Pastoralism in Karamoja

Assessment of factors affecting pastoralist lifestyles in Moroto, Amudat and Kaabong

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1 Photos taken in Kaabong and Moroto by Sumy Sadurni, for ACTED
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2 Photos taken in Moroto by Sumy Sadurni, for ACTED
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study has been devised in partnership between ACTED and DanChurchAid to support the existing research agenda in the Karamoja region, while also focusing on addressing any gaps in the current literature. Gaps have been identified through a literature review of existing research carried out in the region. The focus of the study is understanding the changing migratory habits of the Karimojong and Pokot, and examining the social, economic, factors affecting these changes. This was achieved by the collection of primary data through Focus Group Discussions in Moroto, Amudat and Kaabong. During these semi-structured discussions, the ACTED team also conducted participatory mapping exercises.

The primary goal of this study is to understand the social, cultural and economic factors affecting pastoral communities and their migratory routes in Karamoja, in order to inform effective programming in the region.

BACKGROUND

Until recently, pastoralism has remained the dominant form of livelihood and lifestyle for the population of Karamoja, although recent pressures have resulted in significant changes to the pastoral landscape in the region. The term 'Karamojong cluster' was introduced by the British colonial administration in order to define a set of distinct ethnic groups from a shared origin and with similar dialects, living in the territory that had been divided by the borders of Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan. These include the Dodoth, Jie, Karamojong, Turkana, and Teso. Although these groups used the land in different and complex ways, they all maintained livestock as an important aspect of their livelihoods. In contemporary development literature the expression also refers, by extension, to the territory comprising northeast Uganda, northwest Kenya, southwest Ethiopia and southern Sudan (now South Sudan). This use includes groups such as the Pokot who, although form a large part of the pastoral community in Karamoja, are not Ngakarimojong speakers.

Much of the Karamojong Cluster, including Karamoja, is characterized by harsh arid and semi-arid land (ASAL) receiving 300 mm or less rainfall per annum. Precipitation is seasonal but highly variable in volume, distribution and timing. The cattle-keeping communities living in the cluster have developed sophisticated strategies for livestock production and movement in order to cope with the high level of risks inherent to this marginal environment.

The general model of production and mobility in the Karamojong cluster can be gathered from the extended in-depth studies of the Karimojong, Jie, and Turkana. A pattern that, with specific differences, can be attributed to all the pastoral communities in the Karamojong cluster is the organisation of livestock migration across three ideal ecological zones with increasing quality of pasture: a home area, a grazing area and a grazing reserve. The grazing area are the locations used for feeding animals during migration, while the grazing reserve is near to the home area, and used for feeding cattle when the home area is

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3 A pastoralist is by definition a herd owner whose income is derived from livestock at a rate of 50% or more. Nomadic pastoralists use fixed routes to move livestock based on rain patterns, feed availability and animal health. Agropastoralists rely more heavily on crop production and permanent settlements, reducing travel with the herd to nearly zero.

5 Gulliver, 1952.
6 Ibid.
8 Akabwai and Grahn, 2005.
depleted. Travel between these production zones is organized through a transhumance system based on weather, animal health, pasture quality, and a multitude of other external factors.

Whilst the home area of a household tends to be geographically fixed, the other two areas can vary greatly according to many factors, as explained below. With the exception of the rare periods when there is sufficient pasture in the home area, most of the livestock is kept in the grazing area under the care of teams of men, boys and a few girls. These teams can move as often as every few weeks. They use local vegetation to build temporary camps (kraals). About four fifths of the women and the youngest children live in semi-permanent villages (manyattas) in the home areas, with a few milking cows and some small livestock. The remaining fifth travel with the cattle, taking care of the children, and tending to the household duties while away from the home area. According to the literature, these semi-permanent settlements often have a borehole (although this is not always the case, for example, for the Turkana territory along the border with Uganda\textsuperscript{11}). Depending on the season, kraals make use of ponds, boreholes or traditional wells dug in dry riverbeds. Natural water points are open to all group members, but outsiders have to ask elders for permission to use water. Man-made water features, such as hand-dug catchment basins, are the property of those that make them, but temporary access is usually granted when asked in the right way.\textsuperscript{12}

Karamoja faces a variety of livelihood, developmental and climactic changes, and for such a vulnerable region in flux, it is critically important for researchers, governments and aid organizations to have an accurate and up-to-date picture of pastoral dynamics within the region in order to inform effective programming.

In recent years, the volume of research in the region has reduced. This may be due to the disarmament of Karamoja, leading to reduced levels of violence, but could also be attributed to the deterioration of other countries in the region (eg. South Sudan), which has caused a redirection of resources. As such, much of the body of research on pastoral communities in Karamoja has not been updated in light of the aforementioned changes, many of which have evolved considerably over the past 5 years.

**METHODOLOGY**

In order to assess the current body of literature about the region, a secondary data review was conducted. The secondary data review is a comprehensive overview of the literature on pastoralism in Karamoja, with the aim of understanding the gaps that exist in the literature. These gaps have been used to inform our focus group guides, and the primary topics for discussion and data collection. In order to inform the secondary data review, special attention was paid to more recent literature, with focus on publications since 2001. These papers were summarized and the information clustered into different thematic sections below. All of the documents reviewed are listed in the bibliography at the end of this report.

Following the secondary data review, the primary data collection was designed with the goal of addressing the research gaps identified during this review. The focus group discussion (FGD) guide was designed to focus on a certain number of key topics identified from the literature review and in consultation with other partners working the region, particularly NGOs. The topics that were chosen for the focus groups are as follows: agriculture, gender, land rights, gender, conflict, education, and animal health. Using typical focus

\textsuperscript{11} McCabe, 2004.
\textsuperscript{12} Dyson-Hudson, 1966; Niamir-Fuller, 1999.
group methodology, the discussions were semi-structured around the above topics (please see focus group discussion guide in annex A), while also allowing participants to guide discussions, ensuring that the topics that pastoralists found most prevalent and pressing to their daily lives were discussed.

It was decided that the focus group discussions be paired with a participatory mapping process. Participatory mapping - also called community-based mapping - is a general term used to define a set of approaches and techniques that combines the tools of modern cartography with participatory methods to represent the spatial knowledge of local communities. In this case, ACTED used maps of the regions, with important landmarks clearly defined, and asked the communities to draw their migration routes for the research teams, including any factors that they use to make decisions about their routes. Once these were completed, the team digitized the maps for inclusion in the report. These maps are supplemented by the information gathered during the focus group discussions.

The mapping activity was chosen in order to address a gap identified in the current literature on the region; while numerous articles make reference to the changing migration patterns in the region, often in response to the changing political, economic and social landscape, the team was unable to find any articles that provided mapping or spatial representations of these changing patterns.

As shown in the map below, the 16 discussions were held in the three districts of Amudat, Kaabong, and Moroto, with 6 each in Amudat and Kaabong with four in Moroto. These districts were chosen because they enabled the focus groups to span from the north to the south of Karamoja, as well as provide insight into the cross-border migration patterns. While the results of these focus groups may not be fully representative of all pastoral communities in Karamoja, the selection of these locations ensured the findings included representation of a diverse variety of people, livelihoods, culture, and environment within the region.

Due to the strong segregation of gender roles in Karamoja (women typically care for the gardens and the homes, while men care for the animals), the focus groups were separated between men and women. In each focus group, eight people participated, in addition to one focus group guide and one translator. ACTED identified two or three areas in each of the targeted districts, and then engaged with the district staff to support in the mobilization of participants. The areas were chosen based on their location within the district (close to the border, near major towns etc), as well as their distance from one another (in order to not focus data collection in only one area of each district) Participants were identified with assistance from district staff and ACTED’s existing staff in each of districts. The communities where the FGD’s took place are illustrated in the below map:
This section presents the study’s main findings concerning the pressures affecting changes in the pastoralist lifestyle, how pastoralists and other stakeholders have responded to these pressures, and how these pressures have influenced migration patterns in study’s focus districts. The first two sub-sections synthesise results from the secondary data review and the FGD data to provide a consolidated analysis of each of the selected thematic areas. The third section then presents the results of the participatory mapping exercise, which includes an analysis of the factors influencing communities’ migration patterns.

