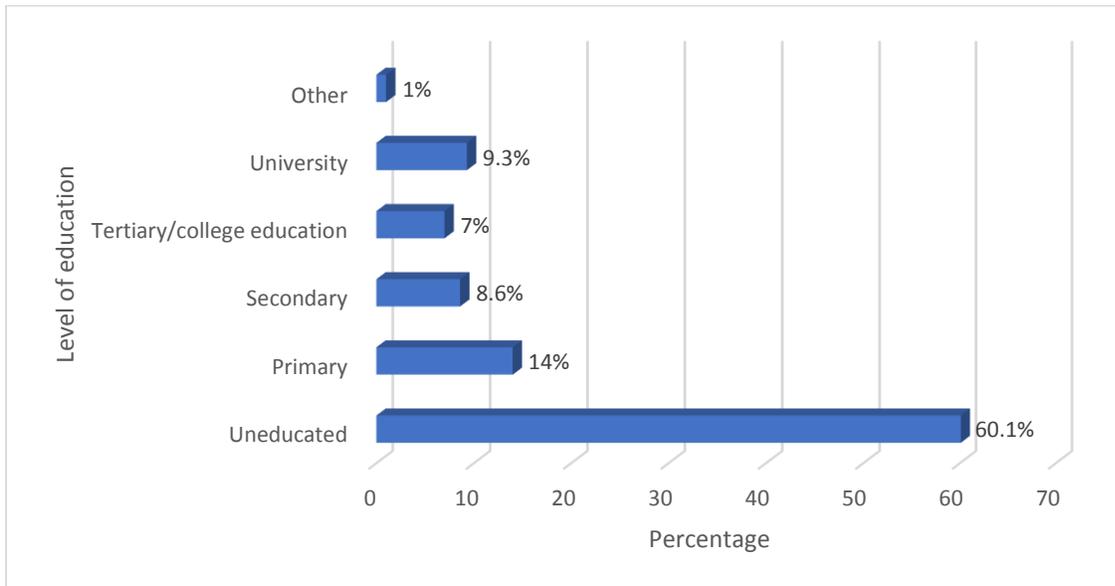
Source: Field data 2019

The analysis of age bracket in this study was captured because through it the researcher was able to tell how different age groups are affected by the resource based conflicts in the Karamoja cluster group. As a result the study observed that majority of the respondents were between ages 21 years to 30 years hence 32.6% of the respondents. On the other hand, 13.6% of the respondents were between the ages of 10-20 years while 22.9% were between the age of 31-40 years; 15.3% were aged 41-50 years, 7.3% were between 51-60 years and finally 8.3% were above 60 years. This therefore shows that the highest percentage of those engaged in herding or

⁵² Dorothy L.Hodgdon. Pastoralism, Patriarchy and History: Changing Gender Relations among Masaai in Tanganyika, 1890-1940. *Journal of African history*, vol. 40 no.1 (1999) pp.41-65. Printed in the United Kingdom, @ 1999 Cambridge university press.

pastoralism are warriors hence if organizations dealing with issues of conflicts over resources are in place then they should focus on the warriors aged between 21 and 30 years.

Figure 2.3 Level of Education



Source: Field data 2019

The literacy level among this cluster of Karamoja is still low since 60.1% of the respondents from the sampled group are or have never gone to school. Only 14% have gained primary education while 8.6% have accessed secondary education at a certain level because most of these respondents did not finish up to form six or four depending on the system of education in their country. 7% of the respondents on the other hand managed to reach tertiary or college level of education while only 9.3% of the respondents were university graduates and these are mainly those people working with INGOs, NGOs and Community Based Organizations (CBOs).

The study observed that the high levels of illiteracy among this cluster is also stimulated in such a way that in the process of raiding some schools are destroyed and so is the striking of diseases and hunger especially during dry season hence drop out and death in the long run. In the Karamoja cluster, most parents believe that if their daughters attain formal education they will become less competent wives, prostitutes or run off to marry non-Karamajong men who will divert them from the Karamajong ways of life.⁵³ In terms of leadership, those who are educated still report with respect and honor to those who have never gone to school which discourages people from going to school.⁵⁴

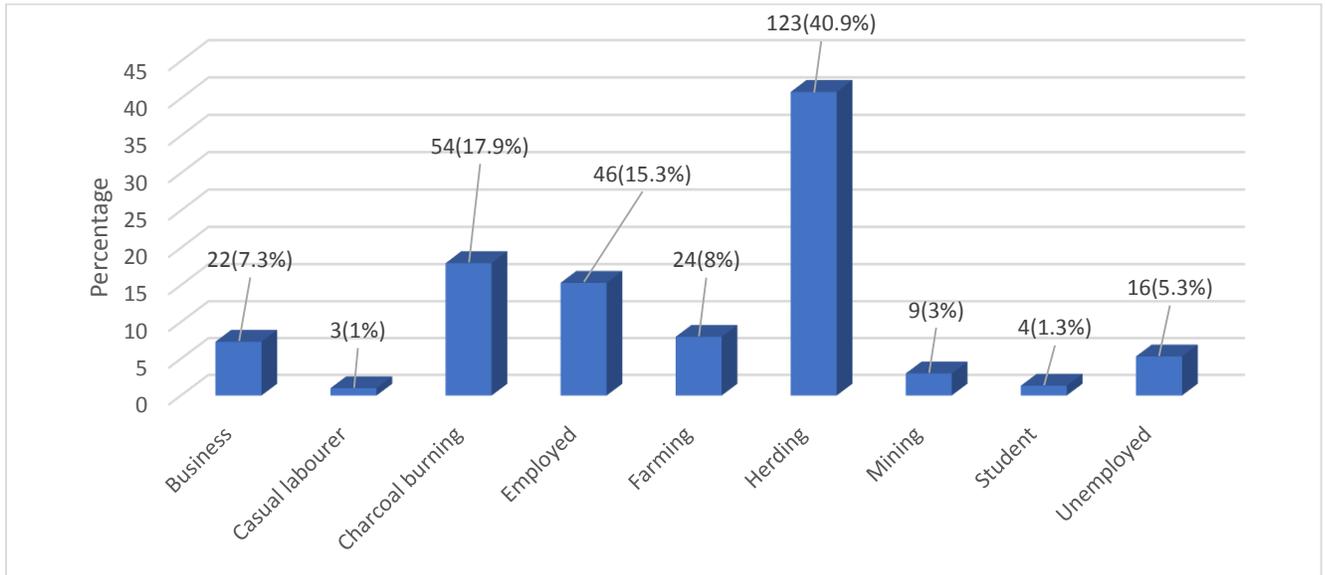
From this, it can be deduced that the high level of illiteracy among the Karamoja cluster group stimulates marginalization among them and also brings about different conceptualization of conflicts depending on the level of education of the people hence being disadvantaged in terms of health, infrastructural development and even political participation.⁵⁵

⁵³ *ibid*

⁵⁴ Interview by Naomi Kipuri with Margaret Aleper Achila, Women's representative for Kotido district, Uganda 17 August 2017

⁵⁵ Dr. Waimara G. Baker. *Minority rights group international. Uganda: the marginalization of minorities.* Published on A CIP Catalogue December 2001 and printed in UK on bleach-free paper.

Figure 2.4 Activities Engaged



Source: Field data 2019

Most people in the Karamoja cluster group are herders in that they rear livestock that includes the cows, goats, sheep, donkey, and camels which are a source of their income. From the above table, 40.9% of the respondents were herders whereby from animals they get food in terms of meat, milk, blood (except the donkeys that are used to carry water and other goods to make their work easier) and skin which is used as a mattress or sometimes as clothes. These animals can also be sold out in exchange of money or given as dowry. Therefore this deduction informs us why the Karamoja cluster values animals and if one does not own he or she is seen as poor in the society.⁵⁶

Charcoal burning is also rising as a form of income among the Karamoja cluster as 17.9% of the respondents are engaged in this activity so that they can earn a living. They argue that they only cut down dead dry trees which they sell as charcoal and women also collect firewood which they

⁵⁶ Andy Catley and Mesfin Ayele. Livestock And Poverty In Karamoja And Analysis of Livestock Ownership, Thresholds and Policy Implications. Karamoja Resilience Support Unit (KRSU) Uganda, October 2018.

sell in order to buy food for their families. However, charcoal burning contributes to the pollution of the environment hence negative effects on climate change that leads to desertification. In the long run when the dry trees are no more, these pastoralists will be forced (out of desperation) to cut the live trees hence a threat to the environment degradation and human beings due to emergence of different kinds of diseases like cancer.⁵⁷ From the table above it can also be argued that to some extent, 15.3% of the respondents are employed and this includes those working in NGOs and as security personnel (watchmen) as observed.

According to figure 2.4 above, 8% of the respondents are engaged in farming as an activity whereby the Karamoja people only opt for farming of maize and sorghum during rainy season while others do it along the rivers through irrigation. Despite some parts of the Karamoja cluster being very stoney and dry with no cultivation, in Moroto Uganda for instance, in 2000-2011 there was increase in cropland from around 706 hectares to 23,328 hectares. However, there has been crop failure due to lack of resources for inputs like seeds, labor and seasonal rains hence continued dependence on food aid.⁵⁸ On the other hand, 7.3% of the respondents do businesses that are either small or medium scale hence a source of living. The rate of unemployment is also high as 5.3% of the respondents are unemployed and this can be connected to the high level of illiteracy, marginalization and existence of bandit groups.⁵⁹

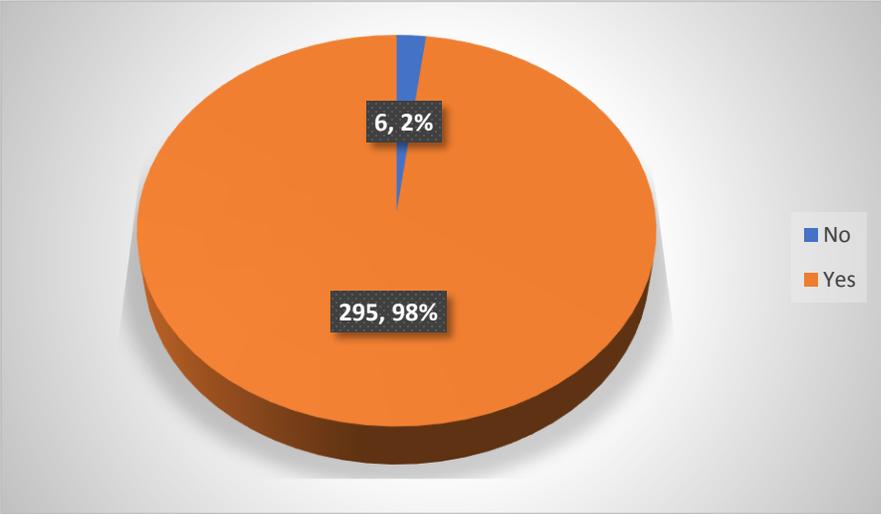
⁵⁷ Dr. Adrian Ghilardi and Dr.Tuyeni Heita Mwampana. Energy for sustainable development. Special issue on charcoal. Volume 17.issue 2.april 2013. The journal of the international energy initiative. Available online at www.sciencedirect.com.

⁵⁸ Catherine. Nakalembe. Land use policy. 'Agriculture Land Use Change in Karamoja Region,' volume 62, march 2017. Pages 2-12 Uganda. Elsevier

⁵⁹ *ibid*

In terms of mining as an activity, 3% of the respondents cited that the discovery of minerals in this cluster group has helped them shift from the dependence on livestock to mining whereby people are employed to work in the mines or even engage in the activity and sell the end products hence a livelihood. These minerals include gold, oil and even marble stone breaking.⁶⁰ Boda boda business in the Karamoja cluster group is on the rise especially in Turkana whereby most youth (are those who never went to school, dropped out or are on long holiday) opt for this form of livelihood since it pays handsomely especially in Lodwar town. This has therefore led to urban migration to the Turkana County as 1.3% of the respondents were boda boda operators who were herders before.

