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Culture, Resources and the Gun in the Violent-Conflict Expression:

Understanding the Karamoja Conflict

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Declaration

I, Kabiito Bendicto, hereby declare that this research thesis, submitted for the award of a degree of Doctor of Peace and Conflict Studies is my own original work and it has never been submitted before to any university or any other institution of learning for any awards or qualifications. The ideas borrowed from different authors have been acknowledged in the citations within the work.

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Abstract: Pastoral communities of Karamoja sub-region (in north eastern Uganda) have for long been projected as intrinsically and senselessly violent. Narratives about the nature, causes and motivation of violent conflicts in this region are varied, biased, and sometimes contradictory. In an attempt to generate their better understanding, this study was undertaken in the region, aimed at investigating the causative roles of pastoral culture, pastoral resources and guns to the violent conflict that raged in Karamoja. The study was guided by three objectives, and it was structured into ten chapters. In this study, an interpretivistic qualitative research approach, idiographic case study design and qualitative data collection methods, tools, and analysis techniques were applied to answering the three research questions of the study. Guided by three themes developed from the study objectives; Interviews, Focus Group Discussions, observation, and document review and analysis (research methods) were used to collect, present and discuss research findings. Also, a theoretical framework, consisting of the conflict theory, structural conflict theory, biological conflict theory, human needs theory, materialist and motivational explanations of conflict, Horowitz's theory of ethnic conflict and an integrative model for explaining causes of violent conflicts, was used to discern the most applicable explanations of conflict and violence in Karamoja. Research findings show that the phenomenon of violent conflict or incidental clashes in Karamoja cannot be comprehensively explained by the usually cited internal factors, such as culture and scarcity of pastoral resources, without placing the influence of external factors in perspective, and the phenomenon of resource abundance as another important cause! It became clear that although clashes and cattle raiding were experienced traditionally, excessive violence, the kind of which dominated the sub-region in post-independence period, was both condemnable and culturally sanctioned. Also, the state of pastoral resources access and use, which would have an influence of scarcity, competition and conflict, was heavily curtailed and limited by colonial policies, making conflict over pastures, water and cattle acquisition (raiding) inevitable and intense. Evidently, resource scarcity narratives dominate literature on the sub-region's conflict, these are fronted to account for competition, conflicts and violence in Karamoja. While there are historical accounts of fights triggered by scarcity; factors like abundance, pride and the warrior traits, were far more formidable causes of violence in many circumstances, as discussed in this work. Findings show that dispute-related violent incidences can be seen as processes of social interactions, with identifiable rules of engagement. Also, violence can be understood as a method of communicating social meanings in specific cultural, social or political contexts. However, it is noted too that not all conflict/violence incidences were dispute-related, some are predatory in nature. While some incidences in Karamoja were disputed-related, many were predatory in nature. It became clear too that presence of guns does not necessarily translate into their use (Wilkinson and Fagan, 1996). The study shows that use of violence and its promotion in Karamoja can better qualify as related to 'traditional practices' or 'sub-cultural practices', as opposed to blindly labelling them as 'cultural practices'. Also, as an external force, guns overpowered and overthrew conflict resolution structures and social controls that would have neutralized their use, in the first place. It is derogatory therefore, to assert that gun violence is a cultural practice of the victims of the gun.

List of Abbreviations

AIDS:	‘Acquired Induced Dependency Syndrome’ on Relief
A-K 47:	Automatic Kalashnikov 1947
BRAC:	Bangladesh Rehabilitation Assistance Committee/ Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee/ Building Resources Across Communities.
CEWARM:	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
FAO:	Food And Agriculture Organization
FGD:	Focus Group Discussions
K.A.R	King African Riffle
LABF	Legal Aid Basket Fund
LRA:	Lords’ Resistance Army
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organizations
NRM:	National Resistance Movement
UNICEF:	The United Nations Children's Fund
UPDF:	Uganda People’s Defense Forces
USAID:	The United States Agency for International Development
WWI:	World War One
WWII:	World War Two

CHAPTER ONE:

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Not to have your history understood, remembered, and treated seriously is to have your historic pain undervalued..... (Donald Shriver, 2001:155).