### CHANGES TO PASTORALIST LIFESTYLE

Over the past decade pressures on the current production system in Karamoja have increased significantly, particularly affecting the lives of pastoral and agro-pastoral communities. These pressures primarily manifest through persistent drought, conflict insecurity, poverty, and shrinking amounts of rangelands. Many of these pressures have multiple effects on the lifestyle of pastoralist communities, resulting in positive and negative changes. These changes have been diverse and numerous, and have and will continue to spur reactions and adaptations amongst populations in these regions. This section will focus on six thematic areas; agriculture, conflict, gender, land-rights, education and animal health.

### AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is gaining importance throughout the Karamojong cluster, with a large portion of pastoralists taking up agricultural production in order to supplement their incomes and support food security at household level. This shift has taken place due to a number of factors. Firstly, pastoralism in the region has changed significantly since the disarmament activities. As noted above, cattle raiding was a common occurrence prior to disarmament, used as a method to supplement herds and support activities such as the payment of bride prices. However, since the security in the region was increased in order to curb the violence experienced during raids, cattle raiding has reduced to small-scale cattle thefts, with minimal associated violence. Moreover, the climate in Karamoja (and the surrounding regions) has been heavily affected by climate change, with the occurrence and severity of drought increasing significantly over the last 10 years. Combined with the lack of services, such as boreholes, across the region, this dynamic change to the prevailing climate has resulted in smaller herds, and more difficulty in ensuring their health. Finally, government and NGO activities have also supported and encouraged the shift to agricultural production, through programming and policy initiatives.

Although pastoralism has remained the dominant source of livelihoods in Karamoja, from the FGDs it is clear there is a shift towards agro-pastoralism in the region. Although not all pastoralists in Karamoja have fully shifted to yearly, systemized agricultural production, even the communities that have not shifted express the desire to do so in the future.

During the FGDs, it was noted that while livestock were still the primary cash source for the community, because of reduced herd sizes, agriculture was growing in importance due to its ability to provide yearly foodstuffs to the community, thereby reducing the need to sell productive assets to purchase goods.

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13 Rangeland: open country used for grazing or hunting animals.
14 For further information on the climate transformation and drought incidence in the region, kindly refer to ACTED’s Drought Early Warning System (DEWS).
15 Powell, 2010
However, this shift to agriculture is being hindered by multiple factors including the unimodal system of rainfall in Karamoja and its semiarid climate, and the relatively high impact of drought in the region compared to the rest of the country. With only one planting season, severe drought can completely decimate agricultural production for the entire year.

Access to water at the manyatta\textsuperscript{16}, in order to grow proper crops, is especially important. One group of pastoralists in Amudat have moved their home area next to the water source where they grazed their animals, in order to be able to use the water for agriculture as well. While they still undertake limited migration from this new location, the move to a town near a water source has reduced their need to travel with livestock. The drought experienced in 2015 in Karamoja has resulted in significant crop failures across the region, which was reiterated in numerous FGDs\textsuperscript{17}. With this failure of crops year over year due to drought, discouragement over the cultivation process is growing, and multiple groups of pastoralists discussed whether it was worth it or not to waste foodstuffs every year in an attempt to cultivate. This was regularly discussed as a major challenge facing the communities involved in the FGDs, and should be considered in the framework of increased drought in the region. Should droughts continue to worsen, harvests are likely to continue failing, leaving communities without seeds for further planting. Should this happen on a regular basis, it is possible that the trend towards cultivation will be reversed.

The other issue is that the pastoralists of Karamoja lack the requisite training and physical inputs to perform agricultural work, especially in such a harsh climate. Drought resistant seeds, as well as tools such as ox plows and hoes, were noted by community members as vital inputs for increasing the agricultural production at household level. Paired with agronomic training, pastoralists would be able to better bolster their resilience to drought through proper planting methods, more accurate timing of planting, and the usage of higher quality seeds.

As agriculture continues to grow in Karamoja, it will be important to watch how this shift in lifestyles affects the traditional views on property rights and pastoralism. In West Pokot, there has already been a heavy shift towards agro-pastoralism that has caused large changes in lifestyles there.\textsuperscript{18}

\section*{CONFLICT}

Many of the world’s pastoral communities have a long history of conflict. These conflicts extend to neighbouring sedentary communities and also with the state. The level of violence used varies, with only a small number of these conflicts erupting into armed violence. But those that do – and notably in the African context – have proved devastating to the socio-economic and development trajectories of entire regions.\textsuperscript{19}

In pastoral communities across Africa, raids undertaken to increase stocks and compensate thefts have become a common occurrence. More recently, commercialized raiding for immediate profit through sale of cattle in urban centres has arisen. In many cases, raids and counter-raids are accompanied by high levels of armed violence. Raiding is one of the key features of pastoral conflict, but one that cannot operate as it has in the past within the state system, particularly with the advent of modern small arms. While Karamoja is well-known for cattle raiding, most recent literature has noted a decrease in the level of armed violence in the region. This is primarily attributed to the effective disarmament of the region, undertaken by the

\textsuperscript{16} A group of huts forming a contained unit within a fence
\textsuperscript{17} WFP/UNDP Karamoja Assessment – 2016
\textsuperscript{18} Gronvall, 2015.
\textsuperscript{19} Bevan, 2007.
Government of Uganda from 2007. Prior to disarmament, the availability of small arms was prolific and acquired with ease due to the low levels of security enforced in the region.

Conflicts in many pastoral regions also revolve around control over and access to natural resources such as water and pasture. Typically, these conflicts manifest themselves as a result of land disputes, cattle rustling, as well as competition for water and pasture during the grazing season.

Other conflicts are historic in nature, such as in West Pokot where rivalries existed between the Pokot and members of other pastoral communities such as the Turkana, Sabaot, Samburu and Marakwet (from Kenya) and Sabiny and Karamajong (from Uganda). Nevertheless, violence was greatly reduced after the 1998 peace agreements made between these communities.

The levels of conflict seen in Karamoja before the disarmament are no longer prevalent. In unanimity, communities agreed that conflict today has significantly abated. They feel safer to travel long distances, their herds are at a much lower risk of theft and raiding, and killings have drastically fallen. However, violence and conflict is still an issue within the region.

Kaabong is unique in Karamoja in that cattle raids and violence still pose threats to the population. Although the Karamojong within Kaabong were disarmed, the Turkana and Pokot of neighboring Kenya, as well as certain communities in South Sudan, have only seen limited disarmament programs. This has resulted in a vulnerable population within Kaabong that the Turkana can target for violence and theft. However, communities in Kaabong acknowledge that the UPDF and local defence forces have been effective in preventing raiding in some points, as well as working with the authorities across the border to recover the animals.

One week before the FGDs began, there was a large-scale cattle raid reported in Kaabong. During the FGDs, communities noted numerous cases of cattle related violence over the preceding months. While these were typically perpetrated by the Turkana, there are also significant tensions with the Jie of Kotido. This cattle theft and raiding has resulted in significant levels of violence remaining in Kaabong. Communities reported that the Turkana, who must spend the dry season in Karamoja in search of water, only raid when the rains have returned to north western Kenya. Once the rains have returned, revitalizing the grazing land in Kenya, they undertake raids in Uganda, knowing that they can flee to pastures across the border.

Beyond armed conflict over the animals, burning of homes and sexual violence against women are also common in Kaabong. While FGD participants in Moroto reported that armed violence was being brought over by Kenyan tribes in West Pokot, cattle raiding is no longer common in this district or Amudat. The reported form of livestock based violence was small-scale theft of cattle, typically one or two at a time. Communities acknowledged the differences between raids and theft, saying that thefts were typically undertaken by the poor and destitute. Furthermore, the method of theft, roping cattle away from the herds into the bush and waiting until nightfall to walk off with the cow, significantly reduces the threat of violence.