Figure 2.5 Awareness on Resource Based Conflict among the Karamoja Cluster Group



Source: Field data 2019

Conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group have become known to the community in that 98% of the sampled populations are aware of it while 2% are not. This is due to the multifaceted

⁶⁰ Safeworld. Mining in Uganda “A Conflict Sensitive Analysis” August 2017

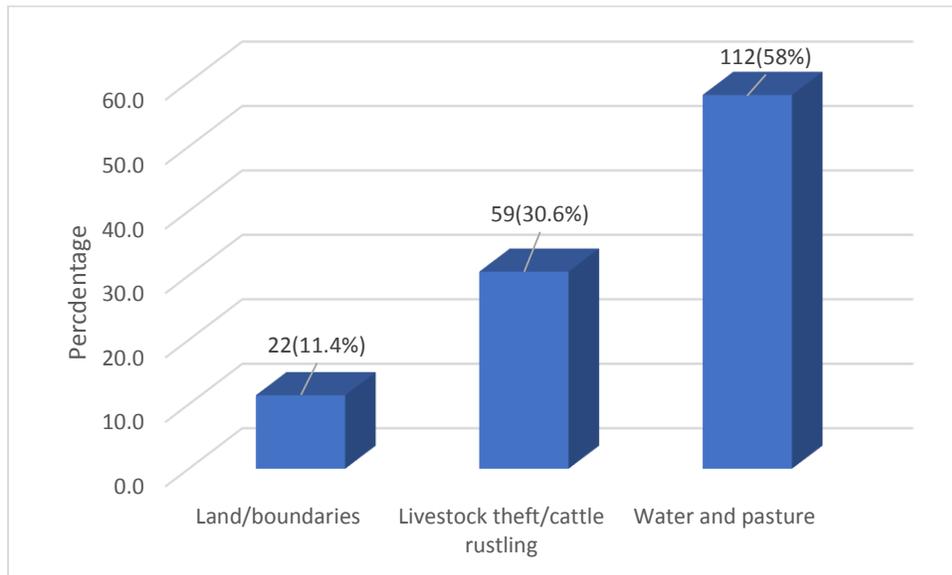
nature of conflict meaning that it takes different faces for it to become violent. The conflict among these communities can be argued to be structural because the conflict is as a result of the tension that arises when groups compete for the scarce resources and shared opportunities. Conflicts erupt as a result of the environment which they live in since these communities are mostly herders and the area is more of arid and semi-arid.⁶¹ They therefore fight when it comes to livestock theft, water and pastures especially during the dry season because the waters and pastures are situated along the boundaries hence conflict over land.

From the above pie chart 2.5, we can deduce that conflicts are inevitable in the society hence it moves from one stage to the other. The latent stage of conflict involves the factors that can cause conflict and this includes the search for autonomy, different goals, the role of the conflict and the scramble for available scarce resources. On the other hand, perceived conflict stage is whereby one party feels that his or her goals are being frustrated by the other party hence misunderstanding and this can be improved by enhancement of effective communication between or among the aggrieved groups. The third stage is felt conflict in that the conflict is experienced by the parties involved. Manifested stage occurs when parties fighting provokes response from the other hence frustration, aggression, sabotage and violence. The final stage is conflict aftermath which can have different impacts either good or bad depending on how the conflict is resolved.⁶²

⁶¹ Thomas F.Homer-Dixon. Edited by David Dessler. 'The environment, scarcity and violence' Princeton, NJ:Princeton University press,1999. Pp253

⁶² Anam Ahmed. Reviewed by Jayne Thompson, LLB. LLM. Four stages of conflict. January 26, 2019

Figure 2.6 Sources of conflict



Source: Field data 2019

2.2 Competition over water and pastures

The scramble for water and pasture during drought among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa is seen to be a major source of conflict. In this cluster, there are two seasons; the first one begins from around November-March while the second starts from April - November. As a result, during the wet season grass is available near homes hence the rate of migration reduces as the pastoralists herd around where they live. However in dry season, the pastoralists move their livestock to other people's territory in search of water and pasture hence conflict.⁶³

From the above figure, 58% of the respondents cited out that people's competition over water and pasture at the sharing points leads to disagreement on who to feed first. These sharing points for pasture and water are locations where the pastoralists meet to graze and have their animals

⁶³ The impact of VSF-Belgium's interventions on conflict in Karamoja. A research on conflict and peace. A study by Tine Deschacht VSF-field office, Moroto. July, 2013.

drink water. For instance in Uganda, the pastoralists from Amudat take their animals to graze in Nakipiripirit district and Moroto (Mogoo barracks that has water hence in the process of grazing they meet the Karamajong) while those of Nakipiripirit move to Katakwi. On the other hand, the Jie move to Abim, Napak and even to Kitgum and Agago.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which are global universal objectives set to be achieved by year 2030 as per the United Nations are 17 in number and goal number 6 focuses on the management of water and sanitation which should be available and can sustain everyone. This shows that water is a very essential natural resource in the society that when limited it can cause conflicts. The source of water hence varies from the natural springs, lakes, rivers, ocean, seas, rain water, wells, boreholes and dams.⁶⁴ Conflicts over water and pastures have become common among the pastoralists groups due to their dependence on livestock for livelihood. In Africa, pastoralists constitute 12% to 16% of the total population with the eastern Africa having the largest number. For instance, in Kenya, pastoralists occupy up to around 70% of the land.⁶⁵ During the dry season, the Karamoja people are forced to migrate for long distance in search of water and pastures hence crossing the borders to neighboring nation states.

The study establishes that the Turkana of Kenya bordering Uganda migrate to Uganda at a place called Kobebe (through Turkana-Nakiloro-Kobebe route) where there is plenty of grass because of the big dam. The respondent also cited out that the dam has a lot of fish for human consumption but the harvesting process has not yet started. The pastoralists bordering south

⁶⁴ Mugagaa, Frank/Nabaasa, Benon.(2006): The centrality of water resources to the realization of Sustainable Development Goals(SDG). A review of potentials and constraints on the African Continent. International Soil and Water Conservation research4 (3).

⁶⁵ ibid

Sudan migrate to the contested Ilemi triangle as well as those bordering Ethiopia since the Ilemi triangle is fertile hence has water and pastures for grazing. To the Turkana south, the Pokot and Turkana share the water and pastures at different points like Kainuk, Lokwamuru, Lorokoni, Malimalite, Nakot, Kadenguwi and Kwatakur.

In the dry season the pastoralists are affected negatively in one way or the other. For instance, there are usually increased deaths of livestock due to hunger or outbreak of diseases. This leads to low milk yields for consumption and the market for this animals depreciate because of emancipation. As a result, the pastoralists especially those of Uganda end up encroaching the national parks like Kidepo in Kabong, Pien-Upe game reserve in Napak and Moroto. This brings about conflict between conservative agencies and the pastoralists. In the process of sharing water and pastures that has no strategies in most cases; livestock theft is manifested in that due to the large number of animals at the same point, one or two animals can be stolen without being easily noticed. Fights also happen and sometimes lead to death since everyone is scrambling for water and pasture for his livestock. When these animals meet, the outbreak of diseases spread fast like foot and mouth disease.⁶⁶

The range lands also stimulates conflicts especially when the agreements on how and when to use the range lands are violated. For example, the Pokot and Turkana have a range land on a mountain next to Kainuk that is only supposed to be fed on as per the agreed rules. But some of the respondents pointed a finger on each other about the encroachment of the land. Climate change has also led to severe drought and floods hence loss of livestock, crop failure, and drying

⁶⁶ Shuaib Lwasa et al. Mapping of Grazing Areas in the Karamoja. 'Interest Group on grazing areas'. Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International Public Licence.2017.

of water resources like rivers, streams, boreholes and dams. The extreme weather events cause damages to the rangelands and the bushes where animals graze. Environmental degradation therefore occurs mainly due to human activities like charcoal burning, over grazing in the same area, over cultivation and increased in population that leads to pollution hence depletion of the ozone layer resulting into high temperatures which can be unbearable especially during dry season.⁶⁷ Unfortunately the pastoralists believe that burning of the grazing areas during dry season makes the grass sprout fast and fresh when the rains come.

2.3 Cattle rustling

Cattle rustling is not a new phenomenon in the Karamoja pastoralists of eastern Africa. According to EAPCCO, cattle rustling is the act of stealing, organizing, trying, sponsoring or assisting the stealing of livestock by an individual or a group of people from one nation state or community to the other with the process being accomplished by use of dangerous weapons and violence. The livestock may include; poultry, cattle, horses, pigs, ostriches, sheep, mules, camels, goats and donkeys.⁶⁸

According to figure 2.6 above, 30.6 % of the respondents replied that livestock raiding is a causes of violence among the pastoralists of eastern Africa. The study finds out that Karamoja people associate raiding with traditions in that they believe that raiding is a cultural activity that is done to restock livestock (especially after dry season) whereby the weaker communities are attacked and their animals taken hence the stronger community winning in expanding the grazing areas. However, in the contemporary world, livestock raiding has become more frequent, violent

⁶⁷ *ibid*

⁶⁸ Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (EAPCCO), 2008. "Protocol on the Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa".

and destructive. Before, when warriors return from raids, they were blessed by celebration of slaughtering of an animal and they were then regarded as men who can marry. Moreover it is also argued that the animals are an essential item used in the payment of dowry.

During the raids, killing was never part of the culture since when one killed he could not enter the Manyatta (homestead or settlements fenced by sticks or thorn bushes where Karamoja live) until he has been cleansed at a water point using blood from a slaughtered goat and the intestinal waste smeared over the body. The Moran had to stay alone in the bush for a night. This was an approach that traditionally prevented one from being killed during raids among the pastoralists.⁶⁹Today, death during rustling has increased especially the children herding goats and calves are killed. The pastoralists (respondent) from Amudat district of Uganda expressed their distress about Karamajong for killing their people especially children while herding the calves and goats. They also explained that the Local Defense Unit (LDUs) who were initially warriors help the Karamajong in raiding because more of these LDUs are from Karamajong and not Pokot side.

The study finds out that when one owns a lot of animals in this cluster, she or he is seen to be more prestigious in the society. This also stimulates raids because of competition in that the other neighbor feels poor and a result opts to steal. Revenge is another aspect related to cattle raiding in that if one tribe steals from the other, the other tribe will hit back and steal. This can be elaborated with the issue of ethnicity whereby there is no good relationships among the Karamoja cluster group. They see each other as enemies who are after destroying them. For

⁶⁹ Mkutu and Marani (2001) op cit; Mkutu K, "Banditry, Cattle Rustling and the Proliferation of Small Arms, the case of Baragoi Division of Samburu District", Arusha report (African Peace Forum: Nairobi, 2000)

instance, some respondents pointed out that ethnicity is always spearheaded by the political leaders especially during election time whereby they incite each community against the other for example on blame game of who steals from who.

Cattle rustling has been commercialized among this cluster hence whenever high levels of hunger hits the community especially during dry season, animal theft increases. This is because the Karamoja people depend on livestock for food in terms of meat, blood and milk. Therefore out of frustration one becomes aggressive due to the feeling of being deprived resulting to rustling in order to get food. The animals stolen can be sold at a cheaper price or slaughtered. The effects associated with livestock theft includes, loss of lives, property, displacement of families, and destruction of infrastructures like schools, water, health facilities and disruption of education. The high levels of insecurity forces away the investors in terms of international non-governmental organization or governmental based among the cluster with an aim of providing humanitarian assistance in terms of food, education and medicine for animals and the people.⁷⁰

The study observed that most pastoralists depend on the aid and donations especially those whose animals have died of hunger, diseases or have been stolen. This can also be connected to the high level of idleness by the youth who opt to get involved with drugs like tobacco and locally made brew in that when they lack what to exchange in order to get the drugs, they end up to stealing or engage in prostitution.

2.4 Conflict over land or boundaries

From the above table, 11.4% of the respondents had the view that conflicts over land and boundaries among the Karamoja are on the rise in the eastern Africa hence a source of conflict.

⁷⁰ ibid

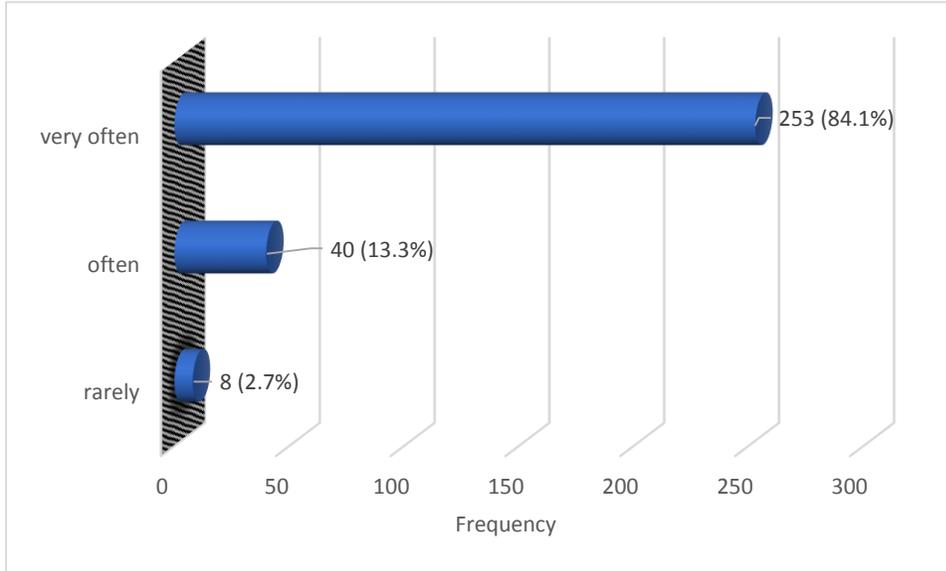
This includes the Ilemi triangle which is fertile and endorsed with minerals and part of some hills in Kainuk on the border of Pokot and Turkana of Kenya. In Uganda the Pokot and Karamajong are fighting over colonial boundaries whereby the Pokot argue that the Karamajong have taken their land especially during the drought season some years back, as they moved towards the border of Kenya in Amudat. Today, they are not in possession of this their land resulting into conflict over ownership.

