Integration of Psychosocial Interventions in Post Conflict Societies: A Case Study of Conflicts in the Karamoja Cluster.

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DECLARATION

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

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor

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Dr. Ochieng’ Kamudhayi
DEDICATION

To my lovely family; my wife Moon, my children Shush, Mel and Lem; you give me a reason to tick.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My sincere thanks go to my beloved family; my wife and three precious children for the support and space they provided while I was working on this research. Their concern, support and guidance during this period could not go unnoticed. Balancing time between work, study and family was quite a challenge; but with their support I managed to pull through.

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ABSTRACT

The study is set on Post-cold war era where intrastate conflicts have become frequent and protracted over the years. The study draws views from various scholars and experiences from other parts of the world and relates them on the area of study which is the Karamoja cluster. The study takes into account the fact that more players are involved in managing conflicts in the post-cold war era as opposed to the pre-cold war. The expectation would therefore be reduction of destructive armed conflicts and improved social, economic and political setting of states and the communities therein. However, the situation is to the contrary. The study therefore aimed at addressing the missing link taking into consideration the psychosocial interventions in conflict management among the post conflict societies. The objectives of the research is to establish the main causes and effects of intra state armed conflicts, discuss the approaches of conflict management employed by state and non-state actors with particular focus on the Karamoja cluster and to establish the link between protracted conflicts and lack of psychosocial interventions. The research set out to establish the above objectives with the assumption that integrating psychosocial interventions in conflict management strategies brings about sustainable peace. Four components of tools of analysis were adopted in the methodology in the research. Review of secondary data to discuss psychosocial interventions and where they have been applied while comparing the views of various scholars. Secondly, collection of primary data through interviews, focused group discussions and key informant interviews. The methodology adopted aided data triangulation and in depth analysis of the various views presented by the scholars in comparison with the picture depicted in the Karamoja cluster. The main findings of the study indicate that integrating psychosocial interventions in conflict management approaches brings about integration and peaceful co-existence in post conflict societies. The study established that lack of coordination and the reactive nature to conflicts by state and non-state actors has been the trend on the Karamoja cluster. The research therefore advocates coordination and sustained efforts in managing conflicts in post conflict societies in addition to integration of psychosocial interventions by all actors.
CHAPTER ONE

PSYCHOSOCIAL INTERVENTIONS

1.1 Background to the Study

Psychosocial interventions distinguish two elements. The ‘psycho’- component which facilitates the reconnection of the affected individual to his or her environment and the ‘socio’- element which aims to create an environment that facilitates the individual to re-integrate with their social groups. Psychosocial interventions in international conflicts are therefore programs and projects designed to address social and psychological needs of the individuals and communities affected by conflicts\(^1\). They are short and long term activities that influence the individual and the social environment to bring about transformation and positive change in this case related to post conflict societies.

Martin Baro\(^2\) states that trauma, which is what is experienced by communities who underwent violent conflicts, cannot be understood solely at the individual level. This is mainly because it is based on historical and social context. This therefore means that, while intervening in post conflict societies, though the expressions of trauma and its effects are easily demonstrated at the individual level, it is imperative that the larger community fabric must be looked at since restoration of relationships and its networks is paramount to create complete healing.

This study seeks to establish why conflicts have persisted among the communities within the Karamoja cluster while taking into consideration the conflict

\(^{1}\)John Williamson and Malia Robinson, “Psychosocial Interventions or integrated Programming for well being?” *Interventions* Vol. 4 # 1(2006) pp 4-8

management strategies employed by various stakeholders paying particular attention to psychosocial consequences and interventions.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Intrastate conflicts have increased after the end of the cold war era. A number of reasons to this development have been the discourse of conflict scholars over the years. States have are trying to manage the causes and the effects of intrastate armed conflicts for decades. The efforts made so far bore no results. Conflicts continue. Armed conflicts kill people in many different ways: civilians and soldiers are killed in combat. People die because there is a higher prevalence of preventable communicable diseases and during such conflicts there is increased violent crime which in turn causes a lot of deaths. Wars force mass migration. Post-war societies are in a worse shape than before the war and far from bringing an improvement to the political system; in general post-war societies are less democratic\(^3\). Conflicts lead to displacements of populations, traumatic experiences such as brutal attacks, rape, loss of loved ones, child soldiers among others that are hard to clear from the minds of those who went through.

Interventions to interstate and intrastate armed conflicts have had various approaches and dimensions. The approaches range from military interventions\(^4\), provision of food and shelter, assuring refugee status, protection through international humanitarian law ratified by most states, political settlements/solutions, judicial and


\(^{4}\) James, A. Winnefeld et al. *Interventions in Interstate Conflict. Implications for the Army in Post-Cold War Era*. (California: RAND, 1995) pp 63-70
security reforms among others. The key players in such interventions include international community, individual states, multilateral institutions, regional organizations/institutions and local institutions. The interventions applied by most of the actors focus on the general groups or state affected and tend to gloss over critical issues that have overtime sustained good relations within groups.

Social re-integration of post conflict societies is an important component in ensuring peaceful coexistence of communities. As analysed by Liisa and Alan the voluntary return of the displaced people to their original homes is a good indicator of reconciliation and reintegration and existence of peace. The end of cold war era marked the beginning of myriad intrastate conflicts that killed and displaced populations over the years. The trend is increasing with time and so is its veracity. States and Non-state actors have been trying to manage the causes, effects and trends of armed conflicts through various strategies. These have not helped to end armed conflicts. Therefore, this study is aimed at establishing the significance of psychosocial interventions in international conflict management in post conflict societies basing its case on the Karamoja cluster.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main of objective of the study is to establish the role of psychosocial interventions in sustainable conflict management in post conflict societies. Within this broad objective are two specific objectives;

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1. To establish the main causes and effects of intra state armed conflicts.

2. To discuss the approaches of conflict management employed by state and non-state actors with particular focus on the Karamoja cluster.

3. To establish the link between protracted conflicts and lack of psychosocial interventions.

1.4 Hypothesis of the study

In this study I present the view that implementation of psychosocial interventions in post conflict societies by humanitarian actors has a great bearing in managing protracted intrastate conflicts. Therefore the approaches employed by various actors play a key role in either reducing or sustaining armed conflicts. I therefore hypothesize that;

$H_1$ Integration of psychosocial interventions in conflict management approaches by state and non-state actors have a greater effect in reducing protracted armed conflicts in post conflict societies.

$H_0$ Integration of psychosocial interventions in conflict management approaches by have no relationship in either increasing or reducing protracted armed conflicts in post conflict societies.

$H_2$ Integration of psychosocial interventions in conflict management approaches by state and non-state actors have no effect in reducing protracted armed conflicts in post conflict societies.

1.5 Literature Review

The Literature review is classified under three sub-headings discussing on the following: intrastate conflicts and Post Conflict societies, conflict management
approaches and conflict management in the Karamoja cluster while citing views by various scholars in each section.

1.5.1 Intrastate conflicts and Post Conflict Societies

Intrastate conflicts are now the leading armed conflicts in the world currently. Since they emanate from communities, 90 per cent of those affected are mainly civilians. Since 1990s many of the intrastate conflicts have been protracted. Nearly 40 per cent are ten or more years old while about 25 per cent are over twenty years old⁸. These conflicts have devastated societies and perpetuated poverty. Social fabric was destroyed and without specific efforts in addressing such protracted conflicts and improving relations in post conflict societies an end is yet to be seen.

According to Fred Ikle⁹, every conflict must end. He quotes a statement from General Douglas Macarthur which states that ‘war’s objective is victory – not prolonged indecision’ and another one from Abraham Lincoln which says ‘we accepted this war for an object – a worthy object – and the war will end when that object is attained’. On the other hand Roy Licklider states that identity wars are more intense than others, they tend to last longer and may in most cases result in genocide. Further it is difficult to resolve such conflict through negotiated settlements¹⁰. This therefore brings to the fore the need to employ approaches to deal with the conflicts.

Collier\textsuperscript{11} states that post conflict societies face double the risk of conflict compared to a pre-conflict risk factor would predict. A number of factors account for this increase. These include; presence of ammunition, individual and group grievance, revenge, erosion of norms and social values, polarization of political allegiance and ethnic dominance among others. It is therefore important to note that the truth commissions and other approaches that cover national or regional levels ignore smaller groups and individuals whose role contribute significantly to sustained conflict if not addressed in depth. Ignatieff\textsuperscript{12} asserts that we tend to vest our nations with conscience, identities and memories as if they were individuals. It is problematic enough to vest an individual with a single identity: our inner lives are like battlegrounds over which uneasy truces reign; the identity of a nation is additionally fissured by region, ethnicity, class and education. Envisioning a new future would not be realistic without truth and accountability\textsuperscript{13}. Reconciliation that is based on compassion forgiveness and restitution contributes to the return of normalcy by focusing on psychological and social needs of the community\textsuperscript{14}.

According to Michael and Carlinda, psychosocial interventions include healing wounds of war; the social reintegration of former soldiers; community mobilization; social integration of displaced people; assistance to mine victims and mine-awareness training; cross-conflict dialogue and cooperation; fear-reduction; tolerance building; truth-telling; forgiveness and reconciliation; and the

\textsuperscript{14}Beatrice, Pougligny.\textit{Building Peace after Mass Crimes.International peace keeping No. 2 (9 March, 2002)} p 203.
reestablishment of normal patterns and routines, among others. Moral order and transformative reconciliation cannot occur through judicial means alone, but a combination of political psychological, cultural and spiritual interventions.

Jeong asserts that, improved group relations based on justice, healing and reconciliation facilitates the process of ending violence, victimization and revenge. This aspect according to Jeong, may explain why some inter-ethnic/inter-community conflicts in Africa and especially in the Horn of Africa have been recurrent.

When a particular conflict have been settled other than resolved, its experience and history lives on among those who were involved. Therefore, a group’s history and memory aides to explain the group’s understanding of the past, its vision of the future and a sense of what is right and what is wrong. While psychosocial interventions aims at re-construction of social structures, building trust and restoration of relationships, Kumar on the other hand indicates that it is unrealistic and impolitic to talk about restoring mutual trust in the aftermath of severe and brutal conflict fresh in the minds of warring parties. He further states that harmony never existed between the groups prior to the conflict. Psychosocial support consists of structured activities

17Ibid p 1.
designed to restore children’s (and all those involved) psychological and social development and to mitigate the adverse effects of armed conflict\textsuperscript{20}.

Psychological effects’ are those which affect emotion, behavior, thoughts, memory, learning ability, perceptions and understanding. ‘Social effects’ refer to altered relationships due to death, separation, estrangement and other losses, family and community breakdown, damage to social values and customary practices and the destruction of social facilities and services. Social effects also extend to the economic dimension, as many individuals and families become destitute through the material and economic devastation of conflict, losing social status and place in their familiar social network\textsuperscript{21}.

1.5.2 Armed conflict management approaches in Post conflict societies.

Various psychosocial interventions have been analysed and employed by various scholars and practitioners. In this section, I will present mental, community development and social justice and human rights approaches.

Mental approaches takes into account comprehensive examination of the violations experienced on all sides. This therefore means that all groups (aggressors and victims) share openly what transpired and how it did so. This is believed to nurture interaction, trust and building confidence according to Tobias Bohmelt\textsuperscript{22}. Kumar\textsuperscript{23} on the other hand states that mutual acceptance will be elusive and

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{20}GraçaMachel. \textit{The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children: A critical review of progress made and obstacles encountered in increasing protection for war-affected children}, presented at the International Conference on War Affected Children (September 2000) pp 24-26
\item \textsuperscript{22}Tobias, Bohmelt. \textit{International Mediation Interaction - Synergy, Conflict Effectiveness}. (Germany: VS Research, 2011) pp 37-38
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
uncovering traumas builds up tension among the groups albeit for a little while. Truth commission is a good example of creating this environment. It was originally implemented in Argentina then later in Haiti and El Salvador. The most comprehensive truth commission was implemented in South Africa. This entails the willingness to listen to opposing views and acknowledging mutual needs, rights and obligations. This is implemented through various approaches such as problems solving workshops where post conflict communities are brought together by a third party to seek solutions for shared challenges, high profile conferences, and conflict management training/peace education. This was implemented in South Africa, El Salvador and Bosnia.

Promotion of responsible and professional media that limits propaganda and rumours that feeds socio-political tensions. Media will therefore provide a forum where different viewpoints are presented openly and responsibly. For example, peace radios were established in Burundi (Agatashya), Rwanda and Somalia. They helped correct propaganda, offer alternatives to ethnic violence and nurture inter-ethnic harmony and conflict resolution mechanisms.

Community development approaches takes into consideration community social structures. These community social structures are also known as peace committees, peace commissions or citizens groups. They mobilize community members and leaders to prevent eruptions of violence and to foster tolerance through countering rumours and exaggerations, offering peace education, promoting non-violent solutions to conflicts and mediating conflicts among the various groups. This could be seen in the role of peace committees in India and South Africa.24

Various scholars have presented various views about continuous interaction and its effects on conflict. Tim Jacoby\textsuperscript{25} advances the idea that continuous interaction between groups presents high chances of creating tension that will lead to conflicts. These tensions arise as a result of competition for resources, space and survival. However, conflict management practitioners as presented by Kimberly Maynard\textsuperscript{26} promote high level of interaction through collaborative activities as an approach to bring conflicting groups together. It is believed that working together will move beyond bitterness, anger and resentment and foster peace and positive attitudes. An extended advantage of collaborative activities is the preposition that it will spur social economic development. This was employed in Rwanda, India, Balkans and Sri Lanka.

In national states, defence forces have been viewed as a symbol of statehood. Power is therefore demonstrated by the size of forces. For instance, Ethiopia has the biggest defence force compared to other nations in the horn of Africa. Militarization of Eritrea on the other hand is more that its size and the ability of the economy to afford. This has been seen to cause tension in the region\textsuperscript{27}. In line with this ideology communities arm themselves as a means of protection demonstrating power and exerting their authority over the others by controlling resources or means to accessing such resources.