Throughout the rest of the FGDs, several other causes of violence were mentioned. In Moroto, one community was witnessing a cycle of violence based on local land rights. When leaving their manyattas to travel with the herds, other communities from the surrounding area would occupy their land. Upon

20 Ibid
21 Feinstein, 2009
22 Ng’imor, 2015
returning from migration, this would cause a flare-up of violence and conflict. In Amudat, where the Pokot are dominant, there are still some remnants of conflict between the Karamojong and Pokot. However, peace talks between different communities, especially between Amudat Pokot and Nakapiripirit Karamojong, have helped reduce the presence of violence and ease tensions.

Interestingly, the issue of conflict at overcrowded grazing areas or watering points wasn't mentioned during the FGDs. Several communities acknowledged the existence of tensions, but communities now make efforts to ensure permission of the local population before utilizing their watering points or grazing land. This can be as simple as phone conversations between elders a week before arrival, or the sacrifice of a bull for the owner community. Reconciliation and peace-building efforts have been common, but there are still areas of high tension, where for example, a Pokot in Amudat will not travel to buy or sell at the nearest market to him in Nakapiripirit, but will trade with distant markets, even as far as Kenya. The “tensions” reported in the FGDs are a combination of actual threats (previous cattle raids, violence between communities), as well as historical tension between communities.

This decision to not access certain markets may provide an interesting reference point for future research. Due to a lack of market integration between the Pokot of Amudat and neighbouring Karamojong, as well as traditional cultural ties between Pokot in Uganda and Kenya, informal cross border trading is extremely high. In most areas of Amudat, the Kenyan shilling is just as a valid a currency as the Ugandan shilling.

The results of the focus groups clearly support the hypothesis that disarmament has reduced conflict levels in Karamoja. However, further research is necessary to understand the on-going levels of violence throughout the region, and to examine the reasons for increased threats in certain areas. Moreover, as the majority of violence was reported to be cross-border and inter-ethnic in nature, further analysis of tribal and regional relationships will enhance understanding of the nature of violence in the region, as well as providing a roadmap for future peace-building

GENDER

According to a demographic health survey conducted in 2006, 60% of Ugandan women have experienced physical violence since the age of fifteen, 39% of the women have experienced sexual violence and 41% of women have beaten or harmed by partners. Furthermore, 24% of women indicated that their first sexual encounter was forced\textsuperscript{23}. According to the 2006 Uganda Demographic Household Survey (UDHS), the experience of physical violence by women in Karamoja is 49%\textsuperscript{24}. According to a UNFPA study, the chief cause of GBV in Karamoja is the power difference between men and women, which is deeply rooted in culture. This is manifested in discriminatory practices against women and a lack of respect for women’s rights. Other factors that fuel gender based violence (GBV) include poverty, insecurity and cattle rustling, harmful traditional practices, alcohol abuse, low levels of education and lack of information on rights. Furthermore, changing roles and responsibilities in the household between men and women is becoming more prevalent in Karamoja, which can lead to stress and increased domestic violence\textsuperscript{25}.

Contrary to the belief that gender relations are deeply rooted in traditional culture, a study by the Feinstein International Centre has identified that the responsibility for sustaining the household is shifting away from livestock – traditionally the domain of men – and towards women’s livelihood roles. As women are increasingly responsible for the maintenance of household income-generating activities (as a result of

\textsuperscript{23} Women in Uganda, 2006
\textsuperscript{24} WHO, 2006
\textsuperscript{25} UNFPA, 2009
the decreased herd sizes), they are forced to engage in dangerous coping strategies, such as firewood collection. This activity has become increasingly dangerous due to the presence of armed criminals in the remote areas where women venture to collect firewood. The Feinstein article also notes that “The combination of erosion of traditional livelihoods, the removal of the ability to provide protection and the emasculating nature of disarmament as it has been carried out has brought a radical shift to the concept of manhood in Karamoja. Young men who were once the economic and social pillars of their households and communities are themselves idle, unable to use their skills to contribute to their families’ needs, and are repressed in their daily pursuits by the military. The resulting gap in the effectiveness and engagement of young men in the social and economic order will need to be addressed if Karamoja is to develop in a sustainable and peaceful fashion”26

The FGD results show cultural practices continue to play a large role in pastoral lifestyles, with women’s roles being heavily defined. However, the shift away from dependence on pastoralism was also noted as a catalyst for changing gender relations. As mentioned in the methodology section, the FGDs themselves were separated by gender since it was determined that women in Karamoja would be much more likely to speak openly without men being present. During discussions, it became clear that gender roles are still clearly defined in the region, with women taking care of all household tasks, as well as caring for the garden (where applicable), and the men tending to the livestock.

Traditionally, since the men typically travel with the herds, the responsibilities in the home, such as childrearing and cooking, fall primarily onto the women. However, due to the shift towards agriculture in Karamoja, women have begun gaining more significant responsibilities within the home, as noted above in the Feinstein study. Across Karamoja, both men and women reported that women were taking caring of the tilling, sowing, and reaping of harvests. Moreover, when there is a need for additional income in the home, it generally falls upon the women to initiate coping mechanisms, such as the burning of charcoal or collection of firewood for sale. In northern Karamoja, where significant gold deposits are located, the primary miners for gold are women.

Yet despite these shifts in responsibilities, the societal gender balance with regards to decision-making seems to have changed very little. During the FGDs, women reported that men were the ones who could decide how and where to spend the money. This could be due to the fact that the livestock are still the primary source of income for the families, while most other income sources are typically for subsistence and purchase of food. Since men themselves take the livestock to market and sell them, they control the majority of the household’s income. This leaves women highly reliant on men for cash purchases.

In Kaabong, women’s dependency on their husband is particularly striking. Women participating in the Kaabong FGDs reported that they were typically one of many wives, with as many as nine in a household. As a result of the widespread polygamy in the region, combined with women’s lack of decision-making power, females in the community repeatedly reported trouble in affording basic food and household items. Husbands are often supporting numerous wives, with only one herd, and therefore the distribution of income from livestock sales is reduced in each respective household, as it has to be split between the various wives.

In terms of gender relations, Kaabong district clearly faced higher levels of gender imbalance than the other regions surveyed. Yet, while agriculture was growing in Kaabong, the level of agricultural production there was significantly farther behind the other two districts. At the same time, while in the other two

26 Feinstein, 2009
districts, men were quick to acknowledge the importance of agriculture and crop production to their home and community; this was not heard in Kaabong. This suggests a possible correlation between agricultural activities, where women have more responsibility over livelihoods, and attitudes towards women at domestic level.

From the information gathered as the FGDs, combined with the literature available on gender relations in Karamoja, it is clear that women face significant challenges both within and outside the household. Traditional gender relations marginalise women’s role in the productive activities of the household. However, the shift towards agriculture is undermining the traditional role of women, and resulting in a shift in the gender relations of the region. Further study of the shift to agro-pastoralism and gender relations would provide clarity on this issue, which is currently emerging in the region. In addition, women’s safety is closely linked to levels of violence throughout the region. As a result, this area of understanding links in closely with the suggested research areas regarding conflict. Understanding the tribal and regional dynamics of violence in the region would shed further light on the violence perpetrated against women, particularly in the context of violent attacks during firewood collection etc.

LAND RIGHTS

Communal areas in the semi-arid rangelands of eastern and southern Africa are under increasing pressure. Historically, the solution to many of the pressures faced in these areas was thought to lie in the privatisation of communal resources. Pastoral areas have ‘traditionally’ been managed under common property resource (CPR) management schemes, although these are really constructs of the colonial era. CPR areas are increasingly being recognised as complex and highly adaptable systems, involving multifaceted rights to resources. They vary from open access, to communal use with reciprocal arrangements, to exclusive use and privatisation.