In Lokichogio, some respondents cited out that the Toposa have been going around dropping some letters threatening the Turkana to vacate Lokichogio in that it belongs to the south Sudanese. These boundaries were imposed by the colonialists to make the pastoralists not to access their traditional dry grazing areas and drought reserve areas since currently most of the plateaus that were used before are now being used for farming hence pastoralism being practiced most in the semi and arid areas. The high increase in population and effects of climate change also stimulates conflicts over the little available fertile land.

In 1998, there was an eruption of war over demarcation of boundaries between Ethiopia and Eritrea due to the discovery of natural resources along the borders. This brings concerns that conflict between or among states might increase as years pass on who owns which part of the land.⁷¹

⁷¹ Wafula Okumu. Border disputes, 'Resources and Border Disputes in Eastern Africa'. Journal of Eastern African studies. Volume 4, 2010-Issue 2. Pages 279-297. Published online: 28 June 2010.

Figure 2.7: Frequency of conflict



Source: Field data 2019

Conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group happen very often due to the dependence on animals for livelihood. This then brings in competition over water and pasture for livestock especially during the dry season. From the above figure, 84% of the respondents indicated that the frequency of conflict especially over water, pasture and livestock is high. 13.3% said that completion over resources is often while 2.7% indicated that the conflicts happen rarely. These 13.3% and 2.7% were mostly the respondents who have opted for other methods of livelihood like farming, gold mining, stone breaking, business (selling of traditionally brewed beer and tobacco) and charcoal burning and mostly among the Matheniko people of Moroto.

2.5 Effects of competition over resource based conflicts

According to Ochieng Odhiambo, there is no easy distinction between the causes and effects in social science hence the differences of the effects and causes of competition over resource based conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group is not easy because some items appear as both

causes and consequence.⁷² The competition over scarce resources among this cluster group has rendered negative effects to this community hence the cluster being perceived as the poorest in the eastern Africa due to the persistence of violence over resources leading to underdevelopment. These impacts include: poverty and food insecurity; injuries, death and destruction of property; social, economic and political marginalization⁷³ that have in one way or the other led to the illegal trafficking and ownership of guns.

Poverty and food insecurity as an impact of competition over shared scarce resources has been brought about due to population increase, advanced technology and also increase in consumer demand resulting to unnecessary stress on the land, air, forests and water sources.⁷⁴ Some respondents highlighted that due to insecurity in the region, food insecurity increases due to lack of secure markets for the people to sell their livestock before or during dry periods.

According to FAO, acute food insecurity can be defined as temporary gaps in access to food which can be due to high prices, recessions, natural calamities due to climate change and political instability.⁷⁵ The acute food insecurity resulting from drought and crop failure with political and economic marginalization among the Karamoja sometimes leads to increase in social grievances, inequalities and ethnicity hence conflicts over shared scarce resources.

⁷² Michael Ochieng Odhiambo. The Karamoja Conflict; Origins, Impact and Solutions. An Oxfam Publication 2003 page 23.

⁷³ Ibid page 62

⁷⁴ Michael Keating. How do resources create conflict? Chatham House 2015.

⁷⁵ Food and agriculture organization. (1996) roe declaration on world food security and world food summit plan of action. ROME: FAO

Conflicts among the Karamoja has led to injuries that at a times lead to the loss of both human and animal lives, displacement of people and destruction of properties as a result of mostly raids, fights over water and pastures and even over disputed boundaries whenever the questions of who owns and should exploit the fertile rangelands. For instance, TUPADO in 2006-2009 recorded around 592 raid-related deaths in Turkana while the governmental institution CEWARN in 2009 reported 640 conflicts related deaths among the Pokot and Turkana counties.

Health services in the affected areas are faced with shortages of drugs, health workers, food supplements and medical equipment and infrastructure hence poor health and nutrition conditions in this cluster. In the long run, hunger becomes an outcome of poverty with women and children being the most affected by malnutrition due to lack of balanced diet.⁷⁶

With the destruction of schools, looting of supplies and shortages of teachers, education in northern Uganda for instance has been affected by conflicts. Schools are in the process closed or relocated and those still teaching are forced to reschedule the teaching times so that the children are considered to be safe by attending classes from 10 am to 3 pm. Many as a result do not attend schools for fear of being killed and abducted. This leads to teachers migrating to secure districts hence congestion due to shortage of shelters, reading and writing materials, classrooms, water, sanitation and recreational facilities.⁷⁷. The study observed that schools and health facilities in this cluster are scattered and are very few hence the issue of long distance walk to schools can also be hinder access to education.

⁷⁶ Pike IL et al. documenting the health consequences of endemic warfare in three pastoralists' communities of northern Kenya: a conceptual framework. *Social science & medicine* 2010, 70(1).

⁷⁷ Justine Nannyonjo. *Conflicts, poverty and human development in northern Uganda*. 2005 United Nations University- WIDER. Research paper No. 2005/47

Moreover, insecurity in this region is argued not only to be interrupting education but also posing as an obstacle to development whereby conflicts affects the physical access to social amenities like health facilities. In the long run, children drop out of school especially when their families relocate in search of water and pasture or to areas where there is security. The destruction of schools leads to increase in the levels of illiteracy among the Karamoja cluster forcing the youth to opt for pastoralism a means of livelihood.

Most of the respondents argued that injuries, deaths and destruction of property increases during drought seasons due to the illegally acquired and owned guns which are used for raiding, grazing and protection of family and property. The wounded raider who is not in a position to walk and has been caught raiding ends up shooting himself or herself so that he or she avoids being punished by the attacked group or community.⁷⁸

Politically this community is seen to be easily manipulated especially during election period whereby most of the politicians at times take advantage of the electorate by influencing them to fight among each other. In the process of fights, the politicians come up with ways that make the communities to perceive each other as enemies who steal their animals and kill their children and women. This creates hatred, animosity and tension hence frequent conflicts.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Janpeter Schilling, Opiyo & Scheffran. Raidng pastoral livelihoods: motives and effects of violent conflict in north-western Kenya. *Pastoralism a SpringerOpen journal*. 2012

⁷⁹ Benson Kiperen. Thesis on Deterring Cross-Border Conflict in the Horn of Africa: A Case Study of Kenya-Uganda border. 2008. The Naval Postgraduate School. California page.31-37

Chapter summary and findings

This study found out that despite conflicts being inevitable in the society it can be settled, managed or even resolved. Conflicts over pasture and water can be reduced among the Karamoja cluster group if more boreholes are established at a distance from each other and dams constructed at different points (not necessarily where they share) so that water is in enough supply. This can be an antidote to the contact of the ethnic groups with their animals around the sharing point that has a lot of water (dams). If the pastoralists are educated on the importance of sharing resources equally among themselves and come up with strategies of who to feed first especially during the dry season so that the animals do not mix hence confusion that leads to theft. The pastoralists burn the grazing areas when they anticipate rains which can be stopped whereby the dry grass can be fed on by animals or preserved as hay or fodder for future use. If the animals are tied around their neck or legs, they will not easily stray into people farms since this is also a cause of conflict in the community and therefore the owner of the animal pays either in cash or using an animal hence the need to have range land well fenced.

This study also observed that despite livestock theft (cattle rustling) being a traditional practice, it is one of the main causes of conflict among the Karamoja cluster group in the 21st century and it can be eliminated slowly by slowly and in the long run the impacts will be effective in one way or the other. The exchange of animals for women makes one to steal in order to get a wife. Some the pastoralists have embraced alternative livelihood like business (legal), farming along the rivers and mountains using irrigations schemes like along river Turkwel. The state and non-state actors are to some extent providing veterinary services to the animals so that they do not die of diseases. This is one of the methods that help in reducing livestock theft among the Karamoja.

When animals are stolen among the Karamoja, the LDUs (in Uganda), or clan leaders follow the footsteps of the animals to the point where they landed. The animals are then recovered and those who followed the footsteps are given one animal as a way of appreciation.

This chapter concludes that pastoralists among the Karamoja cluster group face almost similar problems like those around the world. These challenges include; climate change effects, socio-economic change, population increase, conflict and loss of land to agriculture, mining and protected areas like wildlife conservation areas. The grazing areas among the Karamoja cluster have changed with time in terms of size and carrying capacity due to the utilization of resources (land) for other use. As a result of the effects of climate change, the irrigation routes also change with time. Most migrations are short term as compared to before when pastoralists could move for longer distances. This has been restrained because of the presence of security personnel along the borders for instance the border of Kenya Uganda. The migratory routes have also changed because of the new settlements and competition over land use along the traditional grazing routes. With time, there is a change in the nature of conflicts among the Karamoja. This is from the main cause of conflict that was or is competition over water, pasture and livestock theft to conflict over boundaries or land ownership in terms of investment and mineral exploitation and over access to protected areas.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NEXUS BETWEEN RESOURCE BASED CONFLICT AND GUN CULTURE AMONG THE KARAMOJA CLUSTER GROUP OF EASTERN AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the relationship between resource based conflict and the illegal ownership of guns and whether this ownership of guns stimulates resource based conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group of eastern Africa as an ethnography. Using the primary and secondary data, this study assessed the prevalence of illegal gun ownership and how this guns are acquired and from where among this cluster. The study also looks at reasons why people acquire the guns illegally despite the campaign against the gun culture by respective stakeholders.

3.2 The Prevalence of Illegal Gun Ownership

From the historical perspective and regional development affairs, the proliferation of SALWs in the eastern Africa can be dated back to 19th century under the European colonialism. This proliferation was enhanced due to the establishment of trade raids for serf, domestic animals, ivory and other souvenirs by the Ethiopian raiders and Arab merchants.⁸⁰ Mburu argues that at that point of time, gun markets were found in Maji of south western Ethiopia and these guns were used as a mode of exchange (local currency).⁸¹

⁸⁰ Manasseh Wepundi et al. Special report. Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of Security in Kenya: An Assessment. Published by the Small Arms Survey. Geneva 2012.

⁸¹ Mburu, Nene. 2002. The Proliferation of Guns and Rustling in Karamoja and Turkana Districts: The Case of Appropriate Disarmament Strategies. Page 4. www.peacestudiesjournal.org.ke/dl/guns.pdf.

The existence of United Nations treaties governing the illegal exchange of arms have been put in place and they include the Firearms Protocol which is against the illegal production and acquisition of firearms, their parts, components and arsenals. It supplements the UNTOC treaty and also the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT). Both conventions came into being so that they can foster international cooperation to handle challenges emanating from the illicit trafficking of weapons and its negative effects on breach of peace and social economic development.⁸² The United Nations agenda on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) number 16, on the other hand emphasizes on the promotion of justice for all, peaceful and inclusive societies at all levels. Indicator 16.1.2 of the SDGs looks at conflict in relations to the number of deaths per a hundred thousand populations by gender, age, and the trigger. In relation to the illegal ownership of guns that has negative effects among the Karamoja cluster group, the SDG number 16 and its indicators scouts for peaceful coexistence.

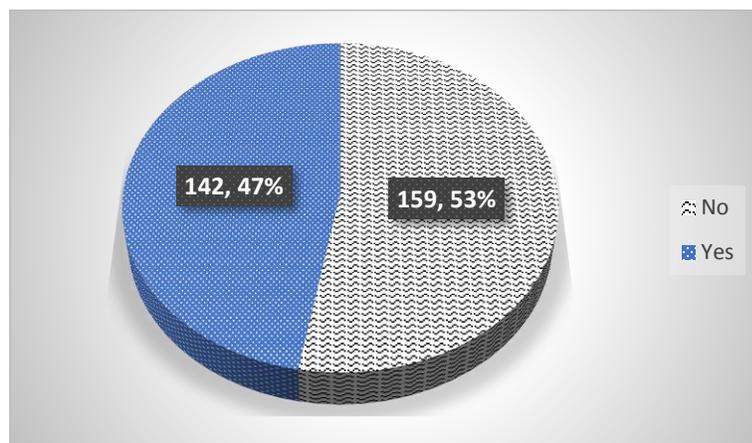
According to article 2 of the 1999 draft on International Firearms Protocol, illicit firearms trafficking involves the act of shipping in or out, acquiring, selling, delivery and movement or transfer of firearms within or across border to another without permission hence violating the rules, regulations and norms of the state parties concerned.⁸³ The illegal movement of SALW has increased in the Sub Saharan Africa and especially among the pastoralists. This is due to the persistence of conflicts over natural resources like water, pastures and livestock theft.⁸⁴

⁸² United Nations Office on Drug and Crime. Issues Paper” The Firearms Protocol and the Arms Trade Treaty: Divergence or Complementarity?” Publishing Production: English, Publishing and Library Section, United Nations Office at Vienna. March 2016

⁸³ Mark Phythian (ed) under the counter and over the border “aspects of the contemporary trade in illicit arms.” Published by Kluwer academic publishers 2000. ISBN 978-90-481-5569-9, ISBN 978-94-015-9335-9(eBook).