Social justice and human rights orientation is more sustainable and focuses on the rights of the individuals involved. It looks at the adherence to human rights and ensuring that justice is upheld by all stakeholders who includes the government, the NSAs and the warring parties. The perpetrators of conflict must bear the brunt of the

\textsuperscript{25}Tim, Jacoby. \textit{Understanding Conflict and Violence. Theoretical and Interdisciplinary Approaches} (New York: Routledge, 2008) pp 22-27


actions. To forget the past is like to forget the victims. The actors who utilize this approach come in loggerheads with the authorities and the governments of the day. The rights of the citizens must be upheld by the governments. They are tasked to promote accountability and adhere to the rule of law. This is quite a challenging approach and most actors do not take this up as a core mandate. Structural and attitudinal change must be addressed to ensure justice and human rights.

Considering the discussion and the definition of psychosocial interventions in this research, a comprehensive approach that takes into consideration all aspects of human nature as discussed in the theoretical framework will be the best approach to bring about complete healing, reconciliation and recovery. In this research, and taking into consideration the view of many scholars, an end to protracted conflicts will end. In this research therefore, psychosocial intervention focus on three main areas of intervention: mental health, community development and social justice and human rights. These interventions will address social/developmental and psychological needs of the affected populations hence bringing about a lasting change. With regards to this research, addressing one area and leaving the others will not assure complete healing and restoration.

1.5.3 Conflict management Interventions in the Karamoja Cluster

The Karamoja cluster also known as the cattle ‘corridor’ is the home of the pastoral communities who live along the borders of Kenya, Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia. Most of them share the same ethnic group and the Ateker language. The

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communities living within the cluster include: Turkana, Pokot, Jie, Taposa, Karamojong, Dodoth and Merille. Pastoralism is essentially the primary source of livelihood for these communities living in the horn of Africa. The practise of Cattle rustling has intensified over the years in the region. This resulted in increased loss of lives, livelihoods, displacement, breakdown of social cohesion, retardation of economic development, illicit trade in small arms and worsens human security.

Interventions to address human security in the Karamoja cluster by various stakeholders who among them include: the National governments, IGAD, UNDDDR, AU, CEWARN and Cross Boarder Joint Security Forum are mainly focuses on disarmament. This was in most cases administered by the military and the provincial administration. Little has been done to look beyond the physical and the security effects of conflicts within this region. According to Ken Matthysen et al, governments in the Horn of Africa narrow mined security approaches to deal with the multifaceted problem, focusing on the supply side and mainly looking at arms as the primary cause of the problem and ignoring its effects which are economic and psychosocial in nature. International organizations such as Practical Action and others have focused their interventions in building resiliency among the communities to address the effects of drought which is regular in the region. With regards to conflicts management, a network committee was established to pre-empt and manage

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34 Peter, Otim, Baseline Study for the Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster. (Kampala: IGAD, 2004) p 24.
conflicts. This is not enough since those who are hurting remain so and may carry notions such as revenge in their hearts. As illustrated by Joe Powell People are tired of workshops and meetings that involve kraal leaders and held far from conflict site and the victims. Hence the victims and the drivers of the conflict are not targeted.

The dramatic end of the cold war has been replaced by intrastate conflicts that are unprecedented in measure. These conflicts are communal and inter group in nature. Internal conflicts in states such as Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda, Sudan, Uganda, DRC and Kenya are some of the examples. Civilian casualties have increased in number. Large scale human migration failed economic and social infrastructure and food insecurity have created complex humanitarian emergencies. Such experiences have far reaching implications on the individual and community. Breakdown of social ties, community values, relationships and communal cohesion provides a fertile ground for recurrence of conflicts. Therefore it is important to promote psychosocial interventions that will bring about reintegration at different levels to nurture peace and manage recurrence conflicts.

From the discussions above, many scholars present the view that armed conflicts are on the increase. Despite the fact that a number of armed conflict management actors have increased, their efforts have seemingly been scratching the surface. This begs the questions, why are conflicts increasing and becoming complex with time despite the efforts made by conflict managers? What needs to be done to increase the impact of humanitarian efforts towards conflict resolution? This study will therefore discuss whether psychosocial interventions were considered by the humanitarian actors in their conflict management approaches.

1.5.4 Justification of the Study

Inter state conflicts have been rampant before and during the cold war era. However, the end of cold war era marked the increase in intrastate conflicts especially in Africa\textsuperscript{37}. Such conflicts have had devastating effects on the society. Though some scholars have clearly demonstrated the positive effects of such conflicts\textsuperscript{38}, the negative effects have are more profound. The consequences of violent conflicts include social, psychological/mental and economic/developmental effects\textsuperscript{39}. This therefore brings to the fore the discourse between trauma and resilience as well as the strong link between social and psychological effects. Trauma focuses on intra personal and interpersonal relationships while resilience based discourse often presents a rights-oriented approach with interventions that respect and protect culture and traditions\textsuperscript{40}.

In Sri Lanka for instance, humanitarian interventions were focused on primarily basic needs and counseling. Counseling approaches promoted by the west did not take cognizance of the cultural values of the locals in Sri Lanka and therefore promoted suspicion and a sense of secrecy in various villages\textsuperscript{41}. In the Karamoja cluster, the main players in addressing conflict include governmental and non-governmental organizations and religious institutions. Though efforts have been put in


\textsuperscript{39}Nicole, Ball. The Effect of Conflict on the Economies of 3\textsuperscript{rd} World in Francis, Mading Deng and William, I. Zartman (Eds) \textit{Conflict Resolution in Africa}. (The Brookings Institution: Washington DC, 1991) pp 272 - 289


place to coordinate interventions, their focus and approaches were diverse, erratic and did not address all aspects of society that is affected by such conflicts as mentioned earlier. Their efforts in addressing conflicts are through disarmament and development42.

Most of the research done in this area mainly focused on cattle rustling, how to control proliferation of small arms, development and political solution in conflict management. Much has not been done to establish how social and psychological aspects of conflict. Conflict has memory43. The storage of this memory is in the social structures and minds of the affected population. Hence to address the memory of conflict, social and psychological sectors of life of the groups and individuals affected must be addressed.

Psychosocial intervention is a small but essential part of the post conflict reconstruction. Although the signing of a peace agreement is an important step, it does not amount to sustainable peace, since a system of violence and broken relationship is what often remains and establishes a long term conflict memory. The victims who feel wronged nurture a spirit of revenge and justification of violence and oppression. The fear created by war and exaggerated images of diabolical other heightens the risks of ongoing cycles of violence and present major barriers of national reconciliation. Protracted conflicts in most occasions normalizes violence and draw large numbers of young people to armed conflicts and the belief that, violence is the best way to address conflicts44.

This research therefore joins the discourse to advocate for integration of psychosocial interventions in addressing protracted conflicts for sustained peace within all activities done by key players. Development agencies and other actors have been addressing immediate needs, food, shelter and medical needs, however the social fabric and the psychological aspects have been of secondary thought. The study will therefore contribute to the efforts already made by key humanitarian actors but will further enhance social integration and inform policy makers to ensure that psychosocial interventions are part and parcels of all activities aimed at managing the effects of armed conflict in post conflict societies.

1.6 Theoretical framework

In trying to underscore the importance of integration of psychosocial interventions in conflict management, I will present two theories that present the essence of a human being, his holistic nature and the importance of integration.

Human Needs Theory (HNT) was first developed by Abraham Maslow in 1943. This theory is a classical depiction of human motivation. It assumes that there is a hierarchy of five needs within each individual. The urgency to meet these needs from one individual to another varies depending on personal drive, attainment of one level and contextual issues among others. These needs go beyond food water and shelter. They include both physical and non-physical elements needed for human growth and development, as well as all those things humans are innately driven to attain.

For Maslow, needs are hierarchical in nature. That is, each need has a specific ranking or order of attainment. Maslow's needs pyramid starts with the basic items of food, water, and shelter. These are followed by the need for safety and security, then
belonging or love, self-esteem, and finally, personal fulfillment\textsuperscript{45}. Burton and other needs theorists who have adopted Maslow's ideas to conflict theory, however, perceive human needs in a different way. They view them as an emergent collection of human development essentials\textsuperscript{46}. Besides, they contend needs do not have a hierarchical order. Rather, needs are sought simultaneously in an intense and relentless manner. Human Needs theorists' list of human essentials include: Safety/Security, belongingness/love, self-esteem, personal fulfillment, identity, cultural security, freedom, distributive justice and participation.

It is based on the hypothesis that humans have basic needs that have to be met in order to maintain stable societies. As John Burton describes, the human participants in conflict situations are compulsively struggling in their respective institutional environments at all social levels to satisfy primordial and universal needs - needs such as security, identity, belonging, recognition, and development. They strive increasingly to gain the control of their environment that is necessary to ensure the satisfaction of these needs. This struggle cannot be curbed; it is primordial. Burton further states that there are fundamental universal values or human needs that must be met if societies are to be stable. That this is so thereby provides a non-ideological basis for the establishment of institutions and policies. Unless identity needs are met in multi-ethnic societies, unless in every social system there is distributive justice, a sense of control and prospects for the pursuit of all other human societal developmental needs, instability and conflict are inevitable.

Conflict resolution means terminating conflict by methods that are analytical and that get to the root of the problem. Conflict resolution, as opposed to mere

\textsuperscript{45} Jay Rothman, Resolving Identity-Based Conflict in Nations, Organizations, and Communities (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1997) pp 70 - 77
management or 'settlement', points to an outcome that, in the view of the parties involved, is a permanent solution to a problem. Conflict resolution is, in the long term, a process of change in political, social, and economic systems. It is an analytical and problem solving process that takes into account such individual and group needs as identity and recognition, as well as institutional changes that are required to satisfy these needs.  

There are practical methods and processes that can be used in our move from theory to practice. These processes are what are known as Track II Diplomacy. Joseph Montville defines Track II diplomacy as an unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversary groups or nations that aim to develop strategies, influence public opinion, and organize human and material resources in ways that might help resolve their conflict. It must be understood that track two diplomacy is in no way a substitute for official, formal, "track one" government to government or leader-to-leader relationships. Edward Azar notes that the satisfaction of basic social, psychological and material needs of the victimized, either along communal lines or as part of a national strategy, should be the ultimate priority of government development policies. Only thus can we move toward managing protracted social conflict.

Considering the views generated by conflict scholars with regards to human needs theory, addressing conflict in post conflict societies therefore requires a multipronged approach which does not negate other spheres of a human entity for all practical reasons. To therefore address basic needs; social and psychological needs must be addressed in the same vein. In this way, the whole of human self is addressed. This therefore challenges the approaches employed by various conflict management

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47 Burton, John W. PhD., Conflict Resolution as a Political System. (Virginia: The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University, 1993). pp 2 - 7

actors who address one area of need negating the other citing a number of reasons; lack of funding, tackling root cause, addressing immediate needs and the like. This in my view contributes to sustained armed conflicts in societies that have experienced conflicts.

1.7 Research Methodology

1.7.1 Research Design

The research will employ both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. Its main objective is to establish the role of psychosocial interventions in conflict management. Hence, it focuses on the actors as well as the victims and participants in the conflicts within the area. These being the case, the research will therefore collect statistical data to establish the efforts made by conflict resolution stakeholders, types of approaches utilized in addition to the feelings and emotions of the victims of the violence in the area. Therefore, the later will highly establish the perception of the beneficiaries and what they believe will bring an end to protracted conflicts in the region. Questionnaires will be administered to the households considering the fact that the illiteracy level is quite high in this particular cluster. The FGDs will be conducted for the youth and women. Each Focused Group will have a minimum of 8 members and a maximum of 12. In addition, Key Informant Interviews (KII) will be conducted among the humanitarian organizations operating in the Karamoja cluster. These will include international organizations and regional bodies.

Official letters will be obtained from the university administration to facilitate and authenticate the process of data collection from the beneficiaries who are in the Karamoja cluster and the key actors intervening in the conflict and working on the
recovery process. These letters will act as introductory to the research, the research and to request for authorization to perform the data collection exercise.

1.7.2 Sample design

In research, sampling ensures that a detailed study is conducted to part of a selected population other than focusing on the whole\(^49\). Sampling is very important in ensuring that the data collected will be representative. An accurate sampling method according to HHH will provide the same results as conducting the same exercise to the whole population. Sampling therefore helps is ensuring cost effectiveness and efficiency in relation to time management. However resources at the disposal of the researcher will further guide the sampling method. The highly utilized method is a general population will be 30 X 30 sampling method. Other research guidelines also demonstrate that a maximum of 300 respondents will also provide the same kind of information. Households will be randomly selected from the number of communities within the Karamoja cluster. I will therefore interview 300 respondents randomly selected from various communities comprising the Karamoja cluster.

1.7.3 Types of data and data collection Instruments

Closed and opened ended questions will be formulated to collect quantitative data. On the other hand FGD discussion guides will be utilized. Open ended questions will be used in this case to ensure that respondents express their feelings and emotions. Structured interviews will be conducted to Key Informants (KI) who will provide necessary information to make the research complete. Besides, Focused Groups Discussions (FGDs) will be conducted targeting mainly the communities in

the Karamoja cluster who have for a long time been involved in protracted conflicts. The FGDs will aim at establishing what the role of key humanitarian actors are, what forms of humanitarian assistance they provide and whether they find it beneficial towards bringing peace and sustaining it.

Discussion guides will be developed to guide the facilitator during in the discussions. Analysis worksheets, score cards and log sheets will be used to ensure that the data collected will be analyzed and interpreted accordingly. The worksheets aid the analysis of focus group records by guiding the discussion of data collectors in order to capture the range of opinions in each focus group on each topic, including notable quotes and examples, and to guide the process of rating. The score cards will provide a rating scale for each topic within the variables which enables data collectors to codify and score the focus group discussions on each topic, thus aiding comparison of focus group data between different topics or groups while the log sheets will to record key focus group process information, and assist monitoring and quality control.