A Land Act (1998), designed to deal with the many land disputes across the country, offers some legal basis for pastoral land rights. On paper, the Land Act provides for the establishment of Communal Land Associations (CLAs) that would fit well into the social and economic relations of the Karamojong. However, implementation has so far been disappointing.

As land rights have yet to be fully integrated into government planning, Uganda’s government has promoted private investment in mining in Karamoja as a way of developing the region since violent incidents of cattle rustling between communities have decreased in recent years. Karamoja has long been thought to possess considerable mineral deposits and sits on the frontier of a potential mining boom. Private sector investment could transform the region, providing jobs and improving residents’ security, access to water, roads, and other infrastructure. But the extent to which Karamoja’s communities will benefit, if at all, remains an open question and the potential for harm is great. As companies have begun to explore and mine the area, communities are voicing serious fears of land grabs, environmental damage, and a lack of information as to how and when they will see improved access to basic services or other positive impacts.

Poorly planned, conflicting, and frequently incompatible government policies related to land use/land tenure, forestry, water management, and customary law go a long way to threatening pastoralist livelihoods. Much of these problems have arisen as a result of highly centralised decision making or a lack

29 Human Rights Watch, 2014
of resources allocated to local government to achieve their goals. Uganda has a local government system of Districts, Counties and Sub-Counties with executive and legislative powers. These local governments are mandated by the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (1995) and the Local Governments Amendment Act (1997). However, the management of natural resources is prerogative of the central government in Kampala, leaving local administrations with no decision-making power on the matter, and limited room for policy implementation.30

State borders, although highly porous, can cut herders off from their seasonal pastures or can act as a shield from which bandits and other armed groups can launch raids, and behind which they can escape afterwards.31 Borders can also fuel instability and conflict, especially when states arm loyal groups along their borders to protect their interests. Because of these restrictions on rangeland32 access, there has been increasing pressure on water sources and surrounding rangelands as more and more pastoralists depend on less and less available resources.

The issue of land rights in Karamoja seems to be a growing issue even though it has rarely escalated to points of conflict thus far. During the FGs, communities acknowledged their awareness of the problem, particularly with regards to the management of land through the Ugandan Wildlife Authority (UWA) and ownership of land by entities outside of Karamoja, particularly through companies in extractive industries. However, despite their knowledge of the issue, most of the communities also acknowledged that they had yet to be personally affected by any arguments and disagreements over land rights.

Several communities, however, did provide exceptions to this. As noted before, there were issues with land rights between neighbouring communities in Moroto. Another community in Moroto no longer migrates with their animals to the northern part of the district. This is because the UWA, although they allow pastoralists to graze and water animals on their land, will not allow crop cultivation. The community believed that cultivating where they migrate their herds was extremely important, and therefore began moving to non-UWA controlled grazing areas and watering points.

In Kaabong, one community noted that they were experiencing issues with a South African gold mining corporation. The company had established a large compound on the community’s previous grazing land and fenced off the entire area, including a borehole the pastoralists had used for watering animals. No conflicts were mentioned, but tensions were high and the community had established a group of elders and officials who were communicating with the corporation on these issues.

This issue of land rights is an area to be watched over the next few years. As UWA steps into a management role for rangelands in Karamoja and as Karamoja's extractive industry grows, the threat of conflict over available grazing land, agricultural land and watering areas may only increase.

EDUCATION

Article 3 of the 1990 World Declaration on Education for All identified nomads as one of several groups who are discriminated against in access to education services. It demanded ‘an active commitment’ to removing educational disparities. Twenty years on, the 2010 Education for All Global Monitoring Report, ‘Reaching the Marginalised’, noted that this challenge had become urgent: in the rapid progress towards Education for All (EFA), pastoralists have been left far behind and continue to face extreme

30 Ibid.
31 Dyer et al., 2008.
32 Rangeland - 2009
educational disadvantage.  

In Karamoja, the enrolment, attendance, classroom performance, academic achievement, transition to higher stages of education, and gender balance remain well below those in other regions. For example, in Kotido, only 25% of enrolled students completed the seven years of primary education.

Agro-pastoralist families prefer children to help with domestic chores and tasks such as herding goats or scaring birds away from crops. Girls, especially, are expected to look after siblings and elders while young, and are often considered ready for marriage when they reach puberty.

The prevailing reason for this dynamic is that sending boys to school can stop them gaining intimate knowledge of the herd, upon which prosperity depends. Girls bring new animals through the “bride price” their husbands pay, and marriages forge new family alliances. Formal education is of limited economic value unless a child progresses well beyond primary school, because areas like Karamoja offer minimal chances of formal employment. Schooling also brings costs, for uniforms, books, etc. So a rational and common strategy is for a family to school only one or two children - sometimes those who show the least aptitude for practical tasks. Moreover, in 2012, WFP cut it’s provision of meals to schools by 50%, resulting in a high rate of drop-outs, indicating that many children were attending school with the objective of receiving the free school meal. The on-going “go back to school” initiative, supported by UNICEF, is seeing relative success in increasing enrolment levels. However, keeping children in school as proved to be the primary challenge. When household incomes level drop (due to drought, illness or loss of productive assets), children are relied upon to support their relatives. This includes activities such as gold mining, which is a common occurrence in Kaabong district.

An initiative that has seen relative success in supporting enrolment rates in the Karamoja region has been the establishment of the Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK). The ABEK approach allows for formal schooling to be organised in conjunction with the various household and animal-rearing responsibilities of children from pastoralist and agro-pastoralist region. The facilitators conduct lessons under the trees early in the morning before the workday begins and again in the evening when the workday has ended. Girls bring younger siblings for whom they are responsible, and boys can learn to read and write while watching their herds of goats graze nearby. Parents and elders also come to the lessons to follow the children’s progress and learn a few things themselves. Instruction is in their own language and the teaching methods are active and involve traditional songs and dances. On the other hand, formal schools were noted as centers that are under-serving the pastoralist population during the focus group discussions. Two causes for this were brought up repeatedly in focus groups: (1) the prohibitive cost of services; where pastoralists have noted a significant increase in prices, reportedly up to 20,000 Ugandan shillings a term for tuition. A regular trend throughout the focus group discussions was the interest in sending children to school, but the inability of communities to meet the costs; (2) children’s involvement in animal migrations, when they are regularly removed from school to assist in tending to the animals. In these cases, communities requested that mobile schooling be provided.

33 Commonwealth Education Partnerships 2010
34 Ibid
35 Irin, 2010
36 Ibid
37 Ibid
38 UNICEF, 2012
39 UNICEF, 2012
40 EONET, 2000
Physical proximity to schools is also a prominent issue. Although two communities, in Kaabong, noted that mobile schooling (based on the ABEK principle) was available during migratory periods, all of the others said that mobile schooling was unavailable to them. As a result, children are being removed from school to assist in migrations. Due to the prohibitive costs of tuition and the need for some school-age children to move with the herds, access to education is still a major issue within Karamoja. This would clearly indicate that the ABEK approach mentioned above would benefit from expansion, especially in the Northern region of Karamoja, where migrations are still considered a responsibility of the younger men and boys within the communities.

In Amudat, one pastoralist community noted that they had recently moved from their traditional homestead so they could remain permanently around the water source they previously migrated to. This meant that the services constructed for them previously; a cattle dip, a school, an animal health center; were not available for the community to use at all, since they no longer travelled back home.

While the ABEK approach shows promise in supporting pastoralist households to provide education to their children, it should be considered in the light of decreased migrations and increased permanence of the home area. If agriculture continues to gain importance throughout Karamoja, the mobile ABEK approach becomes less important to non-migratory households. However, the cost of schooling remains a significant barrier to education in the region. As herds decrease, and drought is increasingly devastating to the local communities, the cost of education becomes increasingly prohibitive.

**ANIMAL HEALTH**

Animal health, particularly the use of veterinary services is an important part of the pastoralist lifestyle. Due to the high amount of herd interaction in Karamoja, the prevalence of contagious diseases among livestock is relatively high, especially during periods of overcrowding at water points. For example, in 2006, the presence of TB in Karamoja was 40% in Moroto and Nakapiripirit, and 80% in Kotido. This highlights the particular need for medications and veterinary services amongst pastoralists.