1.1 Introduction

The claim that “the history of humankind”, including the rise and fall of civilizations is “a story of conflict” is quite known (Rummel, 1979; Walter, 1992:1 and Keller, 2011). It is further underwritten in Keller’s (2011) assertion that “the history of war is inherent in humanity itself” and Walter’s (1992:1) belief that “conflict is inherent in human activities”. Such viewpoints are the basis for thinking that conflicts arise by reason of multifaceted human-driven factors, coming together and reinforcing each other at multiple levels and at critical junctures of societies’ development (Rummel, 1979 and USAID, 2005). But also, for portraying development and change as fundamentally and necessarily conflictual! What is indisputable though, is the fact that “human conflict... is an ever present and universal social problem”, whose resolution and management are a perennial mind-striking challenge (Bartos and Wehr, 2002: I).

This stance does not only mirror conflict (also in its extreme manifestation as war) as descriptive of human nature but also as a legitimized component of socio-political life of societies; a discourse that paints conflict as a pioneer and a championing phenomenon of positive change.¹ On the contrary, in their manifestations, conflicts are known for their devastating effects, whose pains often create necessary environments for relapse into violent confrontations (revenge/ counter-attacks). Many Africa’s pastoral communities typify such cyclical occurrence of hostilities and counter-hostilities. All too often, pastoralism is associated with belligerence, and portrayed as genetically prone to conflicts whose effects are devastating to pastoralists themselves and to communities in their vicinities (Bevan, 2007). While many pastoral communities have been associated with armed violence in ways that portray conflict as inherent in human activities, it is worth-noting that there are societies that are known for their predisposition towards peaceful

¹ This idea is said to have been widely propagated by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel- a German Philosopher (1770 – 1831). Although it is currently hosting varying interpretations and contextualization stances (see Bruggencate, H.G, 1950, Hegel’s Views on War, *The Philosophical Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1: 58-60

living; those which at least endeavour to dissociate themselves from active violence (Haas, 1990 and Kelly, 2007), as discussed later in this work.

Reportedly, cattle-raiding-related conflicts are not new in many pastoral communities across over 20 African countries (Bevan, 2007; Ocan, 1993). Even in the past, various pastoral communities are said to have used cattle raiding (widely interpreted in several literatures as an exhibition of violence) as a “practice for restocking, especially after periods of drought” and disease epidemics (Schilling, et al., 2012:1; Bevan, 2007; Onyango, 2010 and Ocan, 1993). Among the Masaai of Kenya for example, aggression (violence) towards lions was a defining factor of manhood and bravery. Such phenomena have over time formed a base upon which conclusions are made that conflicts and violence associated with livestock raiding is culturally irrigated and approved. Thus, positing pastoral culture (values and practices), as centrally to blame for conflicts and violence that manifest in pastoral communities (in Ocan, 1993; Schilling, et al., 2012; Pavanello and Scott-Villiers, 2013). However, livestock being a resource on which survival and social status depended among many pastoral communities, there are voices that view cattle raiding and conflicts over livestock-sustaining resources (such as water, pasture and land) as struggle for resources (a materialistic perspective) - influenced by either scarcity (survival needs) or wealth accumulation endeavors (greed) (Safeworld, 2010 and Mkutu, 2004). Between these two perspectives that try to account for violent conflicts² in pastoral Karamoja, there lays, a third, often cited cause; the presence of guns in Karamoja area. These three factors are of central interest to this study, in an attempt to discern the causal roles and relations of the three factors to the breeding of violent conflicts experienced in most pastoralist communities of the Greater Horn of Africa and Karamoja in particular. This is important because, many interventions and peace-building attempts fail to