All key humanitarian actors be it government, non-governmental or regional institutions intervening in the conflicts within the Karamoja cluster will be interviewed. They will further provide details of their interventions, funding levels and how they participated in the conflict resolution. In depth interviews will also target the current political leaders. The political leaders targeted are at the mid-level. These leaders are in touch with both the local and national politics. They will give their own perception of conflict interventions strategies employed by key players.

1.7.4 Validity and Reliability of the Research Instruments

The research will triangulate the information received from all the stakeholders who include INGOs, Regional bodies, governments, community leaders,
the youth and women. Information also received from utilizing various tools will also be used to triangulate and establish the areas of divergence and convergence. A cluster will be established outside the ones already sampled for the research, to test the tools developed and validate them. In this particular exercise, areas of vagueness, irrelevance, repetition and poor logic will be established and addressed before the tools are finally administered. Appropriate and accurate tools will ensure that the research meets the quality and brings out the true picture when analysis and interpretation will be done in the end.

1.7.5 Description of Data Analysis Procedures

The research will use SPSS to analyze data collected from the questionnaires and will also utilize the tape recordings from FGDs (if accepted by the participants) or notes taken to analyze qualitative data collected from Focused Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews (KII). The above data analysis and collection tools will aid in establishing frequencies of responses, bring out the feelings and expressions of the respondents and further establish convergent and divergent views. Interpretation of the analyzed data done there after and conclusions made from the expressions and responses of the respondents to bring generalizations of realities on the ground.

1.7.6 Chapter Summary

Chapter one presents different views by various scholars on intrastate conflicts their main causes, effects and impact. The understanding of what psychosocial interventions entails provides a lens into which the research will view specific intentions and interventions implemented by humanitarian actors.
Chapter two gives an in-depth discussion of the concept of psychosocial interventions in the context of post conflict societies. The root causes, effects and the trends of armed conflicts are presented in this chapter. Besides, it narrows the discussion down to psychological and social effects of conflict. These effects are not clearly seen in most cases but restore conflict memory and have the capability to propel conflicts. Further a case study of Sri Lanka is discussed to further elaborate approaches employed by various actors in managing armed conflicts.

Chapter three presents the scenario as it is in the Karamoja cluster, which is the area of study. It brings to the fore a number of interventions implemented by humanitarian agencies and establish their impact in Karamoja cluster. Various stakeholders interviewed facilitated the generation of the information presented in this chapter. Interventions employed by various actors did not take keen consideration the case of psychosocial activities neither the integration agenda in the implementation.

Chapter four presents the analysis of the primary data obtained in chapter three. The outcome of the results in the data collected is subjected to the views of various scholars. This chapter further analysed what humanitarian organizations have been doing over the years in managing international conflicts in this area. Chapter five provides few recommendations in managing resolving psychosocial issues in post conflict societies and makes conclusions from the lessons learnt in chapter three and four. It further recommends an area for further research.
CHAPTER TWO

THE CONCEPT OF PSYCHOSOCIAL INTERVENTIONS IN POST CONFLICT SOCIETIES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the causes, trends, effects and management approaches of armed conflicts. Besides, it will delve further into the discourse of psychosocial interventions in managing conflicts and post conflict trauma in societies. The research will present a case study of the conflict in Sri Lanka and how it was managed by the humanitarian actors.

2.2 The Nature of Armed Conflicts in Post-Cold War Era

Contrary to the predictions that wars would become obsolete in the post-Cold War world, they rather shifted dramatically from inter-state to increasingly intra-state manifestations. The world since then has become racked by ethnic and nationalist violence. Although these conflicts have mainly been intrastate, they have in some cases moved across boundaries and affected the neighboring states. They therefore threatened international peace and security through mass refugee flow, proliferation of small arms and light weapons and the rise of local mercenary groups.

The situation of states after the cold war itself left a lot of ammunition for use by the warring groups within the states. For example, some weapons used against U.S. forces in Afghanistan are from U.S. supplies to the mujahedeen to fight the Soviet Union in the 1980s, while some weapons in Iraq are from post-World War II

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51 Ibid,
transfers. With weapons at hand and increased deterioration of communal integration, competition was enhanced hence the most notable way to sort out conflicts and bring about increased space is through the use of such weapons.

In Africa for instance, the drive for nationalism and the need to increase control of available resources exacerbated intrastate conflict. Each community would like to be in power in order to control resources and satisfy their basic needs. Countries such as Uganda, Rwanda, Angola among others are some of the examples of increased internal competition in a bid to control political and economic power after the cold war and colonial era as well.

The use of small arms and light weapons increased in intensity over time. Though communities within states were at conflict with each other due to competition for resources, less sophisticated weapons were used. These included: bows and arrows, spears, machetes among others. In the recent past, these communities acquired more sophisticated weapons. They therefore took internal conflicts to another level. The effects of such conflicts have been disastrous.

2.2.1 Causes and Trends of Armed Conflict in Societies

Trans-boundary natural resources are not confined to the jurisdiction of one country meaning that property rights are difficult to define and enforce. Controlling

56 Rachel Stohl and EJ Hogendoorn, “Stopping the Destructive Spread of Small Arms”, Center for American Progress (March 2010) pp 6-7
natural resources also means confronting issues of sovereignty that allows communities and states to neglect the transnational effects of its action. There is also the erratic nature of the natural resources: its availability and demand are often uncertain. The neo-Malthusian premise that conflicts over increasingly scarce natural resources can be expected as a result of population growth, which notion has given rise to water–related conflicts and even water wars. Many of the resource based conflict in Eastern Africa are caused by the inequity in resource management.

Indeed the difficulty in regulating water-sharing in locations where such resources are located between communities has led to many states to develop water projects unilaterally. On the other hand, the same properties that make water a potential flashpoint for international conflict also allow the possibility of Regional Cooperation. Indeed cooperation over transboundary environmental resources, in particular water resource, land and pasture has been analyzed at length from different perspectives and one of the underlying issues in resource based conflict is the ambiguities in the treaties particularly on the boundary dividing the border water, land, and other resources and unilateral control; and ambiguity in resolving such disputes. As competition intensifies, conflicts emerge between communities and states.

Environmental conflicts erupt as a result of various factors. Homer–Dickson has argued that scarcity of resources can arise from different conditions; increased

demand due to population growth, decreased supply due to environmental degradation and widespread inaccessibility due to socially inequitable formula of distribution\textsuperscript{64}. Johan Galtung\textsuperscript{65} describes long term deprivation of basic needs of the people such as food, shelter, health; education livelihood needs social dignity and equal opportunities to participate in social and economic activities in the society as the main causes of conflicts. He further states that there are those necessities which every human being needs for survival purposes, these needs accordingly are non-negotiable needs and more often than not lack of them may lead to a Conflict\textsuperscript{66}.

Current and future conflicts will increasingly relate to ethnic, religious, resource based on other cultural issues. The trends are increasing in nature, type and magnitude\textsuperscript{67}. The most common form of violent conflicts today is intrastate conflicts, usually connected to the formation of states or civil wars. Many spring from struggles over power, rights, economic advantage, natural resources and cultural identity. In most of these struggles, groups fight for control over the government or against a government set against them, and in many cases the struggling groups are ethno-politically defined. These “new wars” last for long periods of time and have disastrous consequences for entire regions. The effects on economic development alone are horrifying. Intrastate wars create mal-development and institutional deformation that further increases the risk of renewed conflict in the unlikely event of a negotiated peace\textsuperscript{68}. Kelman\textsuperscript{69} rightfully points out that “identity, security and similarly powerful

\textsuperscript{64}Homer –Dickson, Thomas F. \textit{Environmental Change and Acute Conflict: A Research Agenda}, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1991)pp 75-98


\textsuperscript{66}ibid


collective needs and the fears and concerns about survival associated with them, are often important causal factors in intergroup and inter-communal conflict”. This view also points to the reason of protracted armed conflicts in society.

2.2.2 Effects of Armed Conflict

Armed conflicts lead to fatalities. Combatants and non-combatants die in numbers. For instance in Sudan more than two million people died both directly and indirectly as a result of the war between the Sudan and South Sudan. The Angola, the fatalities were more than one million, while in Rwanda, eight hundred thousand people were killed within one hundred days. Others died in the battle, while a majority died as a result of disease, vagaries of weather, attack by wild animals, rape, suicide and trauma70. According to UNFPA report71, armed conflicts destroy the social fabric of the society. The political and social order is strained hence everyone will tend to lead his or her own live in order to survive. The system of leadership is seriously affected through displacement and deviance by those who plan revenge against the wish of the political structure. Children’s well-being and development depend very much on the security of family relationships and a predictable environment. War, especially civil war, destroys homes, splinters communities and breaks down trust among people undermining the very foundation of children’s lives. It further states that women and children are the most vulnerable in armed conflicts situations.

Destruction of property and loss of livelihood affects the survival of many in the society\textsuperscript{72}. Many lose their property through outright destruction by the combatants through fires and vandalism. On the other hand, those who lose their livestock, farm produce and movable assets become desolate and hopeless. The struggle to get to the level they were in before becomes a major and outright challenge. As a result of this, children become destitute and become street children and create social disharmony in the process.

Internationalized intrastate conflict leads to strained relations between nation states. This complicates matters especially when conflict management efforts are not synchronized and implemented in a coordinated manner. Conflict will tend to be protracted and the effects continue to affect communities and the larger society.

Inability to create a dichotomy between combatants and non-combatants has been a key complication in dealing with the armed groups by the governments of the day\textsuperscript{73}. The act of generalization present risks of affecting the civilians, hence the political representatives build a tag of war between them and government. For instance, fighting the Al Shabaab group\textsuperscript{74} may seem to other groups fighting with the Somali community. This has been a misconception.

\textbf{2.2.3 Management of Armed Conflicts and neglect of Psychosocial Interventions}

The role of managing armed conflicts is no longer the sole responsibility of the government. In some cases, the governments have played a key role in creating and propagating armed conflicts within their own states. Therefore, state and non-

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{72}Sanjeev Gupta et al, “Fiscal Consequences of Armed Conflict and Terrorism in Low – and Middle – income Countries”, \textit{International Monetary Fund}, (August 2002) pp 3-6
\end{footnotesize}
state actors are engaged in management of armed conflicts. Post conflict societies have a greater probability of engaging in violent acts compared to those that have not experienced violence\textsuperscript{75}. It is therefore important to put more efforts in addressing post conflict societies.

Humanitarian efforts in managing conflicts have been uncoordinated and in most cases focus on specific issues only. In most cases, immediate needs have guided decision making. Basic needs such as food, water, shelter and medical health for the displaced have been the key mandate of humanitarian actors. In this context certain important elements of conflict management have been neglected at the expense of protracted conflicts. Psychosocial interventions\textsuperscript{76} clearly demonstrate the link between psychological and social aspects. It is clearly misleading to address one aspect while assuming that the other one can wait. They must be addressed holistically to ensure comprehensive healing. Several approaches have been employed, which include: mental, community development and human right and justice. The integration of these approaches together with traditional methods will provide sustainable results in conflict management in communities.

For humanitarian purposes, the belief that governments have right, even obligation to intervene in the affairs of other states has won advocates, and today international law has defined military intervention as a right and duty to alleviate human suffering, stop genocide and ethnic cleansing, and prevent the repression by states of basic human rights and civil liberties\textsuperscript{77}.

\textsuperscript{76}John Williamson and Malia Robinson. *Psychosocial Interventions or integrated Programming for well-being?* *Intervention* Vol. 4 #1 (2006) pp 4-8
2.3 Case Study: Management of Armed Conflict in Affected Communities in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has experienced protracted conflicts for about 26 years between the rebel Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the government. The conflict resulted in the loss of over 100,000 lives and displacement of over 500,000 people who are either IDPs or refugees. The origin of conflict as discussed in various articles is as a result of a brewing conflict between the Tamil minority and the Sinhalese majority which transformed into civil war in 1983. The conflict was based on economic, political, and cultural marginalization after end of British colonial rule in 1948. The minority Tamils demanded the separation of the Tamil-speaking northern and eastern provinces of the island into a separate state of Tamil Eelam.

The history of the civil war falls into four main categories (Eelam I – IV) which were punctuated by a combination of long and short cease-fire agreements. The Tamil tigers were initially a small group of people committed to the course. However, between 1983 and 2009 the team grew in size and competence with support from a number of diaspora Tamils who were fortunate to settle in countries such as Australia, Canada and Western Europe. The LTTE metamorphosed into a disciplined and highly effective conventional fighting force which had naval and air arm and to the extreme of suicide attacks. Its effective use of resources, bravery and tactical mobility made them have an impact though outnumbered by the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL). The LTTE committed a lot of human atrocities which include human rights violations and abduction of children for recruitment.

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80 Ibid, p. 192
Other key causes of conflict include citizenship rights where the GoSL only granted to those who were born in Sri Lanka or whose fathers or grandfathers were born in Sri Lanka as well. Hence the Indian Tamils who came to work in Sri Lanka could not be granted citizenship. This therefore caused serious friction. Language policy (Sinhala only policy) and access to jobs in civil service became another source and driver of conflict. Under the British rule, many Tamils got civil service jobs and were promoted. However under the independence, the Tamils were given 3 years to learn Sinhala or risk losing their jobs. Sinhalese were resettled and given land by the government on lands owned by the Tamils. Troops later settled in Tamil lands as well81.

Several peace attempts have been made between 1995 – 2006. Most notable ones include the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord in Colombo of July 1987 and Cease Fire Agreement of February 2002 under Norwegian facilitated peace talks. Other mediation talks were supported by the United States of America and European Union82. Establishing home-grown solutions for protracted conflicts that are ethno-political in nature have proved to be difficult since they are marred by radical scepticism83. Therefore, pressure from international community EU developed sanctions that included freeze of assets that facilitated the LTTE to pursue its course in the region.