A lack of suitable veterinary facilities and personnel places restrictions upon pastoralists’ ability to effectively vaccinate and treat their livestock. They are typically either forced to reduce livestock movement in order to maintain access to proper veterinary services, or purchase illicit veterinary products from markets instead of suitable facilities, which comes with its own risks.

As was expected, in the agro-pastoralist and pastoralist communities of Karamoja, livestock remains an extremely important source of income and food. Because of the importance of livestock, and their need for healthy grazing land and water, they are one of the primary causes of pastoral migration. However, the health of animals is being threatened by a multitude of factors in Karamoja.

One of the primary threats to animal health has been drought. Every single Focus Group Discussion (FGD), male and female, indicated that drought is one of the main threats to livelihoods in general in Karamoja, and especially to animal health. Over the past few years, water sources have been constantly depleting, leaving fewer and fewer water sources available for pastoralists to access. In the FGDs, it was emphasized that drought has been worsening year over year, with 2015 being the worst in recent memory. This has

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41 Defined by the presence of one animal in the herd testing positive for the selected disease.
42 Oloya et al., 2006.
44 Abiola et al., 2005.
been forcing communities to shift migratory patterns to be able to access different water points, often at a further distance from their manyattas than they would typical travel.

With more communities traveling further distances to reach these water points, this has also resulted in overcrowding of livestock around the lakes, rivers, and boreholes used to water animals. This can result in delays for the pastoralists to access the water and also increase the speed at which water borne diseases spread between livestock. Multiple communities reported that if they detected an increase in disease within their animals at a certain water point, they would pack up their kraals and move in search of a clean water point. This acts as a further catalyst for the spread of animal disease.

The pastoralists interviewed also noted that they were experiencing significant problems with ticks and tsetse flies during migration. While shifting migratory routes was sometimes used as a coping mechanism, the presence of these insects is often unavoidable. Several groups reported that they attempt to migrate as little as possible, but due to increasing drought insecurity, migration of the animals is necessary, even if it is short distance migration between watering points.

In order to maintain the health of their livestock, pastoralists need access to quality animal health services. However, these are often unavailable or inaccessible to the communities for certain parts of the year. When diseases are detected in the livestock, pastoralists reported that few options were available for treatment. While most reported that animal health centres were present near their manyattas, they typically had no access to animal health centres when migrating with the animals. Some of these pastoralists resort to traditional herbal medication foraged during the migration. Similarly, there was a lack of cattle crashes and dips useful in removing invasive insects from the herds, even near the manyattas.

When animals were unable to receive adequate treatment for disease, the pastoralists resort to negative coping mechanisms, such as selling the animals at significantly lower prices than normal (often outside of peak market times) or consuming the animal as food. This serves to deplete the productive assets of the community over a longer period of time, thereby reducing their ability to withstand future crises.

RESPONSES AND ADAPTATION TO PRESSURES

Different actors across pastoralist regions, including the state, NGOs, local communities, and pastoralists themselves, should be and are adapting to the threats and changes listed above.

PASTORALISTS

One method pastoralists have used to adapt to threats has been to move towards ‘agro-pastoralism’; shifting from migration to settlement and increasing dependence on crops. This coping mechanism has been supported by government policies and NGO programming, further proliferating the shift towards agro-pastoralism. This can have negative impacts on biodiversity and rangelands, as the pastoral resource management system has value in its ability to control grazing, provide access to water, and sustain herd size through the use of traditional knowledge.\(^{45}\) Other pastoralists have maintained the transhumance lifestyle by utilizing numerous strategies. Along the Sudan-South Sudan border, for instance, it was found that pastoralists constantly adapted their migration patterns to conflict by adjusting lengths of stay, destinations, and shifting alliances.\(^{46}\)

\(^{45}\) Rugadya.
Some, however, adapt by significantly reducing their migration and adopting more large-scale cultivation, a middle ground between the two mentioned above. The impact of this lifestyle has been mixed. In West Pokot, there has been a large transition to a more settled agro-pastoralism in recent years. Research there showed that residents who shifted to enclosures noted that their animals were overall healthier and more productive than when they had been migrating during the dry season. Furthermore, vegetation quality in pastures with fences was significantly better when compared to vegetation health on unfenced pastures. This contrast, however, could be due to increased stress on unfenced pasture as more and more fences are erected in the area. In Karamoja, the shift to agro-pastoralism has been mixed across the region. According to a study by Feinstain International, some groups such as the Pian and the Bokora are engaging more heavily in agriculture while still maintaining some herds, while other groups such as the Nyangia and the populations in Abim are relying almost exclusively on crop production. Within groups, people are expanding into trade, professional services, unskilled labor and the service sector. Government and development partners alike have actively encouraged this change in traditional livelihoods, through programming that boosts agricultural production in the region.

NGOS AND GOVERNMENT

In the context of political marginalization, the need to strengthen and support local institutions, organizations, and civil society is the theme in the available literature. Most research indicates a need to understand the dynamics and inner workings of traditional pastoralist practices and for both the government and NGOs to partner with and strengthen them. This linking of civil society and state actors can help to build the capacity of civil society groups focused on pastoralists and help change the tide of national policies that continue to keep pastoralist communities on the margin in many areas.

For cross-border issues, along with promoting local civil society groups, there have been efforts to create cross-border peace and reconciliation initiatives for local groups that are linked with local systems of government but functionally independent. As well, in order to promote resilience and support for pastoralist livelihoods, there is a need to link pastoralists to markets and economic initiatives that cross borders (e.g. COMESA). Cross-border trade is an important part of the pastoralist lifestyle and local, national, and regional policies should acknowledge this in order to stimulate pastoralist livelihoods and facilitate conflict resolution.

Similarly, collaborative engagement with pastoralists on policy efforts is recommended. These can enhance advocacy efforts on behalf of pastoralists and also improve the quality of livelihood assessments to ensure that interventions are more timely and prominent in response to drought.

According to the recommendations extracted from the literature, civil society actors should make sure that programs and projects are tailored to be conflict sensitive and insure that they do not negatively impact conflict within the community. In general, they should help promote peace building activities and dialogues, as well as poverty alleviating projects to help decrease the incentives for conflict currently present in the region. At the local community level, they should cooperate with local and national governments in order to better inform programs currently being implemented in the region, and also ensure they adhere to any peace agreements they sign onto.

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47 Feinstein International, 2009
49 CECORE, 2011.
Participatory Mapping

For the pastoralist communities surveyed through this research, migration still remains an important aspect to their livelihoods. As noted in the secondary data review, herd migration for pastoralists is a survival mechanism that allows the pastoralists to cope with hardships such as drought or conflict. Thus, this section crosscuts all of the previous discussions. By looking at how migration has changed in recent years and how pastoralists choose to move, it is possible to see physical effects and ramifications of different factors.

This section will analyse the maps produced in the eight sample communities, and discuss the main trends and patterns in each community’s migration routes. The maps were created based on the participatory mapping process. This allows the communities full freedom in “drawing” their migration patterns. As a result, each map is reflective of that specific communities experiences and activities, and provides an indicative reflection of migration trends in the district. However, due to the limitation on the number of communities interviewed, these maps cannot be considered as fully representative of migration trends across the region.

**AMUDAT COMMUNITIES**

**ACHORICHOR**

![Achorichor Pastoralist Map](image-url)
Achorichor, and the rest of the Amudat communities interviewed, migrate on a much smaller scale than the rest of Karamoja. The pastoralists are typically not traveling further than 15 to 20 kilometers from their manyattas. While Amudat is dry, the community reported that it did contain a sufficient amount of water points and grazing areas so that they had no need to migrate elsewhere. In addition, the Pokot in Amudat rarely travelled outside of Amudat before the disarmament, and thus don't have historic migratory ties to the rest of Karamoja.