² The term ‘violent conflict/s’ (as used in this study) draws its usage from three localized viewpoints: 1. from the popularized understanding that although conflicts existed in Karamoja (just like in many other traditional communities), worrying violence (especially that associated with the use of guns) is foreign, but also it was culturally out of order (culturally not expected); 2. from an understanding that conflicts that existed before the importation of guns into the sub-region and their associated foreign influences, including land use restrictions, forced labour and the region’s exclusion policies, were acceptable by involved parties, goal-oriented and sanctioned by elders. Therefore, they may not be regarded as violent conflict/s in the strict sense; 3. the term ‘violent conflict’ is often used to implicate a level of complexity of a conflict phenomenon, in relation to physical antagonism, high levels of causalities and involvement of multiple actors, as the case in Karamoja. (This interpretation is based on Macartan H. and Ashutosh V., 2004, *Violent Conflict and the Millennium Development Goals: Diagnosis and Recommendations*, Available from: <http://www.columbia.edu/~mh2245/papers1/HV.pdf> ,[04/July, 2016].

yield the desired outcome/peace in many pastoral areas of Africa, supposedly for lack of full knowledge of primary and/or relational causes of conflict situations being addressed.

Notably, although the nature of violent conflicts in most pastoral regions is multi-layered and dynamic, most of interventions seem to be blind to this reality. The interplay of ecological, cultural, social, political and economic status quo, and their juxtaposition in historical contexts seem to be ignored in attempts to understand Karamoja sub-region and address her challenges. This explains why, until recently, interventions such as food rationing/donation, encouragement of crop production in sections of the sub-region where agriculture is viable, as well as the modern village settlement models, have not yet helped the sub-region to change. Pavanello and Scott-Villiers (2013:1) invite us to recognize that “conflicts that may appear limited and localized to” pastoral drylands may be caused or triggered by factors at political, economic, social and institutional spheres, operating at micro and macro levels. Over the years, culture, pastoral resources and guns have either been perceived or claimed to be major causes of conflicts in Karamoja (and others pastoral communities), thus warranting an array of interventions and consequent counter-interventions to address them. Notably, the divergence in and emphasis of narratives about the problem of Karamoja have in many cases depended of socio-political leanings of a narrator; as an outsider or an insider. Whereas cultural practices and use of guns are largely blamed for the violent conflicts by outsiders (non-Karimojong), many insiders tend to blame the violent conflict on scarce resources, colonial and post-colonial policies around their use, and presence of guns, many of which are foreign to Karamoja. For example, to many native inhabitants of Karamoja, most colonial and post-colonial government pastoral policies and interventions were deliberately framed to undermine their culture and frustrate their resource use (Ocan, 1993).

Until now, mainstream government interventions are yet to liberate Karamoja sub-region from vagaries of dependence and vulnerability. Marginalization, insecurities, illiteracy and other factors believed to have accelerated violent conflicts in the area have remained unaddressed or partially addressed (Ocan, 1993; Mkutu, 2004). This is the case because causes of violent conflicts were/are not well understood or simplistically understood, thus not rightly addressed. Interventions have been either inappropriate or insufficient to addressing the existential challenges in their wholeness, something I think, is due to lack of comprehensive understanding of central causes of violent conflict. This does not only deprive Karimojong communities of serious treatment of their plight,

but also makes relapse into violent conflict likely and resurgence of livelihood-related-crises predictable. The nature and implication of the interventions to the cultural practices, pastoral resource question and use of guns appear to have emanated from the historical isolation of the sub-region, leaving many ‘historic pains’ of the Karimojong communities ‘undervalued’ (Shriver, 2001:155).