⁸⁴ *ibid*

Figure 3.1 Illegal Ownership of a Gun



Source: Field data 2019

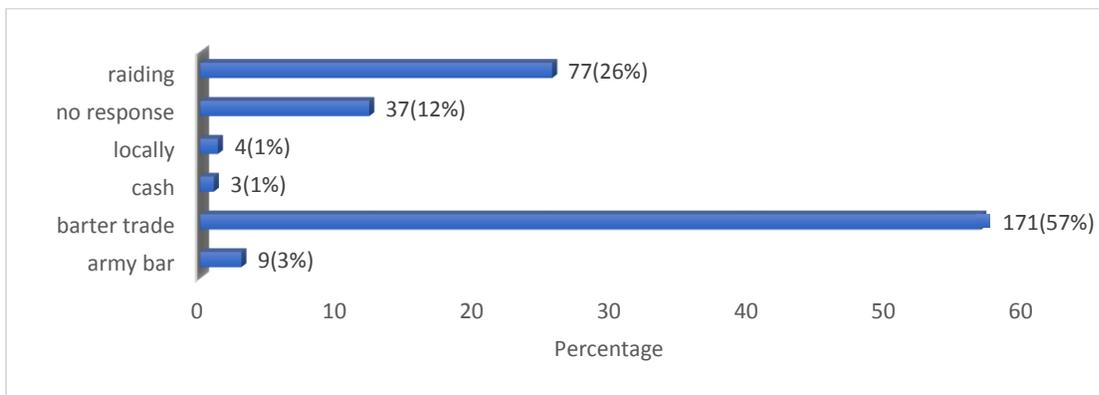
According to figure 3.1 above, 47% of the respondents admitted that people still own guns illegally in this cluster. This was observed during data collection whereby people along the border of Kenya and South Sudan carried the illegal guns around without fear. 53% of the respondents on the other hand indicated that they are not in possession of any gun. However as the researcher was filling the questionnaire with the respondent, a good number did not want to hear any questions related to guns especially among the Matheniko of Uganda and part of the Turkana's and Pokot of Kenya. They thought that the researcher was a spy sent by the government to investigate if people still own guns illegally. This showed that people in this cluster secretly still own guns illegally but they hide them. The study also observed that a good number of the respondents in the Karamoja cluster group are aware that having a gun that is not registered is illegal in the community. Unfortunately some argue that being in possession of a gun assures them of their protection.

The study observed that the respondents believe that one has to secure him or herself from attacks hence making sure that his or her interests are protected and achieved. This is done by

individuals who protect themselves and their households, nation states protecting their territorial boundaries and population while the international organization and international non-governmental organizations that help the respective governments in the process of protecting the society. Therefore security dilemma in international relations in regard to illegal ownership of guns is portrayed among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern African due to lack of government control, instability and marginalization among this cluster. There is heightened security by state (or individual in this situation of Karamoja) whereby each wants to increase gun ownership as a form of protection hence making the other to take similar actions. This leads to increase in tension that results to conflict. According to John Herz, security dilemma brings about the structural notion of self-help whereby the parties involved consider their interest more important regardless of those of others hence the feel of insecurity for others as each interprets their own measures as defensive and measures of others as potentially threatening.⁸⁵

3.3 The Illicit Acquisition of Guns in the Karamoja Cluster Group of Eastern Africa

Figure 3.2 Acquisition of a Gun



Source: Field Data 2019

⁸⁵ John H. Herz. Idealism, internationalism and security dilemma. (1950) Pp. 157-180 published by Cambridge university press

The illicit proliferation and misuse of SAWL is on the rise in 21st century globally. During the third United Nations conference held in New York, the UNSG Antonio Guterres admitted that there is was a need to look at progress made in terms of the process of implementing the programme of action so that illicit trade in SAWL is prevented, combated and eradicated. He also articulated that every year, over half a million population is killed violently around the world through small firearms.⁸⁶ These uncontrolled guns do not cause conflicts directly but the presence of these weapons in the Karamoja protracts conflict, fuels civil wars hence making non state armed groups to attack government and local communities with the aim of achieving their interest.

Due to the characteristics of small arms in terms of low cost, availability, portability and concealment, they are argued to be acquired mostly from foreign countries like China, Russia, Israel and over 20 OSCE through illegal means which includes smuggling through the porous borders and the unguarded waters such as oceans and seas.⁸⁷ The small arms can also be acquired by stealing from the government forces, looting from state arms depot, purchased from corrupt soldiers and stolen from the private owners. The peace keepers also occasionally and voluntarily part with their small arms which later ends up in the hands of the rebel arsenals. The spontaneous raid of Guinean peacekeepers in 2000, for instance gained Sierra Leonean rebels around five hundred and fifty arsenals that included assault rifles and machine guns just to mention a few.

⁸⁶ Keith Krause. Journal on Multilateral diplomacy, norm building and UN conferences: The case of Small arms and light weapons. Global governance, Vol. 8, No.2 .2002. Published by Lynne Rienner.

⁸⁷ Matt Schroeder and Guy Lamb. The Illicit Arms Trade in Africa. "A Global Enterprise". African Analysis. Issue 1(4) Third Quarter 2006. Page70.

This therefore shows how rebels and armed groups are a major source of illicit small arms in Africa.⁸⁸

Small and light weapons (mostly guns) have brought about the escalation of inter and intra societal tensions and conflicts over resources with different methods being applied as a form of acquisition. From the above figure 3.3, 57% of the respondents highlighted that people in the Karamoja cluster acquire the guns through barter trade. This is the mostly practiced method whereby the pastoralists exchange guns for animals (mostly bulls). According to Darlington and Ateyo, shopkeepers and gun peddlers operate more secretly whereby the shopkeepers exchange guns for a bull then sells the bull for cash and later he/she uses the cash to restock livestock.⁸⁹ The respondents also highlighted that the guns were and are also exchanged for women as a bride price which then gives the warrior an upper hand for getting a wife. Therefore, the more the guns a person has in the society, he/she is considered prestigious depending on the type and quality of the gun. 26% of the respondents said that people in the Karamoja cluster acquire guns through raiding. This happens whereby when the people go to raid and in the process one is killed, his/her gun is taken with what was being targeted be it the animals or women. The 12% refused to answer any question related to guns as stated before; they feared that the researcher is investigating how many people still own the guns illegally.

According to figure 3.3 above, 3% of the respondent stated that guns were acquired from the army barracks. For instance, in Uganda, during the fall of Idi Amin regime, the soldiers left the

⁸⁸ Matt Schroeder, Guy Lamb. A Global enterprise “The illicit Arms trade in Africa” July 2018. Institute of Security Studies in South Africa, University of Cape Town.

⁸⁹ Darlington Akabwai and Priscillar. E. Ateyo: “the scramble for cattle, power and guns in karamoja”, Feinstein International center, December 2007, page 25-26.

barracks in fear of their lives and the people accessed the guns left in the 2nd Battalion barracks in Moroto.⁹⁰ However, today some guns in Uganda are acquired from the LDUs and UPDF while in South Sudan, due to the somehow failed government, the people get the guns from Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) for protection or even from the political leaders. In Kenya (Turkana) the illegal guns are said to be acquired from the Kenya police officers.⁹¹ 1% of the respondent stated that before guns were locally made hence inheritance while the other hand, the other 1% of the respondents said that they buy the guns using cash money as agreed between the buyer and seller. The process involves the selling of the bulls to get cash money and in return the cash is used for the buying of the gun.

This study established that the proliferation of illicit guns in the Eastern Africa to the Karamoja cluster group of pastoralists comes from the porous borders using different routes. The Karamoja of Uganda stated that the guns are bought from Kenya in Turkana Lowdar and South Sudan which then enters Uganda through Kabong, Kotido and Moroto. The Kenyan people on the other hand, access the guns from Somali, South Sudan, Ethiopia and even Uganda. The south Sudan as stated before get the guns from government (SPLM) and Khatoum. Due to the high level of awareness against ownership of the SALW, the guns are now transported on donkeys in the charcoal bags or cooking fat so that they are not seen and silently trade in exchange of animals. Some of the respondents highlighted that refugees in the Kakuma camp are also involved in the proliferation of these weapons. According to Mugambi, these illegal guns contribute to increase of insecurity in the region hence affecting the society economically,

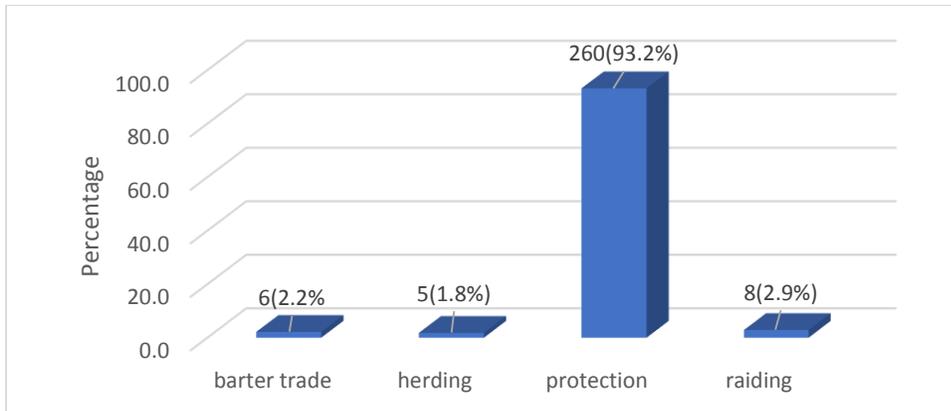
⁹⁰ Office of the Prime Minister (OPM). Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme. "Creating Conditions for Promoting Human Security and Recovery in Karamoja, 2007/2008-2009/2010". January 2007. Kampala, Uganda.

⁹¹ James Bevan. Blowback. "Kenya's Illicit Ammunition Problem in Turkana North District". Published in Switzerland by the Small Arms Survey. Geneva 2008.

politically and even socially. He argues that the refugees are not only victims of small arms and light weapons but also perpetrators of the same.⁹²

3.4 Reasons why People Acquire Guns

Figure 3.4 Reasons why People Acquire Guns



Source: Field data 2019

The Karamoja of Eastern Africa value guns a lot due to the importance they perceive it has. 93.2% of the respondent stated that the guns are used in protection of a variety of things which include: protection of property, personal protection from other clans, gangs and criminals, village, fear of future conflicts or war, protection from wildlife, at work, hunting and valued family possessions. Due to inter-group rivalry, the pastoralists use the illegal guns for fighting whenever attacks or war occurs so that instability as a barrier to peaceful coexistence in the cluster is avoided. The inheritance of guns is also an essential factor in terms of family protection especially when there is minimal government presence to provide security. As a result the illegal guns bring in the aspects of group identity, safety and survival hence a valuable family asset

⁹² M.M Mugambi. The Role of Refugees in the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Kenya through Kakuma Refugee Camp and its Impact on Regional Security. Masters Thesis. Moi University. Nairobi, Kenya. 2014.

among the Karamoja cluster group.⁹³ Most pastoralists own guns illegally because they believe that the respective governments have failed in protecting them. However in Uganda, the respondents stated that guns were before owned by pastoralists for protection but today the LDUs and UPDF are the ‘only’ ones in legal possession of the arms. The UPDF and LDUs play part in livestock protection (in kraals and during grazing), recovery of stolen animals and provision of security to the people in general.⁹⁴

Raiding among the Karamoja is a cultural practice which in the current world is aided by use of a gun mostly acquired illegally. This makes the pastoralists to own guns illegally so that their mission of raiding is achieved. 2.9% of the respondents pointed out that guns are used in raiding so that one can restock his/her animals or even if rendered helpless to poverty, he/she can access food from stealing using by the guns. However, in the past the community member (especially the elders) were involved in organizing for raids whereby after the raiding, the stolen animals were mixed in to the existing herds implying that the community were okay with the process of raiding as a form of restocking.⁹⁵ The illegal ownership of guns in relation to cattle rustling in the contemporary Karamoja has brought about negative effects due to globalization hence the changing pattern of raiding. Guns are owned anyhow by the community as compared to before where a gun was owned communally. Attacks are planned and carried out by warriors aged between 21 and 30 years without approval by the clan elders and the community in general. In the process of raiding, a child or a woman is killed as opposed to the past whereby deaths were

⁹³ Manasseh Wepundi et al. Special report. Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of Security in Kenya: An Assessment. Page 40-42. Published by the Small Arms Survey. Geneva 2012.