In Achorichor, the migration pattern is very simple. The community and manyattas rest to the east of the Nakapiripirit/Moroto tarmac road. This road acts as a natural barrier between dry/rainy season grazing areas, with a middle buffer area that pastoralists use to graze during the moderate season before returning home in the rainy season. Prior to 2011, these pastoralists refused to cross the river border with Moroto, as they feared violent reprisals. However, since disarmament, peace talks have been periodically occurring and they now feel comfortable to graze on the greener areas across the river. However, they rarely travel beyond the pastures bordering the river and have little cultural or economic integration with Moroto.

The pastoralists within Lokales don't need to travel far to find proper food or water for the animals. While they previously lived further to the northeast in Amudat, the community permanently moved their
manyattas to Lokales in order to cultivate crops. They now gather with other neighboring communities to travel into Kween district as a group.

Because of this move, however, they've lost access to the services previously available at their old home, such as a cattle dip, a school, and a nearby animal market. While they do occasionally travel back to the former animal market, they typically now sell their livestock in West Pokot, Kenya. The community acknowledged they rarely if ever access the services they previously used before moving home.

Interestingly, despite the close proximity they have to Nakapiripirit, as Pokot in Amudat, they don't feel comfortable utilizing the nearby available markets and services. Those places “are not markets for Pokot,” as one pastoralist put it. The leaders of the community also noted they would like to access the green pastures in Nakapiripirit but tensions have still not eased enough to make that possible.

LOBURIN

Unlike the other two communities in Amudat interviewed, Loburin was far from the other districts of Karamoja. Because of this, the pastoralists there were little affected by conflict before the disarmament and have maintained the same grazing pastures for a long time. They don't seasonally migrate their animals, but will switch them between pastures as they get used up and depleted throughout the year.
They use the markets in Amudat and across the border in Kenya to sell their livestock when cash is needed throughout the year. Health services and education are found near the home, and they travel to Amudat town for anything they cannot find.

Common to all of the Amudat communities was that due to the short distances of movement, they were attempting agriculture at a larger scale than any of the Moroto and Kaabong communities and crops were seen to be an important tool in the future to provide food security.

MOROTO COMMUNITIES

LOPUTUK

For the community in Loputuk, migration patterns have changed multiple times over the past few years. Before the disarmament, due to the heavy amounts of violence and insecurity surrounding the area, herd migration was very localized and restricted to a few kilometers around the homestead.

After the disarmament, longer distance herd migrations began again in Loputuk. They initially focused on heading up towards Kobebe in the Matheniko game reserve in northern Moroto district. A dam was built
there in 2010 and this provided the herders with ample supply of water and grazing land during dry season. The rainy season was spent back in Loputuk.

However, in the past year, the Loputuk pastoralists have ceased traveling up to the north. UWA has begun to actively regulate activities within the game reserve to the north and have banned any cultivation from taking place in the reserve. Although pastoralism is the dominant source of income for the community in Loputuk, agriculture is important to them as a supplement food source and they typically employ small-scale cultivation wherever the herds are. They've hence begun to migrate animals westward into Napak and Nakapiripirit where small-scale cultivation can occur around the kraals.

Interesting, when delineating their migratory routes, they chose to show the important water points along the way rather than pastures, since the watering points provide their ability to both sustain their livestock and cultivate crops. No other communities drew their maps in this way.

**MOGOTH**

In Mogoth, migration was similarly affected by conflict. Historically, the community travelled to the south of Karamoja, in Nakapiripirit and Napak. However, during the early 2000s, the community ceased this migration due to the high risk of conflict. This was most commonly experienced when entering the neighbouring districts. The violence was primarily in the form of cattle raiding, but there were also reports
of rapes. Thus, their migration nearly ceased altogether, except for small movements within 10-15 kilometers of the manyatta.

In 2010, the conflict was beginning to cease and a new dam was constructed in Kobebe, in northeastern Moroto. This provided the Mogoth pastoralists with a new primary access point to water and pasture. Since its construction, this has been the primary home for Mogoth pastoralists when they are not in the manyattas, although they will migrate through Napak and Abim for a few months out of the year.

The problem now, however, is that the dam is beginning to form cracks and dry up. On top of that, incidents of conflict have become much more common at the site of the dam due to overcrowding. With large influxes of pastoralists from across Karamoja, Pokot, and Turkana, and a dwindling water supply, the Mogoth community is unsure of whether they will remain at Kobebe with their herds. They are currently in search of better grazing land and water points elsewhere.

**KAABONG COMMUNITIES**

**KALAPATA**

The Kalapata pastoralists have an extensive network of migratory channels in use. This is in reaction to the harsh environment of Kaabong, where available salty grass or water may only last for a short period of time. As such, they do not seasonally migrate to specific areas, but travel around as grazing pastures and...
water sources deplete. On top of that, the people of Kalapata rely heavily on alternative income sources, such as gold mining. Mining often takes place around the herds to ensure cohesion of the group and enhance safety. Thus, when searching for grazing areas for the herds, they also take into account the availability of gold and other minerals. Travel is typically facilitated by following rivers and water sources as reference.

Lack of safety has been the primary cause of shifting migratory routes. Excursions into border areas of Turkana used to be common, as there is an abundance of salty grass just across the border. However, violence between them and the Turkana has failed to abate since the mid-2000s and the community no longer travels into Kenya. Similar fears have prevented them from traveling further south into Kotido as well. Insecurity is high in Kaabong already, so the pastoralists expressed reluctance to travel into Kotido or Turkana, even if better water or food sources are available.

The Sakatan pastoralists typically spend most of their time in eastern Kaabong, where they have a permanent kraal near Timu. The salty grass and water in Timu is sufficient, and there is a large gold mine nearby which they use for supplementary income. However, they also spend significant time traveling around Kaabong. Although they don’t have regular migratory routes, they provided examples of the last three times that they left the Timu kraal during extremely dry periods in search of water.
In all of these instances, they ended up following rivers throughout Kaabong in the directions they knew green pastures existed. However, the community insisted they would no longer travel the long route to the west of Kaabong because the herd was subjected to a large number of tsetse flies. Although they have been impacted by incidents of violence from the Turkana, the community said they had not shifted their migratory patterns due to the threat of conflict.

**KASIMERI**

The migration of pastoralists from Kasimeri has changed little. They've always spent the rainy season near the manyattas in Kasimeri, and used services and markets in Kaabong. The only change recently has been that they now travel to Kobebe in northern Moroto in order to graze and water the livestock.

Previously, the group had traveled to northern Kotido in search of salty grass and water. Even before the disarmament, the community reported that they traveled there as water and food for the animals was a necessity. However, the opening of the Kobebe dam obviated their travel into Kotido, which was much more risky, and they have yet to return since 2011.
Overall, migration of pastoralists in Karamoja seems to be mainly impacted by a few factors.

Migratory decision-making was reported to be made by a combination of elders and youth who travel with the community. If a member of the community feels that it is time to move the livestock, they can call a meeting of elders and youth. Using information obtained from scouts, they will discuss possible areas to travel to and the advantages/disadvantages of the movement, including the risk of conflict, tension, disease, and the need to obtain permission from the local community. Although the group comes to a decision together, the elders take the final decision.

The first and most obvious is drought. Because a lack of water and pasture has been a longstanding problem in Karamoja, migratory patterns, especially in dry areas such as Amudat and Kaabong, don’t follow specific corridors. The communities have knowledge of many different pastures and watering points available. Most of the communities said that the pastures and water points they use deplete after a period of only 1 to 2 months, and thus they use their knowledge of the region to constantly travel in search of water and grass.

Communities noted that cross-border migration (Kenya to Uganda) has been increasing lately due to drought conditions across the border. This is particularly pertinent in Amudat, where communities are increasingly deciding to travel to Kenya with livestock, in search of both markets and grazing land. As a result, based on the communities surveyed, it seems that pastoralists in Amudat are significantly less integrated into the markets in Karamoja than communities in other districts. With the current overcrowding of water points, especially in areas like Kobebe or Timu, it will be interesting to track and research the future of these areas if no more water points are provisioned to communities.