Peace building theories fronted by key scholars who among them include Ho-Won Jeong84 denote the importance of psychological and psychosocial interventions

in creating sustainable peace. Individual/inner healing promotes social interaction which is critical in ensuring social discrimination; trauma and inner fears are dealt with appropriately. Further Ho-Won Jeong further emphasises the role of reconciliation and social rehabilitation in addition to security and demilitarization, political transition and long term development.85

2.3.1 Psychosocial interventions employed

The social protection framework in post-conflict recovery contexts brings together different discourses on rights and access to justice, livelihood strategies and socio-economic status, as well as human security and protecting human rights.86

2.3.2 Mental Health Approaches

These approaches focus explicitly of psychological consequences of war or armed conflicts. In this case, measures that attempt to provide support to the survivors whose mental status is highly affected is of paramount importance. Services use frameworks borrowed from psychiatry, clinical psychology and client – centered counseling are utilized to treat symptoms that demonstrate a level of psychological effects. These approaches are both individualized and collective.

Psychological healing from trauma and fear must be addressed. The focus here regards the inner being and the relations between various players. The victims of brutal violence are women, girls and boys, who are known to be vulnerable. Further the combatants and the ethnic and religious groups. Due to violence, their social

85Ibid, p 164.
fabric has been affected and hence if the healing will not addresses the social fabric as well as the psychological status, violence will tend to occur. Counseling sessions must therefore be addressed with regards to the Sri Lanka case. The focus has mainly been on political, economic and security reforms.

In Sri Lanka, counseling and psycho-education which is basically raising awareness, dominated the mental health approach. This was predominantly applied in rural areas by NGOs and state agencies. Play activities were arranged for children that aim to nurture emotional support and problem solving. In addition to this, cognitive and moral development is enhanced. An individual who is at peace with himself or herself will in most cases be at peace with the others. Hence, mental health is important to ensure positive interaction among the members of post conflict societies. Some of the notable effects of trauma and stress include; substance abuse, suicidal tendencies, revenge, domestic violence, theft, robbery among others\(^{87}\).

In addition, traditional methods have been used to address psychological healing among those who have experienced loss. Traditional mourning programs have been introduced in Sri Lanka. According to Somasundaram\(^{88}\), funeral rites like edduchelavu, anthyetty, anduthuvasam and similar anniversary observance are powerful social mechanisms to deal with grief and loss. The village and its people provide organic roots of sustaining support system nourishing environment and network of relationships. War in most cases destabilizes these structures. Somasundaram\(^{89}\) therefore brings to the fore the importance of restoring such


\(^{89}\)Ibid, p 273
structures which overtime sustained lives and provided a reason for people to coexist and live together in harmony.

Trauma and loss in itself does not offer liberation of the dead and those who grieve the loss. Widows in Sri Lanka expressed fear of political retaliation if they conduct such rituals in addition to their economic impact. Most of them therefore abandoned the rituals which had a double effect on them. It is therefore clear that, war or armed conflicts distort economic status of families in addition to social ties that are important to nurture harmony and complete reconciliation.

2.3.3 Community Development Approaches

This approach relies mainly on social psychology and anthropology rather than medical model. It is mainly driven by the recognition that material and social environment plays a critical role in creating and maintaining suffering and that people in most cases do not understand their suffering in psychological terms. Programs are therefore developed to enhance psychosocial resilience and well-being through ensuring quality social and material spheres of the communities\textsuperscript{90}. Other lines of thought integrated in this approach include infrastructural development and social reconstruction\textsuperscript{91}.

In Sri Lanka, a lot has been done with regards to this approach. NGOs and government agencies provided food, medical care and shelter to refugees and IDPs as well as provision ensuring that infrastructure is restored. The infrastructure was


revamped by major donors such as European Union and the World Bank. The European Union funded the GoSL with about US$300 million to support projects that focus on water supply, sanitation and roads. EU aid has been more explicitly aimed at promoting peace and supporting minorities and independent voices. In 2010 the World Bank has been a major financier to the GoSL which focused on economic policy and service delivery by the local government to the post war north.

One of the least-known aspects of the internecine conflict in Sri Lanka is the abuse of the Muslim minority. Although they share linguistic features with Tamils, Muslims have nonetheless refused to be identified as such. First, the self-definition of Muslims, as different from Sinhalese and Tamils, has produced an element of solidarity between the latter two groups. Second, time and again they have been caught up in the crossfire between the two main contestants. Third, their allegiance to the unity of Sri Lanka has been suspect. Throughout the conflict, the Muslim community often maintained an ‘accommodationist strategy’ to avoid any direct confrontation with either the Tamils or Sinhales. In addition, ‘the Muslims’ growing self-perception as a distinct ethnic group with legitimate claims for influence in the Tamil homelands was perceived by the LTTE as a threat to Tamil Eelam and to their own claim of being the sole and rightful representatives of the Tamil population in these areas.

It is notable that the Muslims minority were not involved in the peace process hence their needs were not taken into consideration. Though successful in their business acumen and obtain support from the guest workers from Persian Gulf.

93 UNHCR, Remembering the Displaced: Celebrating their Courage, Resilience and Determination, Colombo: UNHCR, 2000
According to Arendt Lijphart\textsuperscript{94}, to bring about stability in line with the peace building theory restoration of political structure and reconciliation occurs when involvement of the moderates in the power sharing process is promoted. This will ensure that none of the groups will come out as a victor hence control tools of power. This was not taken into consideration while dealing with the peace process in Sri Lanka. The extremists were the main negotiators. Completion of the structural reform agenda and a resolution of the conflict in the North and the East are the key missing elements for Sri Lanka to accelerate growth and achieve further poverty reduction. Bank assistance should help overcome both these constraints\textsuperscript{95}. This statement from the World Bank report resonates with the fact that reconstruction is an all-inclusive process.

2.3.4 Social Justice/Human Rights Orientation

This is a more lasting and considered a risky venture by many humanitarian actors especially taking into consideration the post conflict situation. In fact many organizations and in the case of Sri Lanka have taken specific measures to work apolitical and avoiding activities that are seen or perceived political. Although a number of psychosocial initiatives have emanated from human right activism, there have been times when a dichotomy has been drawn such that advocacy, legal and rights based initiatives behest another category.

In Sri Lanka, those who delved in social justice and political struggle in other areas have done it within the privacy of their own practice rather than through risky


public intervention or commentary. The DayaSomasundaram’s\textsuperscript{96} writings from North Sri Lanka demonstrate a few efforts done openly to fight for justice and the rights of the minorities. Support services provided by enthno-nationalists groups and organizations associated with the military or government armed services had no challenge of using explicit ideas to frame the suffering of combatants and civilians. This may seem to be supportive; however, those who hold a different ideology could not express their view to the contrary.

2.4 Conclusion

The chapter focused primarily on the discourse of armed conflict, its causes, effects and methods employed in managing such conflicts in post conflicts societies by various scholars. Further, an attempt was made to draw a link between psychosocial interventions and other forms of conflict management and why different scholars prefer one to the other. In addition, a case study of conflict in Sri Lanka was presented to demonstrate how it was managed and what approaches were employed in order to address such conflict by different actors. The way conflict actors manage conflicts may determine whether such conflict will be resolved once and for all or will be protracted. Approaches that integrate psychosocial issues bear more results.

CHAPTER THREE
HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTIONS IN POST CONFLICT COMMUNITIES
IN THE KARAMOJA CLUSTER.

3.1 Background

The “Karamoja Cluster” (KC) encompasses the pastoral and agro-pastoral ethnic groups, most of whom share the “Ateker’ language, culture, and land located along northeastern Uganda, northwestern Kenya, southeastern Sudan and southwestern Ethiopia. The communities that constitute the KC include: Turkana, Matheniko, Bokora, Pian, Dodoth, Nyangatom, Didinga, Merille, Toposa, Jie, Tepeth, Acholi, Labwor, Dasennech and UpeCommunities. The Karamoja cluster covers four districts in Uganda: Kotido, Moroto, Nakapiripirit and Kapchorwa; three districts in Kenya: Turkana, West Pokot and Trans Nzoia in Rift Valley Province; one Woreda: in Ethiopia KurazWoreda of the South Omo Zone of the Southern Nations & Nationalities Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS); and two counties in the South Sudan; Kapoeta and Budi in the Eastern Equatoria Province in Southern Sudan.

Nomadic people have been perceived by governments in most occasions are problematic people by the various governments that are responsible over them. The decisions and policy recommendations have often benefited the settled communities and affected negatively the pastoralists. These communities are socio-economically and politically marginalized and therefore become the source of underdevelopment in this region. The cluster constitutes the poorest people among the nation states. For instance, 82% of the communities in Uganda’s portion of the Karamoja cluster live
below poverty line\textsuperscript{97}. This reflects the reality of the situation in the Kenyan, South Sudan and Ethiopian sides.

Karamoja cluster is synonymous with violence, drought and poverty. Majority of the people lack the basic requirement of food as a result of a combination of factors. Conflicts in Karamoja cluster dates back to the colonial era, however, it has metamorphosed over time from being a predominantly culturally sanctioned survival ritual performed using traditional weapons, to one bearing the characteristics of externally driven entrepreneurial and political attributes using automatic weapons. The proliferation of small arms in the Greater Horn of Africa has taken this to another level. For instance the Pokot and the Karamojong communities have been in conflict over pasture, water and livestock for over three decades\textsuperscript{98}. On the other hand, a new phenomenon has evolved where livestock theft is commercialized because of the increased demand of their products and particularly meat, both in the urban areas and also for export\textsuperscript{99}.

Different interventions, both at national and international levels have taken place in the Karamoja cluster, however, the main focus is to bring peace and to maintain law and order rather than to develop the area or to bring about lasting change among the communities that have undergone serious psychosocial, economic and political negative effects due to the protracted conflicts. Peace meetings/forums have been held for years in count, sponsored by local organizations, international Non-Governmental


\textsuperscript{99}Ibid, p. 13
organizations, regional bodies and respective governments to broker peace, nevertheless, conflicts have persisted in the Karamoja cluster\textsuperscript{100}.

Disarmament programs have been initiated by the respective governments to ensure that small arms are removed from the wrong hands. The approaches employed to acquire these arms have mainly been forceful, and through the use of military and the police. For instance, President Museveni of Uganda launched a disarmament campaign towards the end of 2001. This move renewed hope for peace and development in the region. This only lasted a few months since the security situation deteriorated even further\textsuperscript{101}.

3.2 Current forms of armed conflicts

The communities living in the Karamoja cluster have over decades experienced armed conflicts. The Jie, Turkana, Pokot, Dasanech, NyangatomDassenech among others, have expressed in unison that the main source of armed conflict in their locations is cattle rusting, competition over scarce resources, boundary dispute, the need adhere to specific cultural rites and in some instances lack of coordination in the management of pasture and water during severe drought. However, a greater percentage of the pastoralists stress three main issues. These include; competition for natural resources, cattle rustling and revenge for loss of lives and livelihoods.

Elder LokitoloLimangole\textsuperscript{102} from Loima village stresses on two particular issues that contribute to armed conflict in his turf. He says that ‘the Pokot have been claiming their land which does not belong to them, they have crossed over from the hills to the plains, which never was their land. The Turkana land must belong to the

\textsuperscript{100}Peter O. Otim. Baseline Study for the Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster. IGAD, CEWARN Baseline Studies, (2004) p. 7
\textsuperscript{101}Ibid, pp. 10-12
\textsuperscript{102}LokitoloLimangole, elder, Loima, Interview, 4\textsuperscript{th} June 2013.
Turkana’. The second issues he impressed on the interviewer are on pasture and water from river Turkwel. According Assistant Chief Sarah, river Turkwel, which is known to them as Tir-kol, is their own and within their location. ‘The use of our water and pasture must be done with express permission of the Turkana people’. Former councillor Ekale adds that ‘the government has been supporting the Pokot over the years and suppressing the rights of the Turkana’. On the other hand, the Pokot have the same claim. MzeeRiwong’ole who lived in Sarmach located near Kainuk for over forty-five years gave a brief story of how his parents settled there and the extent of their boundary. He states that, ‘our pasture land extended all the way to Kalemng’orok and there were no Turkanas around then’. Using the current administrative boundaries, this is 46.9 kilometres into the interior of Turkana County.

The boundary dispute, which to a greater extent, is closely linked to conflict over natural resources such as land and water, also extends to the Uganda and Ethiopian sides of the Karamoja cluster. The communities in the Ugandan side of the Karamoja cluster expressed equal sentiments with regards to main sources of conflicts in their area. Further to boundary issues and conflict over resources, respondents brought out clearly revenge as another propeller of conflict within the region. LoritangoiEwolong from Kotido area stated that ‘when livestock have been stolen from us by the Pokot of Kenya, we braze ourselves to revenge in order to bring back what has been stolen from us. We must pay back the lost lives and no one will remain poor because livestock have been stolen from them’. Each community therefore counteracts what done against them. In most cases, the actions taken to revenge are

103 Sarah Lochodo, Chief KainukLocatoin, Interview, 4th June 2013
104 Joseph Ekale, former Councillor, Interview, 5th June 2013
105 Riwong’oleEkaang, Elder Orwa in West Pokot, Interview, 7th June 2013.
106 LoritangoiEwolong, Elder Kotido, Interview, 12th June 2013.
doubled. This therefore becomes another source and sustainer of conflict within this region.

The Dasanach of Ethiopia have equally expressed their fear, however they feel that they are well armed to protect their lives and livelihoods. Theirs is mainly a question of lack of policies to guide the use and management of local resources. Jackson Achinya\textsuperscript{107}, who is among the elite of the Dasach of Southern Ethiopia claims that they live in their own country. The government of Ethiopia is far from them and in most cases it does not recognize them at all. They neither belong to Ethiopia nor Kenya. Conflicts between the Gabbra and the Dasanach have been seen to be extremely lopesided against the Gabbra. “The Dasanach are well armed and experienced in the use of small arms. In fact they have on several occasions defeated the Kenyan military when they respond to our cries” says, MoluYattani\textsuperscript{108} who is a businessman in North Horr.