⁹⁴ *ibid*

⁹⁵ E.Stites, D. Akabwai. Et al: “Angering Akuju: Survival and suffering in Karamoja- A Report on Livelihoods and Human Security in the Karamoja”, Feinstein international center, December 2007: page 57.

rare during raids.⁹⁶ The end aim of raiding is also to acquire animals which are then used to pay dowry.

2.2% of the respondents said that guns are used for herding whereby the animals and resources (water and pasture) are protected. This number has reduced because unlike before guns were carried around like sticks but now it's only on the border of Kenya South Sudan and Kenya Ethiopia where people still use guns for protection while grazing. In Uganda for instance, the LDUs are the ones who mane the kraals and accompany the pastoralists to the grazing and water points. This shows that the use of sticks has been replaced by guns in that the sticks are now more often applied in the driving the animals, fighting, aid during walking and protection in general.⁹⁷

The use of guns as a form of barter trade is also evident among the Karamoja. 1.8% of the respondents highlighted that people exchange guns for food, animals, and women. The study observed that there is a changing value of animals among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa due to the high demand of the animals. People are now interested in profit making from the animals whereby the stolen animals are quickly sold or bartered for guns, sex, alcohol, food, or other goods. The commercialization of the animals has therefore attracted powerful people like politicians, government officials, military officers, wealthy business men and traders hence fighting insecurity and retrieval of the illegally owned guns among this cluster becomes a bit

⁹⁶ Darlington Akabwai and Priscillar. E. Ateyo: "the scramble for cattle, power and guns in Karamoja", Feinstein International center, December 2007, page 25-26.

⁹⁷ Nene Mburu. Warriors and guns: the anthropology of cattle rustling in northeastern Africa. 'Open fire: Understanding Global Gun Cultures. 2007. Available at Books.google.com

difficult. According to a local newspaper in Uganda for example, an army officer Brigadier Matayo Kyaligonza was claimed to have been involved in cattle theft.⁹⁸

However, these guns have also had a negative impact to the karamoja cluster group and the eastern Africa at large. This is because in the areas where these weapons are owned illegally the level of human insecurity and poverty is quite high. For instance in the process of raiding, people's lives are lost, property is destroyed; people are forced to migrate resulting to children stop going to school. In Uganda for instance, the respondents from Amudati and Morita (Pokot) sighted out that the Karamajong kill their children in the process of stealing the Mori (calves) and goats. The availability and proliferation of SAWL also hinders the ability of the development agencies to provide aid and food relief and for government to provide security, enforce law and repair damaged or destroyed infrastructure. For example is in Kainuk where the Pokot and Turkana border each other, the level of insecurity is high due to the increased jobless youth owning guns. They poses like bandits who high jack cars and robe passengers and even International Non-Governmental Organizations on the ground. The Toposa-Turkana border is also insecure hence fear leading to no much development in the area. These pastoralists believe that having the guns makes them feel protected as the government has forgotten about them.

3.5 Chapter summary and findings

This study finds out that there is a nexus between resource based conflict and gun culture among the Karamoja cluster group whereby the effects emanating from the illegal gun ownership are both direct (death and injuries) and indirect (inter communal tension). These has contributed to the increase in the level of violence in one way or the other in that for one to raid (get animals for

⁹⁸ Museveni to Probe Cattle Theft Reports, New Vision, 6 December 2010.

instance for paying dowry or restocking) and herd (competition of water and pasture) he should have a gun as a shield to the animals and family. Therefore, some people in the Karamoja cluster group still own guns illegally because they believe that if one does not own one, then his protection is at risk. These guns are acquired through barter trade, raiding, cash sale and even from army barracks which then enters the nation states through the porous borders that lack security from their respective government or failed government. Some respondents said that the guns are also supplied by those in government like politicians to the community as a form of business or when election are due, the politicians campaign and in the process they give the guns silently to the people so that they protect themselves and in return they are voted for. These politicians therefore lure votes through illegal gun distribution. Moreover, some Karamoja pastoralists do not know that having a gun that is not registered is illegal for example among the Turkana and Toposa, and Turkana and Nyangatom bordering each other. However, the Karamojong of Uganda are aware of the gun culture and as a result 'only' the LDUs own the guns and are entitled to protect the kraals at night and the pastoralist when going to graze. As observed and stated by respondents, to date most pastoralists in Uganda 'only' use the sticks to fight and not the guns.

In conclusion, to curb the proliferation of the illegal acquisition and ownership of guns among the Karamoja cluster group of eastern Africa so that conflicts over water, pasture and cattle raids are reduced and security achieved, there is need for regional disarmament and arms embargo. This arms embargo as a coercive diplomatic approach aims at preventing the transfer of illegal weapons and other military related material to a certain state or armed group which is perceived to pose a threat to the unity and coexistence of the international system. This means that the

Karamoja of south Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya should all be disarmed equally by for example by applying the methods used in Uganda by the Museveni regime. The deployment of intelligent security personnel along the porous borders by the government at hand can help stop the proliferation of guns in this cluster by examining the reasons why the guns have a demand and who are the supplier or the source.

CHAPTER FOUR

APPROACHES USED IN THE MANAGEMENT OF RESOURCE BASED CONFLICTS AMONG THE KARAMOJA CLUSTER GROUP OF EASTERN AFRICA.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the methods used in the prevention, settlement, management and resolution of conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group depending on the level at which the conflicts occur. The study assessed the use of traditional mechanisms and other approaches in the management of the conflicts and whether the approaches are effective in the long or short term and also if the respective governments apart from being aware, understands the conflicts in this cluster.

4.2 Traditional Mechanisms in Conflict Management

According to Fred Mensah in Tasew, traditional conflict management is the capability of applying the social norms and customs that holds members of a group together by effectively setting and facilitating the terms of their relations so that the mutual benefits are achieved. These mutual benefits are for example co-existence, peace and harmony.⁹⁹ Conflicts therefore existed even before the era of colonization hit Africa hence it was the duty of the traditional leaders to resolve these conflicts. Moreover, Osaghae contends that in the society, conflict occurs between

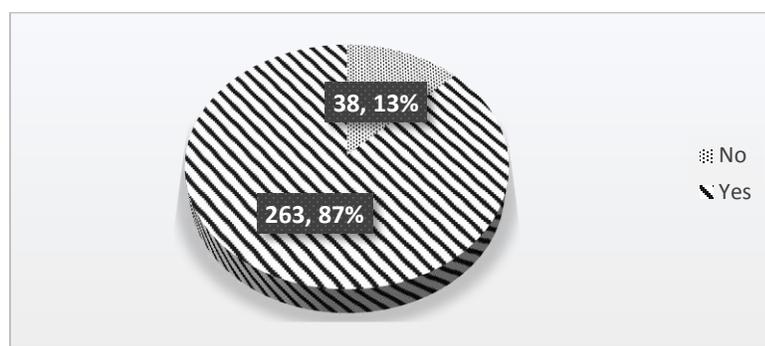
⁹⁹Tasew Tafese. Conflict management through African indigenous institutions: a study of the Anyyuaa community. Institute of peace and security studies, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. 2016. Volume 3. Page 22

people of different communities due to fights over the right of ownership of natural resources and raid of livestock hence an application of the Karamoja cluster group in this perspective.¹⁰⁰

Traditional conflict resolution mechanisms are usually carried out by chiefs, elders, family heads and the prominent leaders who are accepted and respected in the society. This is because those chosen to lead the process are perceived to have wisdom, knowledge, respect and can be trusted in the process of mediation.¹⁰¹ This process is well organized in a manner that its time conscious, less expensive and its objective is to enhance reconciliation and improvement of the social relationships due to the deep rooted nature of the community customs and traditions of the people. At the end of the tunnel, traditional methods aims to restore balance, resolve conflict, do away with disputes, anticipate or intercept conflicts. The process is relatively informal hence less intimidating as compared to the other conventional methods.¹⁰²

4.3 Efforts by the community to resolve and manage conflicts traditionally

Figure 4.1 Efforts by the Community to Resolve and Manage Conflicts Traditionally



Source: Field data 2019

¹⁰⁰Osaghae E.E., ‘Applying Traditional mechanisms to Modern Conflict; Possibilities and Limits’ in Zartman I.W.(eds), Traditional Cures for modern conflict, African Conflict “Medicine”, (London: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2000).

¹⁰² Kwaku Osei- Hwedie and Morena J. Rankopo. Chapter 3: Indigenous conflict resolution in Africa: The Case of Ghana and Botswana. Page 33. University of Botswana.

There are efforts to settle, resolve and manage conflicts (traditionally) emanating from competition over the shared scarce resources and those conflicts resulting from the illegal ownership of guns among the Karamoja cluster group of eastern Africa. According to figure 4.1 above, 87% of the respondents agreed that some efforts have been put in place to solve conflicts traditionally. The respondents went ahead to content that some of the methods are carried out under sacred places like the shrine (trees/caves etc.) and includes for instance rituals whereby the elders take some items from the special tree like backs, leaves or roots, they rub the products and if the fire is produced one can die if he/she goes against the norms of the society. The elders also come up with strategies that guide the people on how to graze, where, when and how so that they do not clash with each other in times of scarcity of resources. For instance among the turkana, the *ngadakar* which are secure groups led by the generals are tasked to negotiate for grazing rights from the neighboring tribes in the other counties or countries like Uganda. In case the negotiations fails, the *Adakar* (singular for *ngadakar*) member will never go back to see its animals starve to death but rather the General of *adakar* will lead its people in fights so that they secure what is available for their animals and family.¹⁰³ This therefore deters the people in the community from indulging in cattle rustling and other forms of conflict.

On the other hand, 13% of the respondents argued that traditionally there have been no efforts by the community to enhance peace and security in the society since everyone is interested in pursuing their own agenda without considering the other group. This implies that most of the

¹⁰³ Darlington M.O Akabwai. Extension and Livestock Development: Experience from among the Turkana Pastoralists of Kenya. Overseas Development Institute, 1992.

traditional leaders are not objective in dispensing justice hence traditional efforts argued not to be much effective in the long run.

4.4 Traditional methods used in conflict management among the Karamoja

The use of the traditional court as an approach of conflict management involves the application of barazas (public meetings). 37.2% of the respondents highlighted that the use of traditional courts in the management of conflicts related to competition over shared scarce resource, effects of illegal ownership of guns and other emerging conflicts or disputes among the Karamoja cluster group are often. These traditional courts are always led by the respected elderly and a times learned people in the community.

The traditional courts are sometimes in inform of public assemblies (barazas) whereby deliberations, gathering and meetings are held by a collective group of people led by community leaders like chiefs or LC1 who advice the latter on how to work on the problems at hand. Among the Karamajong barazas can also be referred to as *akiriket* which means the coming together of elders so that they guide and lead the people where necessary and this is usually carried out under a sacred tree. In the process one has gone against the norms and customs of the society, the Akiriket elders pray and curse the evil from the person so that he or she does not engage in actions again (like cattle rustling and killing of children and women during grazing) that bring conflicts in the community.¹⁰⁴ The barazas therefore being dynamic institutions, they are mostly held once a week so that space for consensus building, negotiation and compromise to the

¹⁰⁴Ben Knighton. Orality in the service of Karamajong Autonomy: Polity and Performance. Journal of African cultural studies. Vol.18, No.1. 2006 page 4-13.

community is provided and people given a chance in policy formulation and implementation¹⁰⁵ in regards to resource based conflict among the this cluster group.

Dialogue, peace meeting, agreements and resolutions are renowned approaches in the current world that enhances peace and security whenever there is conflict in the society. Among the Karamoja, most of this process is facilitated by the INGOs and NGOs who help in the bringing together those fighting for discussion or indirectly assist in creation of conditions in which resolutions of the disputes are easily resolved. This involves establishment of training network for mediation, implementation of early warning and response systems, convening stakeholders through organization of national dialogue, providing political and even financial support.¹⁰⁶ For example in 2011, a Dan Church Aid (DCA) organized a dialogue meeting between the local government and veterinary officers along the Kenya-Uganda border with an aim of coming up with a cross-border animal health committee. The objective was to provide timely and effective livestock disease surveillance whereby animal health services were on the forefront by engaging the trained and skilled veterinary staff. In 2013, Kenya and Uganda also signed an MoU in Moroto Uganda and the agreement was reached that the two countries should coordinate investment which would make it easier for the karamoja people to access services for instance by undertaking a livestock zero-surveillance and training of veterinary officers so that apart from other disease, rindapest be also eradicated.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ B.N Ngwenya and D.L. Kgathi. Traditional Public Assembly (KYOTLA) and Natural Resources Management in Ngamiland, Botswana. 2001. Nova science publishers, Inc.