As mentioned in the animal health section, communities actively avoid and leave areas they believe are giving disease to their livestock and travel to cleaner water sources and pastures. In Sakatan as well, the pastoralists noted where tsetse flies had previously infected their animals so they could avoid it in the future. This acts in a similar way to drought, causing sporadic livestock movement to many different areas.

Conflict and cultural tensions on the other hand tend to block of areas from pastoralist's access. Across Karamoja, it was seen that pastoralists avoid or have avoided areas with grass and water simply due to the threat of violence. In the FGDs, the fear of violence was readily apparent in Kaabong and Moroto, but still present across all of the groups.

Based on the FGDs and the maps, it is interesting to note that access to services seems to have little impact on migration. While communities acknowledge their importance, their dependence on the animals means that they will forego access to education or healthcare, for example, in order to provide sustenance to their animals. As mentioned before, this highlights the need for a rethinking of service provision to pastoralist communities in Karamoja, particularly those traveling long distances with the livestock. Since there are no primary corridors, when trying to provide animal health services such as a cattle dip, this could be difficult outside of providing them at the primary water points.
CONCLUSION

In a region like Karamoja, still early in the stages of development and threatened by drought and conflict, the importance of quality research and well-informed development programming is large. The conclusions for the different sections are listed below:

ANIMAL HEALTH

All focus groups noted a perceived increase in the level and complexity of droughts in the region. This dynamic has been confirmed through ACTED’s Drought Early Warning System in Karamoja, which has also registered increasing levels of drought throughout the last 7 years in the region. As a result of the increased levels of drought in the region, communities noted that overcrowding at water-points was increasing, which in turn was resulting in higher levels of disease transfer between animals. Moreover, communities continue to struggle to access quality animal health facilities, with many participants resorting to traditional medicine to cure disease. Animal disease is a deciding factor in migration routes. Communities often have pre-identified watering points and grazing zones. However, the prevalence of disease in these locations can force changes in migratory routes, in order to avoid the transfer of disease between animals. For example, the Sakatan of Kaabong now actively avoid the Kidepo Valley National Park, due to the proliferation of tsetse flies in that area, choosing instead to travel east towards Timu forest.

EDUCATION

There were two primary conclusions regarding education in Karamoja. Firstly, migration was noted as a constraint to participants when trying to access education services such as schooling or medical care. Each community undertakes migration, to varying degrees, but all noted that they struggle to access the services they need when they are away from the manyatta. Kaabong, unlike the other districts surveyed, is served by a small number of “travelling schools” or ABEK’s, which the communities regarded as important factors in ensuring that children remained in education throughout the year. The second constraint is access to sufficient funds to pay for school. The majority of community members, particularly the women, noted that they were often unable to afford school fees for all of their children. This is consistent with existing data about the region, which places Karamoja with the lowest education rates in Uganda; only 6% of women and 12% of men are literate, compared to a national average of 67%.

AGRICULTURE

According to the FGDs, animals remain the primary source of household-level cash. However, agriculture has increased in importance, particularly in Moroto and Amudat. However, due to the unimodal climate experienced in the region, agriculture is prone to heavy fluctuations, with the majority of communities reporting that they harvested very little, or no, produce during the previous harvest season. As noted above, the increased impact of drought has been extremely detrimental to production in the region. Moreover, poor harvests leave communities without sufficient seeds for planting the following year. Compounding this issue is the inability of communities to afford seeds and necessary inputs, further limiting their ability to produce sufficient food for families.

Agriculture is increasingly becoming a deciding factor in migratory decision-making processes. As agriculture increasingly substitutes livestock as an income stream, communities are altering their routes to

50 Concern, 2015
accommodate these new activities. In particular, this was noted in regards to UWA land, and the recent ban on cultivation in these areas. Community members noted that they are choosing not to migrate to Kobebe damn because they are now unable to undertake small-scale agricultural production there during the migration period.

GENDER

Traditional gender relations are prevalent throughout all FGD communities. Women reported that their responsibilities focus on household level maintenance, childrearing and agriculture (in communities where production is taking place). Men continue to be responsible for livestock and the majority household cash flow. However, most of the women also reported that in times of financial crisis, they are also responsible for undertaking coping strategies to support their families. These activities include collecting firewood, production of charcoal and gold mining (in Kaabong).

Kaabong demonstrated the highest levels of disparity between the genders, in terms of decision-making power at household level, as well as responsibilities for household maintenance. The women interviewed in Kaabong repeatedly cited domestic violence, mistreatment, or neglect by the males of the household. They were also expected to carry more activities than women in other districts, in order to provide for their families. Based on the analysis of the trends in all districts, Kaabong clearly has the lowest levels of agricultural production. As women primarily undertake this activity, there may be a causal relationship between the lack of agricultural activities, and women’s empowerment in Kaabong. This could be explained by the fact that livestock are the primary income generators for households in Kaabong, and as the men control this, women lack the means to support themselves and create empowerment opportunities.

Based on the results of the focus group discussions, women have very little decision-making power in migratory routes. However, in terms of shifting norms in the region, gender relations are heavily affected by the on-going transition to agro-pastoralism. If herd sizes continue to reduce, and migratory activities diminish, women’s responsibilities within the household are likely to increase, resulting in a significant adjustment in household gender dynamics.

CONFLICT

Communities interviewed in Moroto and Amudat clearly noted that disarmament has resulted in significant reductions in the levels of violence. However, the communities in Kaabong reported that they still experience violence, primarily relating to cattle raiding. The Turkana were reported to be the primary perpetrators of this violence, with the Jie also participating in low-level, sporadic attacks in the region. However, all communities also noted that grazing lands and water points do not pose threats of violence. Typically, all communities sharing migratory water points have agreements to maintain peace.

Based on the focus group results, conflict has had varying effects on migration patterns throughout the region. For example, in Loputuk, migrations cover more distance since disarmament, because the threat of violence from neighbouring communities has decreased. However, the community in Kalapata noted that their migration distances have decreased since disarmament, because of the threat of violence from the Turkana. This could be explained by the fact that the communities in Loputuk primarily migrate within Karamoja, which has been disarmed, while the Kalapata community used to travel to Kenya, which has not.

LAND RIGHTS AND USE
The primary constraints regarding land rights reported by communities relate to UWA policies on national parks. The main effect of UWA land policies was the restrictions on cultivation within national parks; the Loputuk community in Moroto district have ceased migrating north as a result of these restrictions. This has resulted in women limiting their travel with livestock, as they are unable to plant and harvest crops at water points within national parks. This was noted most commonly in reference to the Kobebe Dam, which is a reliable water source used by many communities in Moroto. Interestingly, few communities noted that they had experienced tensions as a result of mineral rights in the region. With the exception of one community in Kaabong, most participants noted that land encroachment or limitations as a result of extractive industries had not affected them to date.

**RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS**

It is clear, from both the secondary data review, as well as the primary data collected, that there are significant pressures on pastoralism. These threats are both existing and upcoming. Existing threats include animal health, access to water, and ongoing tensions and conflicts in the region. Upcoming threats include land encroachment through mineral extraction, as well as increased government pressure on pastoralists to remain sedentary. However, despite these threats, pastoralism is still an important livelihood in the region.

While the majority of the literature relating to Karamoja focuses on the need to understand and preserve traditional livelihoods, the conclusion of this report is that pastoralism is indeed a vital livelihood in the region, and programming should focus on ensuring that it adapts to the changing situation in Karamoja. Current lifestyles have been shown to be damaging to women in the communities, detrimental to children’s schooling, and heavily dependent on services that are currently unavailable to the communities in Karamoja.

The focus groups provided a wealth of valuable information on the lifestyles of pastoralists and where the current needs of communities lie. In each focus group, at the end, the participants were extremely clear about what their current needs were: access to water, agronomic training and equipment, and better access to services, especially related to animal health. Along with these, there are a few other areas identified that should be delved into further, as noted below.