This study attempts to develop an evidence-based framework of explanation of the causative roles of the three factors, either collectively or in isolation, to violent conflicts experienced in Karamoja. This is indispensable because, it helps on the one hand, to provide an understanding of the hot-blooded conflict that engulfed the sub-region from broad-based process-tracing point of view. The researcher hopes that the study will lay a foundation upon which to chart-out integrated and workable peace-building (and development) strategies in response in view of the research findings. Given the nature of the study, a qualitative (critical social science) research approach was used, together with qualitative methods and techniques of data collection and analysis, respectively. To establish perceived causal relations of the three factors/concepts to violent conflicts occurrence, process tracing mechanism/technique was employed both during literature review and fieldwork processes. It is important to note too, that although the researcher had severally visited the area of the study since June, 2009, he is not native to the communities under study. Therefore, he is an outsider to the research communities, with very limited understanding and use of the local dialects. This made the researcher aware of ‘possible’ outsider’s biases, and the need to work on them, while allowing him to subject the insiders’ reality to the outsider’s critical outlook for a balanced understanding. This often happened when the researcher, in both casual and formal interactions, sought local views and clarifications about common assertions and beliefs (prejudices) about people in Karamoja – a process in which, the researcher was made aware of beliefs (prejudices) Karimojong people have about the community of the researcher. Given the researcher’s inability to have an unmediated interaction with research participants (by use of local languages), the researcher worked with three translators (research assistants) during fieldwork data collection, in cases where research participants could not use English. Research assistants are all native to the communities of study.

1.2 General Background to the Study

By 2004, the word 'Karamoja' was "synonymous with violence, drought and poverty" to many Ugandans, due to "natural and man-made" factors that made the sub-region all bad things to many people (CEWARN, 2004:9). From my childhood too, Karamoja and the Karimojong people were a section of despised countrymen and women, in both public and private life of my country. The sub-region is often referred to as Uganda's most marginalized, poor and under-developed sub-region (Safeworld, 2010; BRAC, 2011; Kingma, et al., 2012; Center for Conflict Resolution, 2011).

Karamoja covers a total area of 27,700 square kilometers of north eastern Uganda with a human population estimate of 1.4 million (Human Rights Watch, 2014; Rugadya, Kamusiime and Nsamba-Gayiiya, 2010). It measures 300 km (north to south) against 80 km (east to west) and it borders with the Pokot and the Turkana communities of Kenya in the east. In the north, it borders with South Sudan- the Toposa community and with the Acholi, Langi, and Iteso communities in the west. The Sebei and Bugisu areas border Karamoja in the south (Ocan, 1993).

The major reason why people occupying the area geographically known as Karamoja are collectively referred to as Karimojong is because, they were historically consolidated into one ecological entity before their colonial disorganization. In the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods, they always had good and bad relations; such as barter trade and inter-marriages, and conflict (cattle raiding-related aggression) (Ocan, 1993). The fact that the Pokot who came to the area much later in 1938 from Kenya were accepted and absorbed into the Karimojong social dynamics, attests to this, but also testifies against claims that the Karimojong culture is repulsive to foreign cultures.

To understand the issues of culture, pastoral resources and use of guns in relation to the emergence of violent conflicts require a flashback to the pre-colonial and colonial eras. In the pre-colonial Karamoja, pastoralism and transhumance were practiced across the dry rangelands of the sub-region, without national border limitations. Elders (old males) were the custodians of authority and power with regard to social decision-making and resource use (Ocan, 1993). Since the dawn of the colonial period however, various governance structures were introduced to change the state of affairs in Karamoja, with a view to create development opportunities for the people of Karamoja. However, the dreamt of development is only yet to come! Various Ugandan governments adopted

anti-pastoralist capitalistic³ policies of their predecessors (up until 2004), leading to loss of land user-rights by indigenous, a factor that is crucial for the survival of livestock on which they depend. For example, “attempts to forcefully settle pastoralists resulted in an unanticipated social crisis, setting a stage for conflicts over the allocation and use of resources”, as well as fighting the state (Ocan, 1993:98).