¹⁰⁶ Oli Brown and Michael Keating. Research paper on Energy, Environment and Resource. "Addressing Natural Resource Conflicts: Working towards more Effective Resolution of National and Sub national Resource Disputes. Published by the Chatham house. 2005. London.

¹⁰⁷ Lisa Baumgartner DCA ECHO Consortium Coordinator and DCA Communication Officer Mai Gad. DanChurch Aid led Consortium Initiates Cross Border Agreement between Kenya and Uganda. <https://www.danchurchaid.org>.

The other agreement signed by President Uhuru of Kenya and Museveni of Uganda called cross-border sustainable peace and development programme aimed at reducing tensions resulting from access to shared resources such as water and pasture hence peace. In the long run, development would be achieved leading to decrease in poverty and marginalization level.¹⁰⁸

Nabilatuk or Moruitit resolution in the Karamoja also helps in conflict management as it discourages people from stealing whereby the perpetrator of theft is required to return double the number of stolen animals plus one hence improvement of security. These resolutions also highlights that communities are supposed to cooperate with peace committees and the UPDF in the tracking of stolen animals. This involves following of the footprints of the animals to the point where they are impounded. One of the respondents said that if one has been found to have stolen animals and is not in a position to pay as required, then the perpetrator has to get the animals from the relatives and if the relatives also do not have, then the community will have to pay. This makes the community to discourage cattle theft hence conflict management mechanism.¹⁰⁹

Lokiriana peace accord is a treaty signed in 1973 between the Matheniko of Uganda and Turkana of Kenya and is used as a master plan of conflict management. It involved the burial of weapons such as spears, guns, knives, shield and swords by elders at a place called Lokiriana in Turkana so that peace is embraced among these pastoral groups and aimed to end the problem of cattle rustling by having a bull killed. Moreover in the same treaty, the elders agreed to have

¹⁰⁸PSCU Kenya, Uganda Sign Pact to End Cross-Border Conflicts between Turkana, Pokot and Karamajong. <https://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news>.September 13, 2019

¹⁰⁹ Kimberly Howe, Elizabeth Stites, and Darlington Akabwai with Mercy corps. "We now have relative peace", changing conflict dynamics in northern Karamoja, Uganda. Page 16.Feinstein international center. Tufts university USA. November 2015.

intermarriages between Turkana and Matheniko as a way to reduce difference and strengthen good relations. This customary agreement between Uganda and Kenya has led to building of a monument at Lokiriama hence celebrations done early.¹¹⁰

However some of the respondents felt that traditional courts are not currently much involved in the management of resource based conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group so that peace and security prevails in the long run as compared to before. Due to the high level of marginalization among the Karamoja cluster group, special traditional occasions were used in restoration of peace and security whenever conflict loomed. Intermarriage as a traditional method was employed to reduce the levels of ethnicity and animosity especially during dry season so that members shared what was available in terms of water and pastures and discouragement of cattle rustling. In addition, some respondent from the sampled group said intermarriages are now rare because for example; the Pokot men of Uganda claimed that they rarely marry from the Karamajong because their girls are 'spoiled' (educated in that they do not respect themselves) as compared to the Pokot girls who take good care of their families, home and respect their men. The Pokot men also highlighted that they take good care of their wives or girls as compared to the Karamajong men. In the Karamoja cluster, parents believe that if their daughters attain formal education they will become less competent wives, prostitutes or run off to marry non-Karamajong men who will divert them from the Karamajong ways of life.

On the other hand, intermarriages between the Turkana and Toposa are seen to be partially on the increase whereby the Turkana girls only get married to the Toposa due to hunger same to

¹¹⁰ Emily Welty, Matthew Bolton and William Kiptoo. Local Peace building in East Africa: The role of Customary Norms and Institutions in Addressing Pastoralist Conflict in Kenya and Uganda. Locally led peace building: Global Case studies, 61, 2019. books.google.com. Page 61-71

Pokot-Turkana. However, this study establishes that special traditional occasions no longer enhance peace and security among the Karamoja cluster because once the Turkana woman is married to Pokot, after having a family and hunger strikes, enmity builds up and her sons or warriors go back to raid from where the mother came from without care of the relationship they have. This therefore does not help in management of conflicts among the Karamoja in the long run especially during dry season.

The use of traditional blessings and curses as a method of scaring away people from engaging in conflict in this cluster group is said to have been effective before but now it has gradually reduced. For instance, after raiding and the animals reach the kraal then those who went to steal were blessed by the clan elders using taboos and rituals.¹¹¹ However, this unfortunately encouraged some warriors to go and steal in order to be blessed. Some respondents felt that traditional blessings and curses as an approach of conflict management is practiced but not often as compared to before.

The study observed that the traditional methods of conflict management among this cluster have been hindered due to the poor community relationships due to the high level of ethnicity, hatred and revenge. For instance during data collection among the Turkana and Pokot of Kenya, the researcher observed that the Turkanas do not like interacting with the Pokots since one of the respondents asked which tribe the researcher was from and after response, the respondent said that if the researcher was a Pokot girl then she could not have hesitated doing away with her life. The Pokots of Uganda (especially the young men) moreover see the Karamajong as enemies

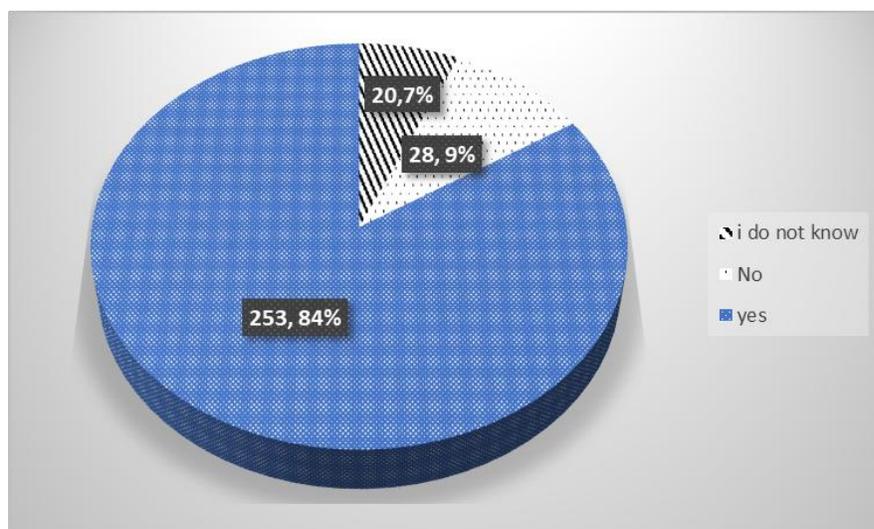
¹¹¹Darlington Akabwai and Priscillar. E. Ateyo: “The Scramble for Cattle, Power and Guns in Karamoja”, Feinstein International center, December 2007.

since they feel more marginalized and that the Karamajong steal their animals and kill their siblings. This therefore helped the researcher to deduce that community relationships among the Karamoja cluster are very poor but there is some good relationships among the educated people who intermarry and know the essence of a peaceful environment.

This study established that if there are any traditional efforts, then to some extent, they are just short term hence not effective in the long run. This is because, some respondent cited out that during the peace meeting or dialogues whereby people leave their homes to go gather at an identified venue, some pastoralists take advantage and go to steal or kill. For instance the Turkana bordering the Toposa claimed that the Toposa have this behavior of stealing or killing while meetings are on as Turkana bordering Pokot also complained of the same. In Uganda, the Pokot cited out that the Karamajong do not follow what is said by the traditional leaders even after a meeting. Moreover, some pastoralists are rebellious because they do not adhere to what has been agreed on during the meeting or if they do, peace only prevails for like one to two weeks or even days.

4.5 Approaches used to address the illegal ownership of guns among the Karamoja.

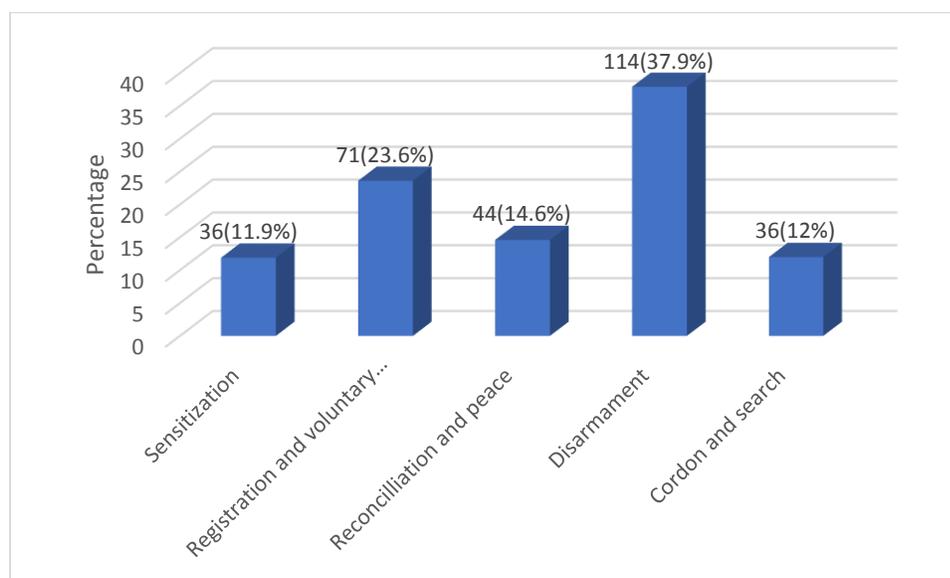
Figure 4.3 Are there Approaches used to address illegal gun ownership among the Karamoja.



Source: Field data 2019

According to figure 4.3 above, 84% of the respondents stated that there are approaches that have been used to solve resource based conflicts emanating from people having guns illegally among the Karamoja clusters group. This approach is mainly disarmament which has a broader perspective in that it was carried out in different ways. 9% of the participants felt that are no approaches that have been applied to cut the illegal ownership of guns that have negative implications to the community. On the other hand, 7% highlighted that they do not know of any method, avoided or were reluctant to share information about the illegal trafficking and ownership of guns.

Figure 4.4 Approaches used to Solve Conflicts Emanating from illegal acquisition of weapons among the Karamoja



Source: Field data 2019

Disarmament as an approach aims at eradicating (in general or complete) the illegal ownership of weapons which involves the acts of reducing, limiting or abolishing weapons through international treaties or agreements signed between two or more parties.¹¹² The above figure 4.4 shows how different stakeholders have observed the issue of illegal trafficking and ownership of gun so as to reduce the effects emanating from it. 37.9% of the participants highlighted in general that disarmament is the most popular approach used. This aimed at achieving the problems of cattle rustling (combating), gun violence and proliferation of illegal guns among the Karamoja people so that they are not affected socially, economically and politically in terms of development. However, the wider respondents were able to point out the exact method of disarmament applied.

¹¹² UN General Assembly, Final Document of the First Special Session on Disarmament. Archived November 17,2015 at Wayback Machine

According to article 12 of the Nairobi protocol, voluntary surrender involves the state playing a role by encouraging the civilians in possession of small arms and light weapons illegally to voluntarily surrender the SALW for destruction or disposal in accordance with the domestic laws of the state. The holders who surrender the SALW should be granted immunity from prosecution.¹¹³ 23.6% of the respondents highlighted that registration and voluntary surrender of guns was conducted whereby people were lured to register their guns in exchange of being paid at the end of the month. Voluntary surrender implied that the people return the guns to the government without being forced. For instance in Uganda, the Karamajong and Pokot were given some money and iron sheets so that they could build houses (some respondents pointed out the promise was never fulfilled) and in return they surrender the illegal guns.

Darlington Akabwai argues that the voluntary disarmament approach was at first successful with around 10,000 guns turned over to the authorities within two months in 2007 in Uganda. However, the incentives that came along the disarmament made those disarmed to be easily identified as not secure. Among the Pokot of Uganda, those given the oxen for ploughing the land in exchange of the guns were perceived to be exploiting the oxen hence the neighbors felt pity of the animal ploughing and as a result they killed the owner so that the oxen is not 'enslaved'.¹¹⁴ The respondents in Kenya said that the government registered some guns especially those owned by Kenya Police Reservist and paid them ten thousands Kenya shilling. This as an approach led some of the Karamoja people surrender their guns in the long run.

¹¹³ The Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa. 21st April 2004. Nairobi.