3.3 The main causes of armed conflicts in the Karamoja cluster

Most of the respondents confirmed that conflicts have protracted over the years. They do not see an end to such conflicts in sight. A few respondents believe that conflicts have subsided over the years as a result of the interventions of the NSAs and the government. The reasons why conflicts have been continuous even when a number of interventions have been implemented by the NSAs and the government include the following:

Boundary disputes that have been unresolved over the years between communities in the Karamoja cluster have become a thorn in the flesh. The Karamoja,

\textsuperscript{107}Jackson Achinya, Southern Ethiopia, Interview, 19\textsuperscript{th} June 2013
\textsuperscript{108}MoluYattani, North Horr Kenya, Interview, 20\textsuperscript{th} June 2013.
for example expressed a major boundary conflict between them and the Pokot. On the
other hand the Turkana and Pokot also have the same dispute. As stated earlier, the
boundary dispute became a major factor after the boundaries between the states were
drawn by the colonial government. In the Pre-colonial era the territorial boundaries of
the communities living within the Karamoja cluster depended on the status of their
communal relationships, being less rigid and non-limiting. Elder Limangole\(^{109}\) and
Ewolong\(^{110}\) of Kotido recalls that land was share by all communities and resources
there in before the colonial period. However, demarcation brought in a different
element of control and ownership which fuelled conflicts among the communities.
The governments have not taken appropriate and definitive action to address this
matter. It has now become quite sensitive and emotive. Therefore, any form of
conflict that erupts within the communities brings in land unresolved boundary issues
as one of the root causes.

Linked to unresolved boundary issues is the dispute over natural resources. Most of
the respondents stated that competition for scarce resources is another source
of conflict. This is legitimised by the fact that land ownership and unclear boundaries
have remained in the parking lot for decades. To make matters more complicated,
there are no policies in place to ensure that such scarce resources are managed
appropriately and in a participatory manner. The natural resources management
policies instituted by the governments of Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia are biased
towards resources of national importance. They did not consider contextual issues and
traditional methods of managing scarce natural resources. The effects of climate
change have made this issue more complicated. “Years back, drought took place once

\(^{109}\) Lokitolo Limangole, elder, Loima, Interview, 4\(^{th}\) June 2013.
\(^{110}\) Loritangoi Ewolong, Elder Kotido, Interview, 12\(^{th}\) June 2013
in 7 years. The situation is worse now, it takes place once in two years” says
Lomong111, an elder in South Sudan. The effects of climate change cannot be
overlooked. The greater the scarcities the more the chances deteriorating into conflict
among the competing communities in Karamoja cluster.

Governments of Kenya and Uganda have on various occasions implemented
disarmament programmes. These programmes were implemented by the military and
in most cases force was utilized to obtain the small arms from the communities in
Karamoja cluster. The community members were not involved in the exercise. Abuse
of human rights became the norm during such exercises. Respondents stated that the
military tortured young and old men raped women and even took their animals with
impunity. On the other hand, the disarmament programs were not coordinated by the
governments and therefore it leaves one or more of the community members
vulnerable to attacks from the others. EkaongLokwaputh112 stated that, “in September
through December 2006 the government disarmed us and on the Kenyan side, nothing
was done. We were exposed to our enemies who attacked us, killed our people and
took our livestock. We were helpless like women”. Coordination between
governments has not been forthcoming despite efforts by a number of actors to
promote coordinated efforts between them for the sake of the communities in
Karamoja cluster. In 2006, a total of 592 Deaths, and 28,087 livestock losses were
registered in 175 incidences, out of which 12.1% were of cross border nature with the
respective neighboring IGAD Member States113. This marks the period when
Ugandan government was conduction disarmament while the other states were not.

111 LokwakwetLomong, Nimule South Sudan, Interview, 26th June 2013
112 EkaongLokwaputh, Kainuk in Turkana South, Interview, 5th June 2013
113 CEWARN, 8th Regional Report on the Karamoja Cluster September - December 2006. Addis Ababa,
Ethiopia.
Revenge and fear of attack from the perceived enemies is the main factor that propels conflict according to all the respondents interviewed. Revenge denotes that the community that was attacked did not forgive or come out of the conflict that occurred. Many of those attacked expressed that fact that they will pay back what has been done to them. If they lost loved ones, they intend to kill the perpetrators in order to feel equal. Loss of livestock will be recovered only by going for a raid to revenge. This key factor has been seen not only as a sustainer of armed conflict but also a springboard to another level of armed conflict. Some cultural practices that promote armed conflicts within the communities in the Karamoja cluster. Respondents mentioned issues such as payment of dowry, replacement of livestock after drought or raid, the need to pay for the deaths of the deceased and advice from the elders and overseers.

Domonyang Lopulo\textsuperscript{114} enhances the above point by stating that social and psychological aspects of conflicts are not addressed comprehensively by all the actors. Those who suffer continue to suffer. They carry the pain and never let it go. 98\% of the respondents confirmed that, no form of counselling services have been provided. This differs sharply with the response from the NSAs who stated that they provide counselling. Probed further, a number of agencies confirmed that counselling is mainly through public meetings, popularly known as ‘barazas’. This will not be effective because it does not target the community members who have been affected directly. In the long run, the affected develop ambition to pay back what has been done to them in a bigger way.

Illiteracy has been another factor that has been mentioned by some beneficiaries but most of the NSAs. Ignorance and lack of education/exposure denotes

\textsuperscript{114}Domonyang Lopulo, Kotido, Interview, 13\textsuperscript{th} June 2013
the presence of a different world view that basically guides individuals and groups. The ambition of the community members who are illiterate according to Agency for Pastoralist and Development (APaD) manager MrDavies Wafula\textsuperscript{115} revolves around increasing livestock herds no matter the means, upholding cultural practices and survival. Other aspects of development are not seen and taken into consideration.

The role of governments in the cluster has been seen to be biased. Provision of security is not applied equally to all communities. Most of the affected said that the government is basically doing nothing to address the protracted conflicts. A bigger portion stated that the governments focus in more on forceful disarmament through the use of the military and the provincial administration.

\textbf{3.4 Effects of armed conflicts}

Most of the respondents expressed the view that the women and children suffer the most during times of armed conflicts. Women are seen as the weaker sex and therefore become vulnerable to the armed conflicts. Children on the other hand do not participate in the conflict but bear the brunt of the conflict. LopeyokLopeyetum\textsuperscript{116}, an elder in Turkana south district states that ‘we have lost a number of women and children as a result of armed conflict’. He claims that a number of children are orphaned and therefore lives are at the mercy of their relatives. Others have gone to loiter is towns such as Lodwar and Kitale since no one cares for them.

According to Lopeyetum\textsuperscript{117}, interventions by non-state actors focus on the warriors and the men. They see them as the drivers of armed conflict hence when targeted they believe that conflict will end. He however raised some questions and

\textsuperscript{115}Davies Wafula, Manager Agency for Pastoralist and Development, Loima, Interview, 7\textsuperscript{th} June 2013.

\textsuperscript{116}LopeyokLopeyetum, Kainuk in Turkana South, Interview, 7\textsuperscript{th} June 2013

\textsuperscript{117}Ibid.
said ‘who will take care of the women left widows or children left orphans? If they are not taken care of, will they be another source of armed conflict and also serious crimes within the community?

The aged and the disabled have also been pointed out as some of the key victims of armed conflict. These groups of people cannot defend themselves nor flee from a context where conflicts have erupted. They rely on their family members for support and protection. Though mentioned as the beneficiaries of some interventions by NSAs, the efforts are mainly superficial and not sustainable. They therefore become a point of reference towards fanning emotions towards revenge of the perceived enemies. Therefore, bottled pain, frustration and suspicion sustain armed conflicts in the Karamoja cluster.

The governments have been blamed by the communities of being more reactive rather than proactive. Relief foods have been donated by the provincial administration to cater for the needs of the most vulnerable. However, the food ration given does not sustain the victims. Further, nothing is done after the day the distribution has been done. NSAs have been accused on the same vice. The interventions to the most affected are neither sustained nor coordinated. The beneficiaries of the foodstuffs extend in some instances to those who have not been affected in any way. In some cases, the provincial administration diverts the food meant to support the immediate needs of the vulnerable to benefit themselves.

3.5 The trends of armed conflict in Karamoja cluster

Despite all the efforts made by state and non-state actors, very few respondents felt in their view that conflict have in fact reduced over the years. They cited a few trends that denote positive change. To them, there has been reduction in competition
for social amenities and natural resources due to alternative livelihoods created by humanitarian actors within the cluster. Young people have joined education institutions and thus have found activities that will make their lives busy. Groups of young people are not seen grouping themselves to organize raids. They have moved to major towns to study and fend for opportunities to create a livelihood.

In their responses, Churches have been playing a big role in transforming the attitudes of the communities and to provide some form of counselling and alternative livelihoods. Churches have been seen to broker peace accords between communities. LomuriaEgielan\textsuperscript{118}, who is a Peace Committee member, praised the role played by the Catholic Church in brokering peace accords between the Turkana and the Karimojong along the Kenya and Uganda boarder. Though the accords in most cases have not been honoured, a sustained campaign by the Catholic Church Diocese of Lodwar upheld continuous negotiation and peaceful interaction between the warring communities. To this end, communities have established alternative ways of addressing conflicts among themselves. NSAs have stated that they created and nurtured opportunities for dialogue as avenues for venting and conflict resolution.

The smaller percentage of the respondents also stated that the governments are providing adequate security which deters the occurrence of armed conflicts in their areas. A few examples include the installation of military units along the boarders, creation of police and administration posts in some areas considered as hotspots and coordinating livestock recovery activities with the communities’ leaderships and the NSAs.

On the other hand, the military or police units have been seen by the residents as a source of another level of conflict. The military and the police do not respond

\textsuperscript{118}LomuriaEgielan, Loima, Interview, 7\textsuperscript{th} June 2013
immediately to any report of conflict. The respondents state that, the military only
wait until an authorization is given to them. Ekaale\textsuperscript{119} says “they are only here to give
us a false sense of insecurity, while the reality is that we are all alone”. Cases of cattle
rustling and loss of lives in areas with government security have been reported on
many occasions. The livestock stolen are never recovered.

3.6 Interventions to armed conflicts by NSAs

Most of the respondents interviewed clearly stated that the conflict management
organizations in the area focus mainly on three main interventions. These include
monitoring and early warning, advocacy and public communication and social
cohesion and counselling. John Ekaale\textsuperscript{At}e\textsuperscript{y}o\textsuperscript{120} who is a Peace Committee member at
Loanmyamati village in Lobei Location brought out a different view from all the
other respondents. In his view, Ateyo claims that the Non State Actors (NSAs) also
provide protection interventions in their area. This view therefore brings into
contention the difference between the lay members of the community and those
involved in peace building activities in partnership with humanitarian organizations.
Probed further, Ateyo\textsuperscript{121} clearly defined his role and that of his committee members
which among others includes sensitising and alerting the community members on the
possible conflicts that may arise at certain locations and villages while relying on the
intelligence of the members of the Peace Committees from the other communities.
This view was also echoed by peace committees from the Ethiopian, South Sudan and
Ugandan sides of the Karamoja cluster.

\textsuperscript{119}John Ekaale\textsuperscript{At}e\textsuperscript{y}o, Peace Committee Member, Lobei Location in Turkana, Interview, 5\textsuperscript{th} June 2013.
\textsuperscript{120}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{121}Ibid.
On the other hand, the humanitarian organizations presented the same views as those of the beneficiaries. However, some other key interventions were also brought into the fore. These include; human rights protection, provision of food and shelter and peace education in schools. It is very striking to note that all the Non State Actors (NSAs) mentioned that service provision (food, water and shelter) has been one of their key area of intervention. However, the beneficiaries did not see this as a critical issue to raise and do not take notice of these as a key intervention from the actors. This therefore means that the beneficiaries do not view provision of food and water as an important intervention while the NSAs view it otherwise.

The NSAs believe that their interventions are critical to bring about sustainable peace in the region. Peace is a pre-requisite for any form of long term development in the region. According the Kenyaman\textsuperscript{122} of the Justice and Peace Diocese of Lodwar, advocacy and public awareness makes it possible for the community to see better options addressing conflicts other than through armed conflicts. Ekal\textsuperscript{123} on the other hand stated that violent conflicts and its unresolved psychological effects cause a strong and omnipresent perception of insecurity. This intern results to ineffective resource utilization, reduced mobility, food insecurity and close of market and schools which are in most cases shared by the communities living in the Karamoja cluster.

### 3.7 The role of the governments in the context of armed conflicts

The role of the government according to most of the beneficiaries is basically provision of security and disarmament. Other beneficiaries categorically stated that the government is doing totally nothing in their view. A few others stated that the

\textsuperscript{122}Paul Kenyaman, Staff Justice and Peace Diocese of Lodwar, Interview, 8\textsuperscript{th} June 2013

\textsuperscript{123}Peter Ekal, Elder in Amudat, Western Uganda, Interview, 14\textsuperscript{th} June 2013.
government is playing the role of awareness creation and early warning through the chiefs and assistant chiefs. It is therefore imperative to note that the government’s role is basically one sided and do not take into consideration the needs of the whole individual. Even though most of the beneficiaries stated that the government provides protection, their view is that they are basically reactive and not proactive. According to LomuriaEgielan\textsuperscript{124} who is also a member of the committee in Lokiriama, the government has no or limited security presence in the security hot spots known to all. He wonders why its main focus is on major towns in Karamoja cluster and provision of escorts to organizations operating in the area.

The beneficiaries believe that the government’s role in addition to provision of security, include service provision and developing policies that govern security matters. Half of the respondents interviewed also believe that the government should also address social and psychological aspects of armed conflict among those affected. Disarmament has not been mentioned by the beneficiaries as one of the key issues to be addressed by the government. It is however ironical to note that this was one of the major concern by all communities. They did not appreciate the disarmament as an approach to deal with insecurity. However, probed further, they were not impressed because the governments did not implement it across all communities. In most cases other communities were exposed to revenge by others who remained armed. This therefore means that the governments in the Karamoja cluster (Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia) did not coordinate the process of disarmament. This view was echoed by a senior staff of Practical Action, which operated in the Karamoja cluster for more than eleven years. He confirmed that participation by all stakeholders, including the community is lacking. This hampered the success of the exercise.