Since the colonial period, Karamoja sub-region has assumed various (in my view negative) ‘special statuses’, which express the Karimojong culture as unacceptable and Karimojong people as hard-to-deal with. For instance, the sub-region was labelled a ‘human zoo’ in the colonial period and isolated as a ‘no-go area’ in the independence aftermath. In the last decade of colonialism (between 1952-62), “Karamoja region of northeastern Uganda was the target of a series of ill-conceived economic development programmes that interfered with long-standing strategies for herds management, land use, and resource allocation in a highly unpredictable and seasonally arid savanna ecosystem” of Uganda (Mamdani, Kasoma and Katende, 1992 in Gray, et al., 2003:3). Similarly, the lately established Ministry for Karamoja affairs disguisedly reflects negatively on the sub-region. It portrays it as the only conflict-laden cattle corridor of Uganda, meriting the need for an independent ministry to discriminately deal with its affairs (which is an affirmative action intervention). While conflicts, insecurity and lack of economic and infrastructural development have often been blamed on cultural rigidity and the wide-spread violence, there are contested perspectives over factors responsible for violence in the sub-region, warranting deeper investigations for better understanding.

Firstly, by view of their content and implementation, colonial and post-colonial policies and interventions to the sub-region seem to have seen these conflicts as either emanating from mutually exclusive factors of; cultural values, which dictate practices; struggle for resources, and illegal

³I am calling these policies capitalistic by the fact that they aimed at promoting the market economy in Karamoja. It is the market/capitalistic economy that for the very first time introduced a social reality in which land and labour became commoditized -world over, to allow the former’s individual and cooperative acquisition, ownership, use or re-sell. This was a pure contrast to the worldview of the Karimojong people, in which land was communally owned and used. And, for a fact, these policies were moving toward individual and cooperate ownership (having profit-making as a central focus of the move) at the expense of communal survival. This explains why, until now, many Karimojong feel bitter about mining companies in their area, which fence off sections of land upon paying mining licenses to both the national and local governments, but not to local custodians. They are still working with a mental picture where land is communally owned, but used with the guidance of elders not national or local governments. To the observing communities, what these companies are doing is the individualization (and privatization) of land.

possession of guns, each alone or superficially understood (see Ochan, 1993; Mamdani, Kasoma and Katende, 1992 in Gray, et al., 2003 and Czuba, 2011).

This study sprung on a supposition that, violent conflicts in Karamoja are attributable to an amalgam of interplaying factors in a historical context, address of which necessitates full and deep understanding of their inter-casual contexts and dynamism, which can facilitate informed and comprehensive interventions. Reliant on this supposition, this study jointly explored the three factors to advance an integral understanding of the causes; real or perceived, of violent conflict, on which binding responses could be based. This undertaking is based on a realization that conflicts can only be addressed meaningfully in the long-term, with the objective of getting to its underlying causes (Legal Aid Basket Fund, n.d). By implication, many of the interventions in Karamoja so far have aimed at either suppressing or providing quick fixes to the sub-region's problems, as opposed to their comprehensive address. Disarmament for example, was a fix to the problem of insecurity not a comprehensive response to conflict. Unlike conflicts (which require short, medium and long-term interventions), insecurities are (and can be) addressed through short and medium-term measures like disarmament; but even then, causes of conflicts may remain.

As Muhereza (1998) notes, post-independence Uganda governments applied policies not different from those of their predecessors, albeit some positive changes of the current (NRM) government. Czuba (2011) too, argues that all successive Ugandan governments were distrustful of Karimojong governance structures, and their culture.

While faulting Uganda governments, it is right noting that communities of Karamoja also have a traditional repute for conflicts related to the livestock or the resources on which it depends (also referred to as pastoral resources in this study). In the modern times though, the area graduated into decades-long "inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic violence", with a number of deadly confrontations with the state too. This is why the region suffered high levels of violent conflicts and "insecurity, alongside low levels of development and challenges of individual well-being" (Safeworld, 2010: I). Being a neighbor to the then LRA war-infested area, Karamoja was affected by "the conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Government of Uganda" at some time, amidst long-drawn-out rounds of violent cattle raids and counter-raids. "At various times, pastoralist or semi-pastoralist groups living across the border of Kenya and Sudan have also actively participated

in these attacks,” (Safeworld, 2010: I), which were made possible and fluent by the availability and use of guns (small arms) (Safeworld, 2010: I and Kingma, et al., 2012).