¹¹⁴ Darlington Akabwai and Priscillar. E. Ateyo: "the scramble for cattle, power and guns in karamoja", Feinstein International center, December 2007, page 32

On the other hand, 12% of the respondents said that disarmament was done through cordon and search. This involved security personnel from the government (like in Uganda-UPDF) who surrounded the Kraals and manyattas and forcefully entered to search and retrieve the guns. This method however was associated with the violation of human rights because it involved at one point, beating, rape, death of some of those found at that time in the homesteads if they did not comply as per the order and even destruction of property like burning of the manyattas and kraals.¹¹⁵ In Uganda, the UPDF would patrol the community and arrest the men for instance during the market day and took them to the barracks. This then forced the women/wives to go back home and surrender the guns to the barracks in exchange for the release of their men. Those arrested and yet they had no guns, their relatives/wives could sell the animals then go buy the guns and give to the UPDF barracks so that the men are let go.¹¹⁶

Reconciliation and peace talk is an essential aspect in conflict management because it brings the parties at loggerheads together so that they become friends and in the long run coexist. This process has helped a lot to restore security among the Karamoja cluster group as pointed out by the 14.6% of the sampled population. It involves pastoralists being educated about the negative effects of the illegal guns brought to the society and the positive impacts the society can have in the long run if illegal guns are surrendered to the respective bodies. Peace talks were done through barazas, media talks, faith based organization and the NGOs are it international or national. These NGOs mostly facilitate the pastoralists during meetings in terms of providing food and sitting allowances. They are also involved in the development by encouraging the people to go to school, providing health service, food and infrastructure construction. In the

¹¹⁵ Amnesty International, "Blood at the Crossroads: Making the case for a Global Arms Trade Treaty", 30 November 2008. Page 101.

¹¹⁶ *ibid*

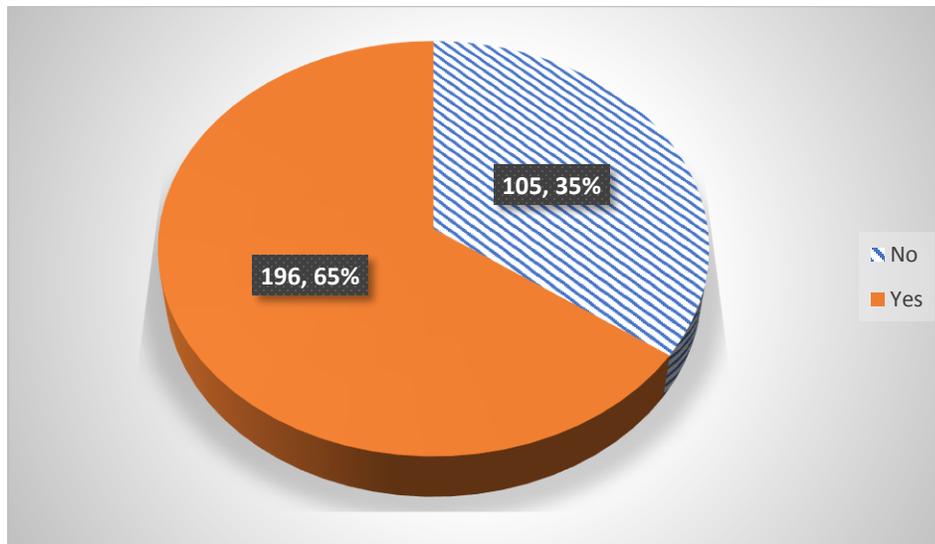
process the Karamoja were taught on the importance of peace and coexistence amongst themselves hence a conflict management strategy.

Finally, sensitization as a means to disarm the Karamoja takes a broader view from peace talks and meetings. According to Nairobi protocol article 12, the state parties should come up with means of awareness and education programmes so that the problem of proliferation and illicit trafficking of SALW are tackled with effectively. In the long run, this programme promotes a culture of peace in the society. 11.9% of the respondents appreciate this method because it has fostered friendly interactions among the Karamoja. For example in Uganda in 2001 president Museveni constructed a camp at Morulinga county in Bokora and Moroto district which was controlled by political leaders who moved from one district to the other sensitizing the people about negative effects associated with illegal ownership of guns. Radio programmes were used to explain the essence of the process of disarmament while public rallies used to reach out to the community. The role of the women in this process was also unfolded as they formed groups of ten from each Sub County and composed songs that encouraged voluntary surrender of guns.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷Office of the Prime Minister (OPM). Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme. "Creating Conditions for Promoting Human Security and Recovery in Karamoja, 2007/2008-2009/2010". January 2007. Kampala, Uganda.

4.6 Effectiveness of the approaches used to eradicate the illegal ownership of guns.

Figure 4.5 Effectiveness of the Approaches used to eradicate the illegal ownership of guns.



Source: Field data 2019

According to the respondents, the effectiveness of the approaches used to solve conflicts associated with illegal acquisition and ownership of guns stands at 65% while 35% of the sampled respondents felt that these methods have not been effective in the long run because people still own guns in secret or some like along Kenya –South Sudan and Kenya – Ethiopia still carry the guns in the open. This has brought fear in the community hence the levels of poverty are high due to lack of infrastructural development. Some respondents blame the government (Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan) in that it has failed to disarm its people equally. During the focus group discussions, the Turkana respondents for instance felt that the government of Kenya has taken their guns and not those of Pokot. From this study we can deduce that disarmament has not been effective among the Karamoja since some people still own

illegal guns because they perceive that without possessing a gun then their general protection is in danger.¹¹⁸

4.7 Border security

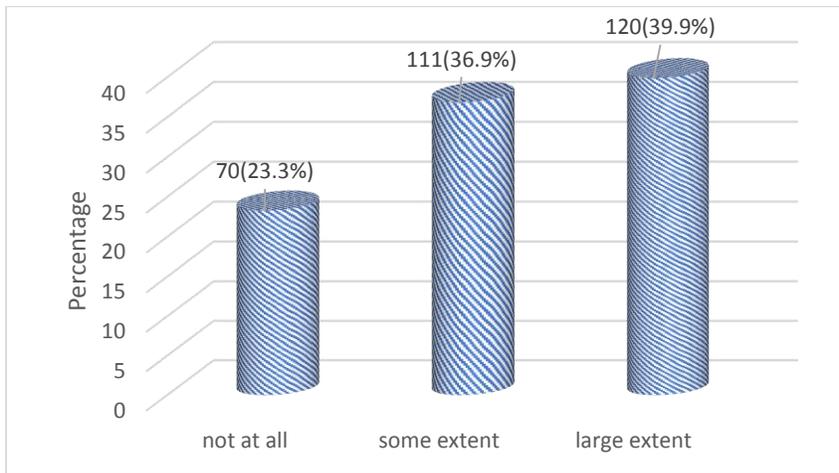
The provision of security personnel along the borders is another strategy of conflict management among the Karamoja cluster group of eastern Africa despite the challenges encountered in the process. These personnel may be representatives of the state, non-state actors like NGOs as well as the traditional and informal communities. For instance at the Uganda Kenya border along Moroto-Loima, there is a UPDF barrier that controls the movement of the pastoralists and other people moving in and out of Uganda.¹¹⁹ Along the Kenya – South Sudan and Kenya – Ethiopia border, there are different posts which include the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF), GSU, Anti Stock Theft Unit and other security personnel contracted by the UNDP. The other aim of having the security checks is also to control the proliferation of illegal guns in and within the eastern Africa so that conflict over resources that is stimulated by illegal guns is reduced or eliminated in the long run.

¹¹⁸ *ibid*

¹¹⁹ Kess Kingma et al. Security provision and small arms in Karamoja: A survey of perceptions. Special report. Published by the Small Arms Survey. Switzerland. September 2012

4.8 Extent of Government efforts in the mitigation of resource based conflicts

Figure 4.6 Extent of Government efforts in the mitigation of resource based conflicts



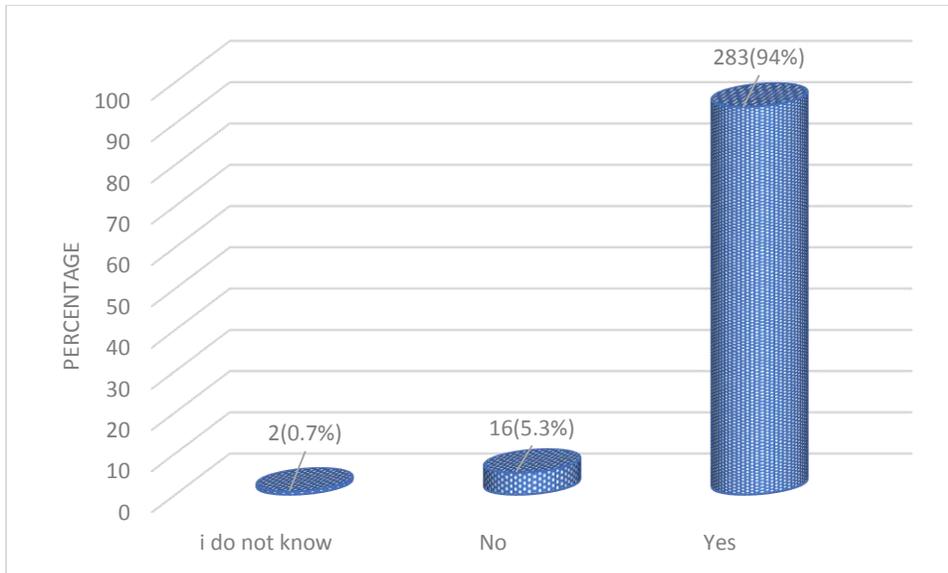
Source: Field data 2019

According to figure 4.6 above, 39.9% of the respondents felt that the government has to a large extent mitigated the resource based conflicts in relation to competition over pasture, water and the illegal acquisition and ownership of weapons among the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa. The Karamajong of Uganda cited that disarmament has been effective in the long run and therefore the Eastern Africa should be disarmed regionally by maybe applying the methods used in Uganda by the President Museveni regime. On the other hand, 36.9% of the participants argue that to some extent, the government has controlled resource based conflicts but some people still own illegal guns secretly which stimulates conflict. Among the Turkana bordering the Pokot in Kenya, the guns are illegal hence if one has it, he or she hides in the bushes or the sand to a point where it cannot be recognized and it is only used secretly when needed. 23.3% of the respondents said that the government has not at all put in efforts to stop the illegal acquisition of guns and competition over water and pasture during the dry season. For instance, the Toposa of South Sudan, Nyangatom of Ethiopia and Turkana bordering Ethiopia in Kibishi own guns and

they carry them in the open since they feel that if they do not have the guns at hand, their protection is threatened.

4.9 Whether the government is aware about the conflict in Karamoja?

Figure 4.7 Whether the government is aware about the conflict in Karamoja?



Source: Field data 2019

As per the figure above, 94% of the respondents agree that the government is aware of the conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group. However, some respondents especially those working with the NGOs were not sure of whether the government understands this conflict. 5.3% cited that the government is not aware nor does it understand the conflict since the conflict system itself has not been well identified so that the causes at that epicenter are dealt with in order to restore peace in the long run. On the other hand, 0.7% of the respondents argued that they do not know whether the respective governments are aware nor understands the conflicts in the Karamoja cluster group of Eastern Africa.

4.10 Chapter summary and findings

The study found that conflict among the Karamoja starts at a house hold level with the cause being quarrels related for instance to poverty, drought, access to water, jealousy between individuals or even within families and if unresolved well, the violence escalates to conflict resulting to negative impacts in the society like death. The study also observed that to some extent, the Karamoja people are not aware of the conflict management approaches used in the society to enhance peace. The women believe for instance, that it's only the men are involved in the peace process and therefore they abide by what has been agreed on. The use of the different traditional mechanism in mitigation of conflict has been seen to help since the meditators at the ground can easily identify the causes or what might cause conflict. On the other hand, the governments are argued to be aware of the conflicts among the Karamoja but they do not understand these conflicts well due to its multifaceted nature. Disarmament as an approach to curbing the illegal gun ownership is seen to have worked to some extent in Uganda and some parts of Kenya despite people still acquiring and owning the guns illegally. However when these conflicts are managed impartially by the state and non-state actors then peace, stability and security can be achieved.

In conclusion, the traditional mechanisms of conflict management among the karamoja cluster are seen to have been weakened due to lack of support and empowerment hence the persistence of conflict over resources that mostly occurs whenever drought strikes the eastern Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

The study sought to assess the implications of resource based conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group of eastern Africa. As a result, this chapter discusses each objective in terms of summary of the key findings, conclusion and necessary recommendations that will be significant in the management of resource based conflicts in this cluster.

5.2 Summary of key findings

Based on objective one of this study, which was to examine the effects of competition over shared scarce resources among the Karamoja cluster group of eastern Africa, the study has established that conflict occurs mostly during the dry season whereby people scramble for the available resources like water and pastures. At the same time cattle rustling as a traditional culture has changed and is now commercialized to a point that people especially politicians buy the animals and sell in order to get money. Moreover, the perception of one being prestigious in the society by having many animals and the exchange of women for livestock also encourages theft hence conflict. Cattle rustling has changed from stealing of many animals to one or two out of the herd so that the owner of the herd is not in a position to easily notice. The question of ownership over boundaries is raising causes of conflict whereby the karamoja are fighting on who should access, control and own the lands demarcating the tribes along it. The study also established that water points like dams are not many and in case they are available then that is the main point of conflicts. The effects of competitions over these resources are dire and they

include poverty and food insecurity that led to malnutrition, destruction of property, death of animals and people and even marginalization be it economic, political, social and hence the need for people to own the guns illegal for their protection in general.