Overall, there should be more work done on how to properly provision services for pastoralist communities, especially when it comes to those that could possibly be implemented to a mobilized manner with the ability to reach pastoralists during movements away from manyattas. However, in light of the limited government funding for such projects, it is also necessary for communities to be supported to adapt their lifestyles to the existing services available to them.

While most of Karamoja is significantly more peaceful than before, much work remains to be done in Kaabong. While there are current cross border programs between security forces in Kaabong and Turkana, their function is much more reactionary rather than preventive and there may be a need for more cross border peace-building exercises.

**POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

Certain policy and programming priorities became apparent during the focus group discussions, with communities providing information on the services and support they require.
Firstly, mobile health and education services were the most commonly cited services which would assist communities to meet their daily needs. Health service coverage in the region is extremely poor, with many communities relying heavily on indigenous knowledge and herbal medicine to treat ailments, particularly during migratory periods. Providing mobile health care, or supporting members of the migrating community to become Community Health Workers would allow pastoralists to access effective healthcare, even when away from the homestead.

As noted in the education section, the ABEK approach to mobile schooling has seen success in ensuring that children are able to continue their education, even during migration periods. However, cultural norms also pose a barrier to children completing their education. Because of the lack of employment opportunities in the region, education is generally considered to be secondary to activities such as learning to manage a herd. However, a number of women in the focus groups noted that they appreciated the importance of education, and would send their children to school if they were able to afford the school fees. As a result, mobile, affordable, schooling in the region would be likely to increase enrollement and reduce drop-out rates. Moreover, sensitisation about the importance of education, especially for girls, would allow communities to make informed choices about sending children to school.

In terms of livelihoods, many communities noted that they were not equipped with the necessary skills and tools to effectively engage in agricultural production, even at subsistence level. More importantly, the majority of communities noted that the 2015 drought resulted in a complete loss of their seeds, leaving them unable to plant for the upcoming harvest. Most communities also noted that they can’t afford to purchase additional seeds. Moreover, inputs such as hoes or ploughs were lacking amongst most communities, making it difficult to open land and effectively manage their crops. As a result, programming in the region, particularly in the districts with moving towards increased cultivation, should consider supporting communities with these items, as well as agronomic training, in order to support agricultural activities and enhance livelihoods.

Finally, communities noted that access to affordable and accessible animal health services would greatly improve their ability to maintain herds and prevent the spread of disease. As noted, with droughts increasing pressure on water points, the spread of disease is thought to be increasing. Most households can’t afford, or don’t have access to animal health services, forcing them to rely heavily on indigenous medicine, thereby exacerbating the transmission of diseases. Mobile, affordable, and accessible animal health services, as well as the training of community animal health workers would allow pastoralists to care for their animals appropriately, thereby reducing the incidence of animal disease throughout the region.
ANNEX: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Introductory questions for enumerator

1. Name: ______________________ Date: ___________
2. Number of focus group participants: ______
3. Name of parish __________, sub-county __________, district __________.
4. How many people reside in your parish (approximately)? ______________
5. How many years have you held your current position?
   □ <1 Year □ 1-2 Years
   □ 2-5 Years □ 5-10 Years
   □ >10 Years

Questions on community

6. Is there a borehole for your manyatta? ______
7. At the manyatta, what kind of crop/livestock are kept there?
8. In general, how dependent on pastoralism is the community as a whole?

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnair

Facilitator’s welcome, introduction and instructions to participants

Welcome to this focus group, we thank you for taking time to talk to us.

Introduction: This focus group discussion is designed to look at how your communities’ migration patterns and lifestyle have changed over the years. If it is alright with you all, this discussion will be taped. We will not share the tapes with anyone else and your responses will remain anonymous. If there are any questions or discussions that you do not wish to answer or participate in, you do not have to do so; however please try to answer and be as involved as possible.

Mapping: During this discussion, we will also work with you to map out the community's migration routes and areas.

Rules

- Most importantly, let's please only have one speaker at a time. Do not jump in or interrupt while somebody else is speaking
- There are no right or wrong answers
- You do not have to speak in any particular order
- When you do have something to say, please do so. We will be asking personal questions as well as questions about the community as a whole, and it is important that we obtain the views of each of you.
- You do not have to agree with the views of other people in the group
- Does anyone have any questions? (answers).
- OK, let's begin
Warm up

- First, I'd like everyone to introduce themselves. Can you tell us your names?

- To begin, I am just going to give you a couple of minutes to think about how your life has changed for you over the past 5 years. Think broadly about different aspects: daily lifestyle, work, migration, etc. Would anybody like to share their experience?

Initial Mapping

- *Bring out blank sheet for initial mapping*

- I would next like to start out with a mapping exercise. On this sheet, you all will be drawing a map of areas important to your community. This can include your home, where you migrate to, areas you travel through, areas you avoid, grazing land, markets you sell at, or anywhere else important to you as a community. While [Parish Chief] will be drawing the map himself, we would like for you all to contribute to the map with your own suggestions and ideas. As well as thinking about where you are migrating to now, let's also think about how this has all changed over the past 5-10 years. For example, do you travel to new locations, have you stopped going to certain locations, spent more/less time in certain areas? Think on this and let's try and display these changes on the map.

  1. Prompt for migratory routes
  2. Prompt for detail (time in each area, areas along routes, season)
  3. Prompt for changes in time
  4. Prompt for frequency of migrations

Once the initial map is filled on, shift to the next section

Factors Affecting Migration

- Looking at this map, I'd like us now to think about what in the past 5 years has instigated these changes.

- Are there internal factors that instigated some of these changes? Changes within your homestead or within the community that caused migratory shifts? (e.g. shift to agriculture, schooling for children, alliances)

- What, if any, external factors have caused you to change your migratory routes? Below are some ideas of prompts depending on where the focus group leads

  - **Land Rights:**
    - During migration, has the ownership of land you travel through changed? How has this change in ownership affected migration?
    - Has land ownership affected the community within the homestead? Does anyone in the community now own land?

  - **Government Restrictions/Policies on Pastoralism**
    - Has the government or its policies had any impact on your migration? (*don't want to prompt, but maybe policies regarding livestock rearing, land rights, cross-border movement restrictions, forced agriculture, etc*)

  - **Conflict**
    - Have your migratory routes changed at all in response to conflict over the past five years? Has the disarmament changed the methods with which you deal with conflict?

  - **Drought**
Have your migratory patterns changed at all due to drought or the threat of drought in the past five years? Have you taken measures to adapt to or cope with drought?

- **Animal health**
  - Has the health of your animals impacted your migration at all, such as needing to travel through areas with medicine or veterinary access?

Looking back at the map, can you think of any other factors that have caused changes in your migration?

**Migratory Decision Making**

- Think about the discussion we had about the changes your migratory patterns have taken over the past 5-10 years and the factors causing these changes.

- Who makes the decisions to shift migration? How are these decisions made? Where does the information come from (e.g. experience, other communities, official notices)?

**Community Changes**

- Similar to our discussion on decision making roles, what roles can you think of, positions that make decisions we haven’t discussed yet or fill an important function within the community?

- Have these changed at all in the past five years?

- Do you feel that there has been a shift in traditional gender roles within the community, such as changes in who makes certain decisions or performs certain tasks?

- What other changes have you experienced throughout your life lately? How have these been impacted or related to all of the migration changes and causes we’ve discussed earlier? (e.g. education)

- How much do you depend on pastoralism for your livelihood? How has this changed over the past five years? Has the importance of activities in the manyatta, relative to pastoralism and the kraal, changed over this period?

**Concluding question**

- Of all the things we’ve discussed today, what would you say are the most important issues you would like to highlight?

**Conclusion**

- Thank you for participating. This has been a very successful discussion

- Your opinions will be a valuable asset to the study

- We hope you have found the discussion interesting

- If there is anything you are unhappy with or wish to complain about, please feel free to contact me

- I would like to remind you that any comments featuring in this report will be anonymous


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