Whereas accounts of events in Karamoja allude to centuries of conflicts among inhabiting communities, these conflicts are said to have manifested with limited (small scale) levels of violence (Ocan, 1993, Czuba, 2011; Odhiambo, 2003). Some of them were intra-community like among the Jie, while others were inter-community in nature like between the Bokora and the Jie. Noteworthy too, these conflicts were not extended to communities outside the Karamoja sub-region. Whereas they are reported to have been conflicts related to pastoral resources such as land, water and cattle, and to power to lead in some cases (Ocan, 1993 and Lorelle, 2007), according to Odhiambo (2003), some accounts relate violent conflicts in Karamoja to the culture and use of guns.

The disturbing question is, if pre-independence conflicts and cattle raiding in Karamoja involved limited violence (reportedly not more than one or two deaths in a single attack), what changed during and after independence to warrant high levels of violence? If the answer to this question is the presence of guns, another question emerges. Why did the presence of guns lately warrant their violent use, yet guns had been in Karamoja since 1880s as Ocan, (1993) shows? What remains unclear about the gun question is the fact that there is no definite dates for tracing the inception of gun use in Karamoja, provided by either the research participants (Karimojong) or various sources of literature.

Narratives that highlight the use of guns in the sub-region are varied; some sources situate gun violence around 1979; appending it to the fall of President Idi Amin’s regime (Lorelle, 2007; Mirzeler, and Young, 2000). The account above is based on the understanding that, most of the guns that were used in the post-1979 Karamoja, were accessed from the abandoned Moroto military barracks. Alternatively, some authors place it as early as late 1940s, after WW II (Mburu, n.d) or around late 1950s and early 1960s (Mkutu, 2004), with attacks on the Karimojong by the Turkana and Toposa communities of Kenya and South Sudan, respectively. Yet, Ocan (1993) notes that the Jie were already armed before colonialists arrived in Karamoja, probably by 1890s. Whatever the case may be, it is known for sure that the said ‘violence-nurturing’ cultural ideologies or practices were already in place at the time of the guns’ arrival. Noteworthy, for a long time, guns in Karamoja remained in the hands of slave traders, colonial masters and elephant hunters.

The popular need and demand for guns among the local population followed the attacks and cattle raids by pastoral communities from Kenya and the current South Sudan. However, their open access to guns and noticeable increase in the frequency and intensity of gun violence was after the fall of President Amin's regime. What remains unsubstantiated though, is whether, it is the cultural attitude (motivation towards or lack of constraints against) violence or the presence of tools of violence (guns – as an instrumental cause) that best explains the incremental amounts of violence that were experienced in Karamoja, since the period of their introduction to the disarmament period (2003). At the base of this (gun) equation, if not taken for granted, is 'the pastoral resource question' (which resources are accorded high value culturally, by the Karimojong people) could be the bridge between the use of guns and culture, which make the three important for this study.

In another perspective, while the sub-region is viewed as the most neglected, marginalized and the least developed part of Uganda, as noted by Lorelle (2007) above, counter arguments hold Karimojong people responsible for their marginalization and underdevelopment. They are blamed for their relentless neglect of government policies (Pavanello and Scott-Villiers, 2013) and other initiatives and processes that could have elevated them educationally, economically, politically and socially. While the mainstream colonial and post-independence literature and government positions portrayed Karimojong people as backward, and blamed their culture for promoting unproductive practices of pastoralism, cattle raiding and overgrazing (environmental degradation) (Ocan, 1993)⁴, other analysts blame the gun for the intermittent violent conflict in the sub-region (Odwedo, 2007 and Schilling, et al., 2012). While the two; cultural practices and use of guns, have been the centre of attention in endeavours to alleviate violence from Karamoja and usher in development, there is a third, equally important factor which acquires attention too - the pastoral resource question (scarcity, competition, restricted access, and manipulation by foreign forces) (CEWARN, 2004).