\textsuperscript{124}LomuriaEgielan, Pastoralist, Lokiriama, Interview, 14th June 2013.
Further, guns for cash approach implemented in other parts of the world financed the process of acquiring small arms and lights weapons and even fanned conflict in this cluster. This affects the process of sustaining the peace efforts within the community.

The NSAs on the other hand are totally in agreement with the beneficiaries on what the government is doing currently. According to the Coordinator\textsuperscript{125} of Karamoja Agro-pastoral Development Programme (KADP), security provision and disarmament have never been adequate. In most cases they have been erratic, uncoordinated and biased. This is clearly the case in the Kenyan side of the Karamoja cluster. Concerns have also been raised by the Peace committees in Uganda and Kenya that the government of South Sudan has not taken any actions to reduce armed conflict emanating from their side. However, a greater percentage of them clearly stated that the governments should provide security, develop policies that govern security matters in the region and address social and psychological aspects of the armed conflict to those affected. According to the coordinator of Agency for Pastoralist Development (APAD)\textsuperscript{126}, the government should in addition to the above interventions transform the region into an economic hub hence stump out poverty which in most cases leads the youth into cattle rustling and other forms of armed conflicts.

3.8 The role of psychosocial interventions

All the respondents affirmed that addressing psychosocial issues in a coordinated and comprehensive manner will produce sustainable impact with regards to management of post conflict societies and protracted armed conflicts in the Karamoja

\textsuperscript{125}Stephen Abura, Coordinator, Karamoja Agro-Pastoral Development Program, Interview, 24\textsuperscript{th} June 2013

\textsuperscript{126}Davies Wafula, Manager Agency for Pastoralist and Development, Loima, Interview, 7\textsuperscript{th} June 2013
cluster. They stressed the need to ensure that, the individuals and groups affected are addressed holistically such that nothing is left to chance.

Various traditional methods were utilized by the communities to bring about healing among those who have been affected. Most of the interventions are mainly practices within the individual communities and are not uniformly applied across communities.

Wife inheritance by the kinsmen, adoption of children/orphans and carrying on the responsibilities of the deceased is one approach employed by all communities. This is practised among the Dinka, Turkana, Dassenech and Pokot. When a family loses its bread winner, a kinsman is appointment to marry the widow and adopt the child fully without any form of discrimination. Those appointed usually feel privileged and not overburdened. They feel that the community leaders have found him responsible enough to take up additional responsibility. In addition, the victims find themselves accepted and taken care of in all aspects. They do not feel isolated and left alone to suffer.

Long’oleLokitolo\textsuperscript{127}, brings out another point which was emphasised by over 90\% of the respondents. He says that those who lost children are consoled with a child. Therefore a member of the community donates his child to the one who lost. Those who lost wives and given wives without dowry. This is an action that cannot be taken easily by people who do not understand what sacrifice is.

Specific rituals are conducted by the community spiritual leaders to provide counselling to the bereaved. The rituals which involve sacrifice of livestock considered to be pure are meant to nurture acceptance by the victims and to appease the spirits of the dead so that they do not haunt them. The communities in Karamoja

\textsuperscript{127}Long’oleLokitolo, Community Elder Amudat, Interview, 13\textsuperscript{th} June 2013.
cluster believe in life after death. If the spirits of the dead are not appeased, bad omen will befall the family and may also affect the larger community.

Provision of food, shelter and restocking for victims of armed conflict is an immediate response given by the communities. They do not die of hunger, suffer or have their livestock pens empty. Community members contribute immediately to ensure that the victims have something to themselves. This is not given in exchange for something but freely.

Among the Karimojong, a community member would provide a heifer to the victim who lost his entire herd. The victim is therefore advised to return the heifer after it gives birth to more than two calves. The calves will belong to the victim and the heifer will be returned to the donor. This practice has an interesting and important role it plays in the society. Apart from ensuring livelihood to the victims, it also promotes accountability and responsibility. This practice is cutting across most of the communities interviewed in the Karamoja cluster. Therefore the closely knit cultural and community ties sustains and provides strong emotional and material support to those affected by armed conflicts through cattle rustling or any other disasters.

Fortune tellers/overseers play a critical role in providing psychological support to the victims of armed conflicts. They predict and assure better and positive lives for those who are bereaved and in pain. They provide pieces of advice on what to do and rituals to be conducted in order to reduce pain and suffering. The rituals conducted create an environment where the victims of armed conflicts come to terms with the reality and accept the situation. It further nurtures them to forge ahead and continue with life after accepting the loss of their loved ones and their livelihood. Stories of such cases have been told by the respondents in various focused group discussions.
Elders of high repute conduct and spearhead dialogues across the communities to nurture a truce and further forge peace accords. These elders are known across the communities as people who are not biased and speak with wisdom and in truth. Such accords have been effective in promoting peaceful coexistence. Certain rituals are done jointly e.g. ‘miss’ among the Pokot – denotes a period of peace. In 2002, the Toposa and the Turkana held a joint ritual to end conflict between them. They organized a major ritual where all tools of war are buried publicly and an agreement to ensure that they shall never be used against each other.

LokitelauSasak, an administrator in North Pokot expressed deep concern over the destruction of community fabric and dilution of the place of leadership by the infiltration of modernisation. He noted that, young people no longer respect the views and instructions from their elders. They do what they feel like doing. This happens in settlements that have proximity to major towns. The place of traditional leadership is continuously being eroded and therefore the key support to vulnerable community members and the victims of armed conflict is waning off. A generation of young families suffering from increased poverty and lack of support is increasingly growing.

In addition to the views presented by Lokitelau, Achinya, who hails from Ethiopian side of Karamoja cluster, states that the leadership approach promoted by the government does more harm than good to traditional governance structure. The leadership adopted in the Waredas do not recognize the role of community elders. They are only consulted necessary but not in recognition of their role in society or in the communities. This is a growing trend as expressed more than half of the respondents who attended various FGDs forums.

128 LokitelauSasak, Assistant Chief in North Pokot, Interview, 8th June 2013.
129 Jackson Achinya, Southern Ethiopia, Interview, 19th June 2013
Counselling is an integral part of psychosocial interventions. Ninety eight per cent of all the respondents who were victims of armed conflicts confirmed that they did not receive any form of counselling either individually or in a group by the actors operating within the cluster. They stated that, some learnt to accept the situation with time while others looked for other ways to deal with the pain. The warriors interviewed stated that, the only appropriate solution is to revenge back all that has been done to them. Further probed, they expressed that they felt much better and relieved once they have successfully revenged against their enemies. One of the Dasennach sayings states that “inyyab dab kidalaataewle he mabaadany” which means “a debt is not lost in a homestead which has a boy-child”. Thus, when atrocities are committed against a family or community, as long as there lives a boy child, revenge is eminent. This therefore brings to the fore the extent of revenge and lack of counselling to the victims of armed conflict.

3.9 Conclusion

From the afore going, views from different communities living in Karamoja cluster with regards to psychosocial interventions and the view of conflict are generally convergent. All respondents agree that armed conflicts are destructive both physically and mentally. In addition, women, children, the aged and disabled as seen to be more vulnerable to the effects of armed conflicts. There are traditional methods of managing the social and psychological effects of armed conflicts in all the communities interviewed. However, these methods are facing modernization challenges and choice of governance adopted by the states.

130 Interview Pokot warriors, Focused Group Discussion, Orwa, 8th June 2013
The NSAs and the beneficiaries or victims of armed conflicts have divergent views as it comes to the forms of interventions employed. Though the NSAs expressed that they are addressing both physical and psychological needs of the victims of armed conflicts, the victims stated that their support is mainly short term, spontaneous, sporadic and uncoordinated. In addition, the victims categorically expressed that they do not benefit from counselling services either individually or in groups.
CHAPTER FOUR

PSYCHOSOCIAL INTERVENTIONS IN THE KARAMOJA CLUSTER

4.1 Introduction

There has been quite an impressive response from the responses selected to participate in the interviews and FGDs. Most of the participants responded openly and with a view to establishing a sustainable solution to their issues. This chapter will therefore focus on the analysis of the views and expressions of the respondents.

4.2 Current forms of armed conflicts

92% of the respondents confirmed that the current forms of conflict in the communities living in Karamoja cluster include, cattle rustling, revenge as a result of cattle rustling and conflict over scarce natural resources. Karamoja cluster is inhabited by pastoral and agro-pastoral communities who mainly speak one dialect. Harsh climatic conditions and prevalent droughts have really affected the livelihood systems of the communities living in this cluster.

The views of the community align to those of Ken Matthesen et al.\textsuperscript{131}, who commented in his book that cattle rustling and competition for resources results to the cyclic nature of conflicts in the Karamoja cluster. In addition to the views of the community, Matthesen et al, also states that the governments developed policies that mainly marginalized the pastoral and agro-pastoral communities in this cluster. This is contrary to the view held by Azar\textsuperscript{132} who states that social and psychological and material needs of the victimized must be the ultimate priority of a national strategy.


According to a report by Practical Action\textsuperscript{133}, a NSA that has operated in Karamoja cluster for more than eleven years now, cattle rustling has now become a continuous activity carried out by small groups of men armed with automatic weapons and driven by criminal motivation for profit. Conflict has therefore transformed into a business driven by profit. On the other hand, those who have been affected also plan revenge attacks that are in most cases more disastrous in nature.

\subsection*{4.3 The main causes of armed conflicts in the Karamoja cluster}

The main causes of armed conflict in post conflict Karamoja cluster as per 92\% of the respondents are competition over scarce resources\textsuperscript{134}, cattle rustling, revenge attacks and disputes over boundaries\textsuperscript{135} and a host of other basic social and economic needs. The revenge attacks are necessitated by the fact that the victims of armed conflict have not come to terms with the loss of the loved ones, their property or both\textsuperscript{136}. Their feelings are therefore bottled up and result into a planned retaliatory activity.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{134}O’rRiordan, Tim & Andres Jordan 1997, “Instructions for Global environmental Change”, \textit{Global Environmental Change} Vol. 7 (1997) pp 175-177
\textsuperscript{135}Godana, B.A, \textit{Africa’s Shared Water Resources}. (London: Frances Pinter Publisher, 1980). Pp147-156
\end{flushright}
A baseline study report presented by FEWS NET\textsuperscript{137}, funded by USAID, states three key underlying causes of conflicts in Karamoja cluster. These include; inappropriate policies and interventions, cultural factors including complex heroism and inadequate resources. In this baseline survey, boundaries disputes have not been seen as a one of root cause of conflict. This differs from this research, since 68% of the respondents mentioned boundary disputes as one of the major causes of conflict in Karamoja cluster.

The observation above aligns to the human needs theory as developed by John Burton\textsuperscript{138}. In his theory, he denotes that humans in a conflict setting are compulsively struggling in their respective environments to satisfy their primordial and universal needs. These needs include; security, identity, belonging, recognition and development. Humans therefore strive to gain control of their environment that will

\textsuperscript{137}FEWS NET. \textit{Conflict Early Warning and Mitigation of Resource Based Conflicts in the Greater Horn of Africa: Conflict Baseline study Report conducted in the Karamoja Cluster of Kenya and Uganda.} (August, 2005) pp 12-15

\textsuperscript{138}Burton, John W. PhD. \textit{Conflict Resolution as a Political System}. (Virginia: The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University, 1993).pp 2 - 7
ensure that they meet their own needs. Hence, communities in Karamoja cluster are no exception. Each of the communities are struggling to gain control over their environment to access scarce resources, meet cultural obligations, increase land control and other important needs for survival. The tools used to gain control are small arms and light weapons.

Jeong expounds the above observation by stating that justice healing and reconciliation facilitates the process of ending violence victimization and revenge. Jeong, in other words confirms that revenge is one of the main sources of conflict in inter-ethnic/inter-community conflicts. Collier on the other hand brings into view another key source of conflict which is closely tied to revenge. He states that post conflict societies face a double risk of conflict compared to a pre-conflict factor would predict. Besides, conflict has memory and defines the way people view their future and to judge what is right and what is wrong.

4.4 Effects of armed conflicts

Ninety seven per cent of the respondents believe that women, children and the disabled are the most vulnerable to the effects of armed conflicts. Smaller percentages were of the opinion that the warriors or combatants are among those who are vulnerable to armed conflict. Machel and Hiteng, confirms to the fact that

142GraçaMachel, The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children: A critical review of progress made and obstacles encountered in increasing protection for war-affected children, presented at the International Conference on War Affected Children (September 2000) pp 6 -26
conflicts affects children and women significantly. Children are exposed to the trauma of conflict, recruited into soldiers while others are murdered and/or raped. Besides, women are exposed to sexual violence, exploitation and pushed to forced labour. Health related effects such as HIV and AIDS, malnutrition, malaria, snake bites and exposure to wild animals. The effects of armed conflicts resonate with what happened in Sudan, Rwanda and Angola as presented by Andreas and Simon\textsuperscript{144}. On the other hand, conflicts are believed to bring about positive change\textsuperscript{145}; however their negative effects are disastrous in this case.

Trauma has long term effects on those affected by it. Trauma affects decision making and the vision for the future. Trauma affects child development and the society at large. Children and the vulnerable group affected by trauma develop a sense of personal weakness, sensory perception therefore remaining on permanent high alert and the impossibility of testing subjective experience to reality\textsuperscript{146}. Children, women and the disabled therefore live a life of subjectivity, fear and reprisal. When pushed, they react with a blast emanating from memory and experience.

The effects of trauma and experience of armed conflicts transcend generations\textsuperscript{147} as presented by Yael Danieli\textsuperscript{148} as seen by the children of those families that experienced the Nazi holocaust. Trauma is extended down to the children who were not born even during holocaust. The behaviour expressed by the

\textsuperscript{147}UNFPA Report, \textit{The Impact of Armed Conflicts on Women and Girls. A Consultative meeting on Mainstreaming Gender in Areas of Conflict and Reconstruction}, (November 2001)
generations that follow may take different forms. The family tree as drawn by the children will show traces of deaths, murder and loss. Two diverse views are expressed here by this author. One states that, trauma leaves a permanent psychic damage that renders the survivors more vulnerable if exposed to another level of armed conflict. Another view on the other hand holds that coping well in the initial trauma builds strengths and coping mechanisms to handle effects of another conflict or trauma.