As per objective two of this study which was to analyze the nexus between resource based conflicts and the illegal ownership of guns in the Karamoja cluster group, the study has found out that there is a correlation because the karamoja people believe that when does not have a gun to protect their families, animals and homesteads then the concept of security dilemma unfolds resulting to conflict. Due to the high demand of illegal guns in this cluster, these people acquire the guns through the porous borders like south Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia and also amongst themselves. These guns are mostly supplied illegally by those in government like politicians and security personnel due to corruption hence a form of business. These guns are also acquired during raids, barter trade, from army barracks like in Uganda and south Sudan (SPLM). During raiding, the illegal guns are used resulting to deaths or injuries hence conflicts.

Objective three of the study discussed the approaches used in the management of conflicts among the Karamoja and from it, the study has established that there have been efforts by the community to settle conflicts traditional but this has been weakened hence not effective in the long run. This is because whenever the meetings or dialogues on peace are going on some of the Karamoja people are busy stealing while others are busy attending the meetings hence what has been agreed on does not therefore last long. Disarmament as an approach of conflict management was applied through registration of the illegal guns and voluntary surrender, cordon and search, sensitization, reconciliation and peace talk about effect of having the guns illegally.

However the cordon and search method was found to have been associated with violation of human rights since it involved beating, raping and destruction of properties like kraals. Resolution and peace agreements were also found to have helped in the management of conflict whereby whenever someone goes against the agreements he or she faces the punishment.

5.3 Conclusion

Competition over shared scarce resource among the Karamoja cluster group is stimulated by the effects of climate change, increase in population, social economic changes and loss of grazing land to agriculture, mining and areas protected for wildlife. This has led to changes in the migratory routes due to the availability of security personnel along the borders and use of the grazing land to human settlement and agricultural activities. However, some pastoralists are trying to embrace alternative livelihood means like farming, business (boda boda) and being employed as security personnel or watchmen.

Chapter two of this study concludes that some pastoralists are still in possess of unregistered guns due to the perception that having the illegal guns apart from being used in protection and raiding it is a form of prestigious outlook and also used as a tool in exchange of women for dowry. The availability of the illegal guns in this cluster therefore discourages the investors to come and development in terms of infrastructures hence marginalization.

The approaches of conflicts management on resource among the Karamoja have helped in the enhancement of peace and security in one way or the other. For instance disarmament process in Uganda under Museveni regime has led to reductions of illegal guns leading to people using

sticks to graze and defense. However, the questions of whether the regional disarmament will lead to no conflicts over resources among the Karamoja cluster group of eastern is arising because despite the Karamoja of Uganda being almost 75% disarmed, conflicts are still persistent.

5.4 Recommendations

A multi-stakeholder approach should be put in place so that conflicts resulting from competition over shared scarce resources that are not recurrent. This can be through encouraging the people to adopt alternative livelihood methods, construction of dams or boreholes for each ethnic group so that they do not scramble for what is available and migrating beyond their boundaries. The Karamoja people should be also be encouraged to go to school so that they learn of importance of sharing.

In order to reduce or control the illegal ownership of guns among this cluster so that conflicts over water, pasture and livestock rustling is eradicated, the respective governments and non-governmental organizations should sensitize the population on importance of peaceful coexistence and put in place early warning measures of conflict. Regional disarmament should also be enhanced by having vigilant security along the borders that have the power to stop smuggling and supply of the guns illegally to the cluster. The governments through IGAD as a regional body should come up with noble rules and regulations that are binding in regards to illegal acquisition and ownership of guns so that resource based conflict fueled by the illegal guns are eradicated in the long run.

The respective governments and non-state actors should empower traditional mechanisms of conflict management because through them the root causes and signs of conflicts can be easily identified before eruption hence the need to put in place an early warning systems and preventive measures that can help in the mitigation of conflicts over resources.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Introductory letter

University of Nairobi
P.O Box 30197-00100
Tel: 318262

Kilavi K. Jackline,
Mobile No: 0713350703
Email: jkkilavi@gmail.com

Dear respondent,

The questionnaire and interview guide is aimed at collecting data for research purpose on the assessment of resource based conflict among the Karamoja of the Eastern Africa.

The research will be in the fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree of master in arts in international studies.

Please note that any information collected will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

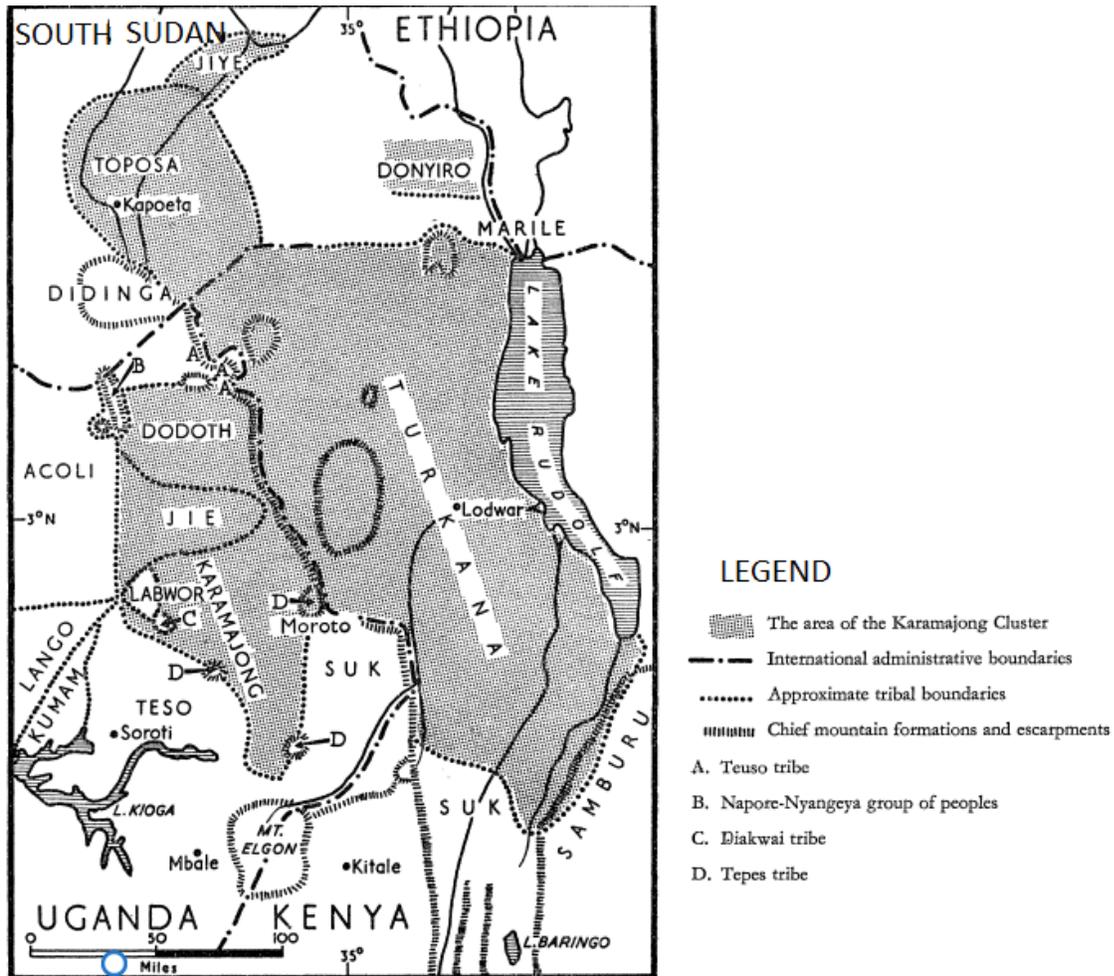
Your cooperation in this exercise will be appreciated.

Thanks in advance.

Yours sincerely,

Kilavi K. Jackline

Appendix 2: The map of the eastern Africa showing the area where Karamoja live.¹²⁰



¹²⁰ P.H Gulliver. The karamoja cluster. Journal of the international African institute, vol. 22 No. 1(Jan 1952) page 2. Published by Cambridge University Press

Appendix 3: Questionnaire

Kindly answer the following questions by ticking the appropriate response in one of the boxes provided. (*Where applicable*)

Please be as honest as possible.

Section A: Bio data and Demographics

1. What is your gender

Male []

Female []

2. What is your age bracket?

Below 10 years []

Between 10 and 20 []

Between 21 and 30 []

Between 31 and 40 []

Between 41 and 50 []

Between 51 and 60 []

Above 60 years []

3. What is your highest education level?

Never gone to school []

ECD []

Primary []

Secondary []

Tertiary /college education []

University []

Others (specify)..... []

4. For how long have you lived at this Karamoja cluster group

Less than one year []

Between 1-5 years []

Between 5-10 years []

More than 10 years []

5. (a) Do you belong to the Karamoja cluster group?

Yes []

No []

(b) Are u pastoralists?

Yes []

No []

(c) If **yes** in **5(b)** above, which nation state is of your origin? (*Tick only one*)

Kenya []

Uganda []

Ethiopia []

South Sudan []

Section B: Resource based conflicts and approaches adopted to manage the conflicts

6. (a) Are u aware of any resource based conflicts (such as competition over water, grazing land, rivers etc.) among the Karamoja group?

Yes []

No []

(b) If **Yes** in **6(a)** above, what was the conflict about?

.....

.....

(c) How often does the conflict in **6(b)** occur?

Very often]

Often]

Rarely]

7. (a) Are there any efforts by the community to resolve and manage conflicts traditionally?

Yes]

No]

(b) If yes in 7(a) above, what methods are often used to settle/resolve conflicts among the Karamoja? *(Please tick appropriately)*

Methods used in conflict management	Very often	Often	Rarely
Barazas			
Special traditional occasions like marriages			
Traditional courts			
Traditional blessing and cursing			
Community relationships			
Dialogue and peace meetings			
Community peace and agreements			
Others (specify)			

8. Do you think the government understands conflicts in Karamoja?

Yes []

No []

I do not know []

9. To what extent has the following institutions played a role in management of conflict among the Karamoja.

Institutions	Very often	Often	Rarely
International non-governmental organization			
Central government			
County government			
Local non-governmental organization			
Council of elders			
Others (specify)			

10. Are u aware of the gun culture (illegal ownership of guns)

Yes []

No []

(b) Do you own any

Yes []

No []

(c) If *yes* in **10(b) above**, how did you acquire it/them

.....
.....

(d) Why is the gun important to you and your family

.....
.....

11. (a) Are there approaches that are used to solve conflicts emanating from effects of illegal acquisition of weapons among the Karamoja?

Yes []

No []

I do not know []

(b) If *yes* in 11(a) above, please list some of the most used approaches.

.....
.....
.....

(c) Have these approaches been effective

Yes []

No []

(d) To what extent has the government played a role in the mitigation of illegal acquisition of weapons among the Karamoja?

Large extend []

Some extent []

Not at all []

12. Please make any suggestions and recommendation in regards to issues of resource based conflicts and illegal acquisition of guns among the Karamoja.

.....
.....
.....

Thank you for your time and cooperation

Appendix 4: Focus group discussions

The focus group discussions will take at most 12 minutes since it included note taking. Please feel free to talk so that we do not miss your comment. Moreover, you will not be forced to talk about anything you do not want to and you may end the discussions at any time.

Questions:

1. What are the source of conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group (starting with the main) and please explain why.

.....
.....
.....

2. Are there shared scarce resources (water and grazing pastures) among this group? Please explain the points of sharing and how they are shared.

.....

3. Which nation state do gun/small arms come from and how to a point of getting into this cluster group, also please explain why they are perceived to be of importance.

.....
.....

4. What are the approaches applied in the management of conflicts among the Karamoja. (Starting with the most used) please explain how they are conducted and whether they are effective either in the long or short term.

.....
.....
.....

5. Please give suggestions and recommendations that you feel will help to curb conflicts among the Karamoja cluster group.

.....

.....

Thank you for your time and cooperation

Appendix 4: Research Permit

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

MS. JACKLINE KADIMBUKANI-KILAVI
of UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, 0-330
WODANGA, has been permitted to
conduct research in Marsabit, Turkana
Counties

on the topic: ASSESSMENT OF THE
RESOURCE BASED CONFLICT IN THE
KARAJONG CLUSTER GROUP IN THE
EASTERN AFRICA REGION

for the period ending:
30th May, 2020

Applicant's
Signature

(Signature)



Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

Permit No. : **NACOSTI/P/19/60538/30568**
 Date Of Issue : **30th May, 2019**
 Fee Received : **Ksh 1000**

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INNOVATION ACT, 2013

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