From the foregoing, it is noticeable that apart from the common reference to the Karimojong culture as rigid and belligerent, it is also known that the need to access and control resources, backed-up by cultural values of the Karimojong world-view, had a core causative relation to

⁴ As represented in discussions of Mario Cisterino (1979) and Dyson-Hudson (1966), cited in Charles Ocan, 1993, Pastoral crisis and Social Change in Karamoja Region, Chap. In Mahmood Mamdani and Joe Oloka-Onyango, *Uganda: Studies in Living Conditions Popular Movements and Constitutionalism*.

violent conflicts. The need to secure and acquire livestock could have created the need for means and tools (of late preferably guns) to aid the access to and protection of the culturally treasured resources. Although they instigated violence, guns had become the most effective tools for the task, as had been exemplified by their attackers. This need must have emerged primarily because their livestock became insecure. Our fear is, if the foregoing is the case, disarmament efforts and processes would not singularly provide solutions to challenges facing Karamoja, especially the alleged resources-related violence. It was upon this background that this study sought to reach an integral understanding of how culture, resources and guns played in the causation of violent conflicts. This is necessary because, knowledge is a necessary condition for reaching binding solutions to social problems. As Charles Ocan (1993) and Mkutu, (2004) revealed, both the Karimojong and the Pokot communities did not primarily acquired guns to execute expeditions or effect cattle raids, but to protect the few remaining livestock after decades-long raids by Turkana of Kenya and the Toposa of South Sudan.

1.2.1 Social-ecological Stance of Karamoja

The Karamoja sub-region of Uganda is traditionally inhabited by around 14 social groups. Although traditional inhabitants of the region are regularly referred to by a collective name; Karimojong, in the strict sense, the term rightly applies to the main social groups of the Matheniko, Pian, and Bokora people. The other social groups to whom the name is referent are the Pokot (Upe or Suk), Tepeth, Nyakwai, Jie, Dodoth, Ik (Teuso), Mening, Nyangea Napore and Labwor. Majority of these groups are predominantly pastoralist, with occasional subsistence cultivation (Ocan, 1993 and Odwedo, 2007). They are believed to have inhabited the area for over 300 years now, except the Pokot who came to the sub-region much later, upon their displacement by the British colonialists from Kenya (Ocan, 1993).

Karamoja is semi-arid area, with an ecological classification of zone five according to the East African ecological classification on a range from one to six in descending order of productivity potential. Karamoja is situated within an arid belt that stretches downwards from Ethiopian Highlands into eastern Tanzania. It is known for limited and unreliable rainfall, with annual totals ranging only from 500mm to 1000 mm, with variations from year to year and place to place. The sub-region has a high rate of evaporation and water run-off, resulting in poor water retention. With a few mountains of a volcanic nature dotting the sub-region and giving it a ‘rising and falling’

appearance, Karamoja is marked by a vast plain, known as the Karamoja plain. Mountain Moroto is situated in the east, Toror in the north, Kadam in the south-east and Napaka in the central west, all arising above 2134 meters above the sea level (Ocan, 1993).

The area is characterized by sandy-bedded rivers originating from mountains and powered by run-offs down the highlands. Generally, in the drier eastern plains soils are of coarse sandy types, whereas in the wetter western areas they are sandy clay loam in nature. Since the central plains are advantaged by rain-run-offs from the mountains, they are endowed with alluvial soils. Across the sub-region, the vegetation is characterized by thorny bushes. It is typified by; “cammiphora woodlands and patches of grassland. A savanna acacia vegetation characterized by perennial grasses and scattered trees dominates the higher areas, and the west, which receive fairly reliable and higher rainfall”, is dominated by “annual grasses, shrubs and dotted trees dominate the plains right through to the eastern borders” (Ocan,1993:99). With three ecological categories running from the east to the west, where the west is endowed with better prospects, the seasonal variation in weather and resource potential of the three zones have been interrelated through social activities in order to ensure sustainable use of resources.