In the case of Rwandan genocide, social, capital and environment assets were affected by the conflict. There was dissolution of families and loss of lives. Family members could not trust each other. In laws could not rely on each other for support. This therefore led to the formation of other types of associations. These associations were not necessary connected by blood or otherwise\textsuperscript{149}. This presents the same picture in the Karamoja cluster. Alliances were developed among community groups that did not have any specific links other than survival. For example the Jie partnered with the Turkana to fight the Karamoja. These alliances are not permanent but are based on need and desire for survival.

4.5 The trends of armed of conflict in Karamoja cluster

68\% of the respondents believe that armed conflict will be protracted for some time to come. The governments and NSAs have no made and impact in addressing the protracted conflicts in the cluster\textsuperscript{150}. This calls for a different approach in addressing the cyclic nature conflict.


Fred Ikle states that conflicts must end. The government is most cases resorts to disarmament\textsuperscript{151} as a solution. Besides, it only involves the provincial administration and the military to implement these exercises. The respondents believe that their participation in disarmament is important. However, other issues such as developing policies that will promote interaction and fairness in the management of resources, dispute resolution and provision of security will enhance peaceful interactions in post conflict societies. On the other hand, 32% believe that, the trends are changing for the better. Reasons cited by these respondents include; increased literacy especially among the youth, the key role played by NSAs and government in awareness creation, public advocacy and disarmament, capacity building of community members on alternative sources of income such as crop production and development of small business enterprises among many others.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure2.png}
\caption{Expression of Respondents on the trends of armed conflict. 92\% indicated that conflicts are not ending.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{151}IGAD, \textit{Report of the IGAD Regional Workshop on the Disarmament of Pastoralists Communities. 28\textsuperscript{th} – 30th May, 2007, Entebbe Uganda.}
The feedback provided by the respondents is further confirmed by a recent incident that took place between the Merille of Southern Ethiopia and the Turkana of Kenya. More than eleven fishermen have been killed by the militias from South Omo. The government of Kenya is blaming the South Omo administration for not restraining the militia. It further states that the relations between the two countries are strained. The governor of Turkana county was noted as saying that the government is doing very little to address the conflict in the area. There have been about 3 armed conflicts within a span of one week. This therefore shows that more needs to be done to address the conflict in the area. Integration efforts must be included to address the matter holistically.

4.6 Interventions to armed conflicts by NSAs

Fifty seven per cent of the respondents state that the NSAs mainly focus on awareness creation, early warning, provision of food and water and counseling. The NSAs are therefore trying to address a number of issues that are believed to be the causes of armed conflict in the region. However, significant efforts have been focused on advocacy activities as presented by 48% of the respondents. Peter Otim in his baseline report states that the non-state actors focus on building resilience among the communities in this region as a result of the cyclic nature of drought. Focus on conflict management was left to committees formed.

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According to the various discussions in this paper, three key areas must be addressed in an integrated manner. These include; mental aspects, community development and human rights areas. Bohmelt\textsuperscript{155} states that all groups should share openly without fear, everything that occurred between them. According to him, this action will nurture trust building and open up the communities for meaningful reconciliation and dialogue. In line with this approach, a number of meetings have been facilitated by the NSAs between the warring to promote the spirit of uncovering the past and build trust. These were mainly conducted through public ‘barazas’. To some extent, these meetings brought about reconciliation and forgiveness among the communities. The challenge is that, the main participants are men and particularly the elders. The warriors in most cases are not involved, while the women and children are not involved at all. The lack of involvement of warriors, women and children in such meetings lead to potential appraisal and pressure for revenge.

On the other hand, conflict resolution theory as presented by Burton\textsuperscript{156}, upholds the view that the root causes of conflict must be addressed for the communities to achieve sustainable peace. He states that conflict resolution is a long term process of change that covers political, social and economic systems of a society. It is an analytical and problem solving process that takes into account the individual and group needs as identity and recognition, as well as institutional changes that are required to satisfy their needs. The actors in conflict management must therefore adopt this approach to reach sustainable peace in this region.

On the other hand, Kumar\textsuperscript{157} contended this view. He states that, uncovering the past traumatic experiences among warring groups builds up tension and may lead to another conflict. What matters in this case in the timing of such forums. When the meetings are held immediately after a conflict, tensions arise. If however, these meetings are held proactively and when emotions have lowered, positive results can be achieved. The respondents accuse the NSAs of being more reactive. In this case, sustainable peace cannot be achieved.

NSAs have played a key role in establishing grassroots structures that foster peace. Peace committees (PCs) have been established in all the communities within the cluster. The PCs create awareness, advocate for peace, broker peaceful coexistence, and in difficult circumstances quell emotions while they are still high. The role of the PCs is important are expressed by thirty six per cent of the respondents.

\textsuperscript{156} Burton, John W. PhD. \emph{Conflict Resolution as a Political System}. (Virginia: The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University, 1993). pp 2 - 7

Continuous interactions through collaborative activities by communities in conflict foster peace.\textsuperscript{158} NSAs have taken this approach advanced by Kimberly into fruition. A number of shared social services such as markets, schools and water points among others have been established along the borders neighboring the communities. On a number of occasions, conflicts have been avoided by communities when they analyzed the opportunity costs associated with loosing such important shared services. NSAs are therefore on point in ensuring communities interact on regular basis and accept one another as human beings who require dignity and are therefore not different from each other. On the contrary, Jacoby\textsuperscript{159} denotes that, continuous interaction bolsters high chances of conflict among the groups. Sharing of pasture and water points have in many cases been seen as the cause of conflict. 92% of respondents stated that competition over scarce resources led to armed conflicts. Though water is a shared resource among the Merille of Ethiopia and Turkana of Kenya, conflicts still persists to date.

The NSAs are mainly seen to implement activities that promote peaceful interaction between community members, provision of basic needs such as food, water and clothing for the affected and sharing of early warning signs to the peace and conflict management structures developed in the communities. These interventions are important in addressing the lives of the post conflict societies. However, a critical component is lacking. The psychological needs of the affected individuals are not taken into consideration. This therefore means that the interventions implemented by various actors are not comprehensive and do not address all critical issues.

\textsuperscript{159} Tim, Jacoby. \textit{Understanding Conflict and Violence. Theoretical and Interdisciplinary Approaches} (New York: Routledge, 2008) pp 22-27
4.7 The role of the governments in the context of armed conflicts

72% of the respondents see that the government mainly providing security, creating awareness through the local administrator and disarmament. The governments should strive to satisfy basic social, psychological and material needs of the victims along communal lines or part of national strategy\textsuperscript{160}. The respondents see that the efforts of the government are basically reactive and not proactive. The conflict life cycle has not been taken into consideration. Early warning indicators are not viewed seriously by the government and no action is taken until the situation is in crisis mode. Besides, interventions implemented by the governments during the crisis mode are short-term in nature. They immediately die out as soon as some indicators of peaceful interaction are experienced.

In a recent case of conflict between the Merille of Ethiopia and Turkana of Kenya, the Senator of Turkana County\textsuperscript{161} categorically stated that the government is not doing much to manage conflicts in his area. He called on the government provide security and dealing with external aggressors. The Senator did not however state other key issues that the government should address. The main causes of conflict as per the respondents were not taken into consideration by the political leadership. The view of the leadership is not comprehensive but only seeks to address the immediate effect of the conflict.

In nation states, defense forces have been viewed as a symbol of statehood and might. States ensure that the size of their forces is big enough to demonstrate their


\textsuperscript{161} Robert Manyara, “The Rite of Death”, The People, 19\textsuperscript{th} August 2013.
might. This is seen for instance in Eritrea and Ethiopia\textsuperscript{162}. Communities at conflict also take up this ideology and arm themselves to provide their own protection. Through the acquisition of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs), the communities are able to implicitly demonstrate their power and therefore exert their authority over their rivals or subjects. Through use of SALWs, a particular community is able to controls resources and in other cases acquires resources forcefully from the others. The communities in Karamoja Cluster have armed themselves. Their arms in some cases are superior to those of the state agencies. It became increasingly challenging to deal with the militia groups by the government. Communities relied on the home guards who have are more reliable than the armed forces.

The governments’ have made disarmament their main responsibility to root out armed conflict in the region. This activity was not participatory and not coordinated by the governments. For instance, among the Karimojong, they view the state more or less as an enemy due to the militarized approach to conflict management\textsuperscript{163}. Problems associated with disarmament include; detention, physical and sexual abuse and death. These have a significant bearing on social and economic livelihoods of the community. Those who are detained cannot be able to support their families. Hence poverty reigns. Those who have been abused physical are maimed in some cases and women traumatized.

Contrary to this view, twenty eight per cent of the respondents feel that the government should conduct disarmament exercise. These respondents feel that the SALWs in the hands of the wrong people sustain conflicts. They however cautioned

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}
the process of disarmament. Participation by the communities, and its timing should be addressed by all the governments. As realized by donors and other actors, however, a strategy of disarmament alone cannot address key factors that underpin the violence, such as poverty, marginalization, and livelihood loss\textsuperscript{164}.

The respondents as seen in figure 4 below, recommends that the government should address the following issues; provision of security, social services, policy development and enhancement and in addition to addressing psychosocial issues.

\begin{center}
\textbf{Figure 4: The role of psychosocial interventions}
\end{center}

Seventy six per cent of the respondents believe that, comprehensive interventions covering social and psychological interventions will result into sustainable peace. On the other hand eighty four per cent of the respondents did not receive counseling as a result of the effects of armed conflicts in their areas. This denotes that, certain psychological aspects have not been addressed. Though provision of food, water, medical attention and restocking has been done, other important

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{164}]Elizabeth Stites and Darlington Akabwai.\textit{Changing Roles, Shifting Risks; Livelihoods Impacts of Disarmament in Karamoja, Uganda.} (Uganda: Feinstein International Center, 2009) p 11.
\end{itemize}
spheres of life of an individual have not been addressed. According to Mwagiru\textsuperscript{165}, conflict has memory. This aspect of conflict cannot be forgotten. Where and how it has occurred remains in the minds of the victims. This must be addressed and dealt with so that the victims come to terms with the situation.

Psychosocial interventions address both physical and psychological needs of an individual or groups of people. Addressing one sphere of an individual or groups of people cannot guarantee sustainable peace. The social and psychological aspects must be addressed. Those without food are given food while a lasting solution which addresses their rights and needs is a sustainable manner is taken into consideration\textsuperscript{166}. To forget the issues that took place in a particular conflict is as good as to forget the victims\textsuperscript{167}. To forget the victims is as good as protracted conflict. Individuals who have lost their resources and their livelihoods must have them back in one way or another. It is imperative that such approaches are sustainable and do not build the conflict further.

4.8 Conclusion

Several approaches have been employed by the stakeholders to address conflict in various locations of Karamoja cluster. The government focuses on provision of security and disarmament. The NSAs provided food, early warning and promoted interaction between communities. These approaches are important in addressing conflict within Karamoja cluster. However, they are not integrated neither

are they well-coordinated. One aspect is addressed in Ugandan side of Karamoja cluster while a different approach is implemented in Kenyan side of Karamoja cluster. The result will not be sustainable considering the fact that the causes and effect of armed conflict are the same among all the communities in the Karamoja cluster.

For instance, the Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme (KIDDP) present a combined strategy of disarmament and development and reflect a collaborative effort between multiple stakeholders. Since 2006, however, the government has shown a much greater commitment (in terms of both financial and human resources) to the disarmament than to the development component of the KIDDP\textsuperscript{168}. If this approach was implemented to the letter and addressed by all governments over a period of time, significant lasting results will be reached.

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the findings of the primary data collected of conflict issues in Karamoja cluster were discussed in the light of views and presentations from various scholars. This chapter will present discussions of the findings in armed conflicts in Karamoja clusters, conclusions and recommendations based on the findings and discussions on the previous chapters.

5.2 Summary of Findings

Armed conflicts in the Karamoja cluster have various causes and effects which are not unique to settings that are of the same nature. They are generated by competition for scarce resources, revenge, access to SALWs, disputes over land and cultural alignments such as bride price and increase of stock.

Boundary disputes came up as one of the main causes and sustainer of conflict. Boundaries have been drawn by the colonial governments and did not take into consideration the participation of the communications and African leadership. One community would be present in two different states and are not allowed to interact easily due to diverse regulations. A sense of ownership and differentiation in boundaries influence the social oneness and level of interaction between communities living together. This transformed into competition and selfishness. Therefore boundaries between the communities living along the boundaries of the states in Karamoja cluster are a constant source of conflict.
Closely associated to land issues are natural resource-based conflicts. Karamoja cluster hosts communities who are mainly pastoralists. Therefore resources such as water and pasture are scarce since the area is basically arid. The need to control such resources push the communities to compete with each other in order to ensure that they over power each other.

Revenge and fear of attack has been another cause and sustainer of armed conflicts in Karamoja cluster. Communities who have been aggrieved and have lost their livestock plan revenge since it is seen as the only way to restock and pay back for the lives of the loved ones. Attacks and counter attacks are the order of the day in Karamoja cluster as confirmed by the sentiments of the respondents and data available from NSAs in the region.

The literacy rate in Karamoja cluster is quite low. The world view of the communities in this region is based on livestock and the harsh environment they live in. therefore cattle rustling is seen as a source of livelihood, a way of life and a practice to sustain cultural practices. This therefore propagates armed conflict in the region.

Armed conflicts resulted in high loss of lives and livelihoods in Karamoja cluster. Women are left widowed and children left orphans. Poverty therefore increases in the region. Development is retarded since the focus of the governments is in more peaceful areas. The regions continued to be behind in development and in human development index.

State and non-state actors are involved in addressing the security needs of the region and supporting the communities affected by armed conflicts. NSAs provide basic needs and introduce communities to alternative livelihoods. However, the governments have been seen to provide security which was felt by all communities
and disarmament. NSAs and the governments have also formed Peace Committees who play a big role in providing early warning and lead negotiations between warring groups in times of conflicts.

Traditional methods have been utilized to help those who have been affected by armed conflict. Communities donate livestock to those who have lost them and widows were married off to those who are responsible and wealthy in the community.

5.3 Discussions of the Findings in the Karamoja Cluster

According to John Burton169, human participants in conflict strive to control their environment. They struggle compulsively to satisfy their primordial and universal needs such as security, identity, belonging, recognition and development. This therefore is the situation in Karamoja cluster. Competition for scarce natural resources took the centre stage. Availability of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) makes it easy to start and sustain armed conflicts. The use of SALWs are fatal and causes more harm than the use of traditional weapons such machetes, spears, bows and arrows.

Approaches utilized by key players in conflict are reactive and uncoordinated. This therefore makes it difficult to address the root causes of conflict and sustain the efforts. Key players address what they think in their part is the root cause. The governments conduct disarmament programs in uncoordinated manner. This in many occasions exposes one community against another. On the other hand, NSAs initiate alternative development approaches that diversify the sources of income for the communities. These alternative strategies do not focus on the vulnerable in most

169 Burton, John W. PhD, Conflict Resolution as a Political System. (Virginia: The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University, 1993).pp 2 - 7
occasions. They target the warriors and the elders whom they believe are the key drivers of armed conflict. However, those who suffer the most and have the capacity to carry the conflict to another generation are not fully addressed.

It a conflict management approach to first work towards cease fire. However after this has been done, root causes of conflict must be addressed combining both short and long term strategies. Humanitarian actors have been seen to address urgent and immediate issues on dwell on them for long. It is imperative that urgent and immediate issues must be addressed to ensure that those who suffered the effect of armed conflicts are taken care of. This should not be done at the expense of addressing the underlying issues. Track II diplomacy should be utilized to ensure that the root causes are addressed. Agenda setting should involve all stakeholders, the combatants, civilians and the vulnerable. The humanitarian actors; be they state or non-state, must work together towards the same goal. Individual actions workshops and assessments that do not benefit the whole community should be discouraged.

Actors have been accused by the responding in a hit and run style. They only appear when armed conflict occur and disappear as soon as signs of relative ceasefire and peace are experienced. Though organizations and institutions have varied mandates, sustained efforts bear more positive and long lasting results than short-term actions which are based on the effects of armed conflicts. The mandates of various actors must be analysed in such a way that the long term and short term responsibilities are integrated.

Policies that govern natural resources need to be established and contextualised. Land use and ownership need to be redefined in the context of pastoralism. When two-pronged land ownership regulations are run at the same time, conflict is unavoidable. Communal and individual land ownership in pastoral
communities cannot work. Clear regulations must be drawn and implemented accordingly. The county governments in Kenya for instance should take this up and engage the communities on how best to utilize land effectively. The woreda and states in Ethiopia and South Sudan can also take this responsibility. Uganda created a special province with a specific minister to be in charge of pastoral issues. This improved the way critical issues from these communities are addressed.

It is interesting to note that most of the respondents believe that disarmament is necessary and appropriate. They however criticize the approach the governments are using. The governments must engage with the communities and with each other to ensure that the success of the exercise is assured. It is important to also note that disarmament is not viewed as a military exercise. A combination of the military and the civilians will be comprehensive and will not leave issues pending.

Justice and rights based approach was not strong in addressing issues in post conflict communities in Karamoja cluster. The rights of the victims are left to the traditional ways of conflict resolution. No records of raiders or cattle rustlers taken to court and charged in Karamoja cluster from the feedback from various respondents. The government representatives interviewed stated that they have taken action against those believed to be perpetrating the practice. The provincial administrators have been fired for not taking action.

Traditional approaches have not been critically considered by the humanitarian actors as a necessary approach to bring about community integration and lasting peace. Actions implemented by the communities are among the psychosocial interventions which is central to this research study.
5.4 Conclusion

Conflict resolution theory should be applied to address the root causes of the issues expressed by different communities as they struggle to achieve their need. This is basically a long term process of change that addresses political social and economic spheres of a community or society. In this regard, conflict must be addressed in a meaningful and sustainable manner. Conflict cannot be addressed in a linear approach. Non-linear peace building processes must be adopted which too must be multi-sectoral to bring about conflict transformation.

The causes and effects of conflict are clearly the same in contexts akin to Karamoja cluster. Approaches implemented by the humanitarian actors who include state and non-state actors define the departure between a protracted conflicts and community integration and sustainable peace. Considering the issues discussed in the previous chapters, there is a clear link between lack of psychosocial interventions and protracted armed conflict. It is important that State and NSAs plans and implement strategies that integrate psychosocial interventions. The whole and not part of affected individuals and communities are addressed.

Psychosocial interventions therefore denote the approaches that address both social and psychological aspects of an individual. Such interventions take on mental, community development and rights based approaches. This study further affirms the fact that, any forms of interventions must target the appropriate groups and be coordinated effectively and appropriately. This therefore means that, the NSAs and the governments of the communities living in the Karamoja cluster need to work, plan and implement in a coordinated manner. Though resources may originate from various sources, the beneficiaries are based in one geographical location and share a language, culture and social context.
The adoption of justice and rights based approach should be adopted by key stakeholders. Governments should be accountable to the people they are in charge. Pastoral communities have been marginalized for a long time by the development actors and the governments. The NSAs and the communities should hold the governments accountable to their responsibilities. The key mandate of the governments is to protect the life and property of their citizens. Citizens Voice and Action (CVA) could be one of the approaches that NSAs can employ to empower the communities at Karamoja cluster to demand for services from the governments and ensure that their rights and properties are protected.

Individual and group counselling sessions have not been taken into account by various players in addressing the effects of armed conflict in Karamoja cluster. Most the efforts were concentrated on attending to social amenities and public awareness sessions in a reactive manner. The most vulnerable members of the community such as women, children and the disabled were not targeted in decision making nor provided with the much needed counselling services. Traditional mechanisms have not been explored to address protracted conflicts. This needs to be taken into consideration other than adopting approaches from the west.

5.5 Recommendations

Conflicts are part and parcel of a society. Without conflicts change cannot be achieved. Conflicts as established in this research are becoming protracted and more sophisticated. They must be viewed in a different way or approach. Should they be addressed in the same way as before, it will only spiral the effects of conflict and generate more sophisticated ways of revenge. This view holds for the status of conflict in the Karamoja cluster. It has been decades now since conflicts have been
reported in this cluster. Reports from CEWARN and other conflict management
organizations noted a decline in conflict which is closely followed by an increase that
supersedes the former. This trend led to loss of lives, property and livelihoods.

Government policies must be developed to ensure proper coordination of
humanitarian activities in addressing the effects of armed conflict on communities.
The County governments in the Kenyan context should be the focal point of contact
by all actors. An institution within the County should be mandated to coordinate such
activities. The same approach can be adopted by the Woreda and States in Ethiopia
and South Sudan respectively. The advantage with the Ugandan government is the
fact that a special ministry was establish to take care of the unique issues that the
pastoral communities in Karamoja cluster experience.

Commercialization of cattle rustling in is another source of protracted conflict
in Karamoja cluster. Respondents stated that, though communities agree on ways to
explore peace and strike specific agreements, they do not last long since some deviant
groups are used by the elite and the politicians to engage in armed conflict for
economic gain at the expense of peace and tranquillity. As a way to comprehensive
reduce the occurrence of armed conflict, I commercialisation of cattle rustling as an
area for further research.


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Paul Kenyaman, Staff Justice and Peace Diocese of Lodwar, Interview, 8th June 2013

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Domonyang Lopulo, Kotido, Interview, 13th June 2013

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Long’ole Lokitolo, Community Elder Amudat, Interview, 13th June 2013.

Ekaong Lokwaputh, Kainuk in Turkana South, Interview, 5th June 2013
APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Beneficiary Questionnaire

Informed consent & cover page

Good morning/afternoon. My name is ___________________________. I am a student at the University of Nairobi. In order to get more information about armed conflict and conflict management in your area, I am conducting a household survey in the area. Your household has been selected by chance from all households in the area. I would like to ask you some questions related to armed conflicts and conflict management in your area.

The information you provide will be useful information to improve learning in the universities, and understand better conflict management.

Participation in the exercise is voluntary, and you can choose not to take part.

All the information you give will be confidential. The information will be used to prepare general reports, but will not include any specific names. There will be no way to identify that you are the one who gave this information.

At this time do you have any questions about the survey?

Signature of interviewer: ___________________

Date: ___________________

Respondent agreed to be interviewed (tick the appropriate answer)

Yes ☐  No. ☐
1. What are the **three main causes** of armed conflict in your area?
   [ ] Competition for natural resources such as water, pasture etc.
   [ ] Boundary disputes
   [ ] cattle rustling
   [ ] Revenge for loss of lives the livelihoods
   [ ] Fulfillment of cultural rites such as marriages, initiation etc.
   [ ] Lack of policies to guide the management of available resources
   [ ] other ….
   __________________________
   __________________________
   __________________________

2. Who are the current actors in conflict management in this area?
   _____________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________

3. What are some of the interventions you receive from these actors? (B)
   [ ] Provision of food and water/service provision
   [ ] Monitoring and early warning
   [ ] Advocacy and Public communication
   [ ] Protection,
   [ ] Social Cohesion and Counseling
   Other …
   _____________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________

4. What is the government currently doing in managing conflict?
5. In your opinion, what should the government do to manage conflict in this area?

[ ] Provision of security
[ ] Disarmament
[ ] Service Provision
[ ] Developing policies that govern security matters
[ ] Addressing social and psychological aspects of conflict,
Other…

6. In your opinion, are armed conflicts ending in your area?

[ ] YES (if yes, please go to question …)
[ ] NO (if NO please go to question …)

7. In your opinion, why are armed conflicts protracted in your area?

___________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________

8. In your view, why do you think armed conflicts are reducing?

___________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________

9. Do you think there is a need to change current interventions?

[ ] YES
[ ] NO

10. In your opinion, what should be the main focus in armed conflict management?

[ ] Provision of food and water/service provision
[ ] Monitoring and early warning
11. In your view, what are the **four main** effects of armed conflicts?

12. During armed conflicts, who in society suffer most?
   [ ] Men
   [ ] Women,
   [ ] Children,
   [ ] Warriors,
   Other …. 

13. Which specific interventions target the group(s) you selected above?

14. If psychological and social aspects are addressed comprehensively, in your opinion, will conflicts end?
   [ ] YES *(if yes, please go to question 18)*
   [ ] NO *(if NO please go to question 19)*

15. If YES, give three reasons?

   ______________________________________
   ______________________________________
   ______________________________________
16. If NO, give three reasons?

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

17. What are some of the traditional methods of supporting victims of armed conflicts?

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________
Good morning/afternoon. My name is ___________________________. I am a student at the University of Nairobi. In order to get more information about armed conflict and conflict management in your area, I am conducting a household survey in the area. Your household has been selected by chance from all households in the area. I would like to ask you some questions related to armed conflicts and conflict management in your area.

The information you provide will be useful information to improve learning in the universities, and understand better conflict management.

Participation in the exercise is voluntary, and you can choose not to take part.

All the information you give will be confidential. The information will be used to prepare general reports, but will not include any specific names. There will be no way to identify that you are the one who gave this information.

At this time do you have any questions about the survey?

Signature of interviewer: _______________

Date: _______________

Respondent agreed to be interviewed (tick the appropriate answer)

Yes [ ] No. [ ]
Name of the organization: __________________________________________________________

Type of organization
[ ] Regional
[ ] Local
[ ] International

Length of operation in the area:
[ ] 1-4
[ ] 5-10
[ ] 11 and above

18. What are the three main causes of armed conflict in this area?
[ ] Competition for natural resources such as water, pasture etc.
[ ] Boundary disputes
[ ] cattle rustling
[ ] Revenge for loss of lives the livelihoods
[ ] Fulfillment of cultural rites such as marriages, initiation etc.
[ ] Lack of policies to guide the management of available resources
[ ] other ....

_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________

19. Apart from you, who are the other players in armed conflict management in this area?
_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________

20. What are your three (3) key interventions in armed conflict management in this area?
[ ] Provision of food and water/service provision
[ ] Monitoring and early warning
[ ] Advocacy and Public communication
[ ] Protection,
[ ] Social Cohesion and Counseling
Other …
_____________________________________________________________________________
21. Give **three main** reasons why you implementing interventions you mentioned above? Open

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

22. What is the government currently doing in managing armed conflict?
   [ ] Provision of Security
   [ ] Disarmament
   [ ] Awareness creation
   [ ] Nothing
   Other …

________________________________________________________________________

23. In your opinion, what should the government do to manage armed conflict in this area?
   [ ] Provision of security
   [ ] Disarmament
   [ ] Service Provision
   [ ] Developing policies that govern security matters
   [ ] Addressing social and psychological aspects of conflict,
   [ ] Others

________________________________________________________________________

24. In your opinion, are armed conflicts ending in your area?
   [ ] YES (if yes, please go to question …)
   [ ] NO (if NO please go to question …)

25. In your opinion, why are armed conflicts protracted in your area?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

26. In your view, why do you think armed conflicts are reducing?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
27. Do you think there is a need to change current interventions?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO

28. In your opinion, what should be the main focus in conflict management?
   [ ] Provision of food and water/service provision
   [ ] Monitoring and early warning
   [ ] Advocacy and Public communication
   [ ] Protection, Social Cohesion and Counseling
   [ ] Disarmament
   [ ] Other …

29. In your view, what are the four main effects of conflicts

30. During armed conflicts, who in society suffer most?
   [ ] Men
   [ ] Women,
   [ ] Children,
   [ ] Warriors,
   [ ] Other …

31. Which specific interventions target the group(s) you selected above?

32. If psychological and social aspects are addressed comprehensively, in your opinion, will conflicts end?
   [ ] YES (if yes, please go to question 18)
   [ ] NO (if NO please go to question 19)

33. If YES, give three reasons?
34. If NO, give three reasons?