1.2.2 Agriculture, Agro-pastoralism and Pastoralism in Karamoja

The dominant discourse on the Karimojong people hardly highlight communities that have agriculture as their dominant survival activity. Just like the discourse excludes them, so the practice of pastoralism, which dominates the narrative. For the few anthropological studies which have recognized them, it is suggested that dominantly agricultural communities of the sub-region either pre-date pastoralism or resolved to embrace a different social-economic setting overtime. However, no historical evidence confirms that agriculture preceded pastoralism in Karamoja (Ocan,1993).

As Ocan (1993:100) noted, “all smaller groups together with the Labwor depend more on agriculture than pastoralism. In good times though, they tend to adopt pastoralism. For instance, when the Tepeth community received guns upon the overthrow of President Idi Amin in 1979, they attempted to become more pastoralist than agricultural.” Guns were seen as playing the protective and assurance roles. In fact, small agricultural communities are quite distributed across the region, and are said to be the true indigenous communities of the sub-region before the

Karimojong. In western Karamoja are the Nyakwai and Labwor; in the north-west the Nyangea and Mening; to the north-east the Teuso and the Ik, while on mountains Moroto, Kadam, and Napak are the Tepeth (Ocan 1993).

It can be argued, because of the usually unfavorable climatic conditions of the sub-region, agriculture is not an activity of choice in Karamoja; therefore, adaptation to agriculture by small indigenous communities is likely to have been due to pressure mounted by bigger or better armed pastoral communities, who may have depleted the cattle of smaller communities (Ocan, 1993). To complement their livelihoods, smaller groups also practice hunting, crafting and metal smelting. Historically though, there have been commodity exchange relationship between agricultural and pastoral communities, and their social organization bears a lot of likeness, including languages across the sub-region, with only varying dialects.

Since large groups rule the plains, all smaller groups are relatively withdrawn from general processes of social activities introduced by external influences. This is because, they are either naturally (by way of their geographical location) disadvantaged or they are kept out by the dominant pastoral communities. In the case of the Tepeth for example, they are restricted to the mountain tops by their neighbors on the one hand, while the government severally attempted to withdraw them from the mountains on grounds of forest conservation, on the other hand (Ocan, 1993).

In the contemporary Karamoja, a significant number of Karimojong subscribe to the tendency of mixed economy (Agro-pastoralism). Among agro-pastoralists, agriculture is being appreciated in permanent settlements, thus playing a very important role in some pastoral communities. This is evident among the Dodoth, Pian and Bokora and along the fertile swamps of Namalu in the south (Pian community), Iirir in the west (Bokora community) and in Karenga in the far north (Dodoth community). In such areas, pastoralists are becoming increasingly settled, thus rarely practice transhumance. In these areas too, the number of people without cattle is high and the main cause of this phenomenon is said to be cattle raids, which subsequently forced people to resort to agriculture with a dose of seriousness (Ocan, 1993).

Noteworthy, given the dominant semi-arid ecological manifestation of Karamoja, pastoralism is the dominant socio-economic activity of the dominant social groups in of the sub-region. Charles

Ocan (1993) reports that among the larger groups pastoralism, is the leading activity except for the Labwor who are pronounced agro-pastoralists. He thought though, that the decision by the Labwor to resort to agro-pastoralism is likely to have been influenced by social circumstances which made pastoralism an unreliable source of livelihood. The Labwor were reported have been persistent victims of cattle raids by other groups especially the Jie.

Traditionally, Karimojong pastoralists practiced a form of transhumance. Later on, animals are kept around permanent homesteads (*Ngireria*) during rainy seasons. At the onset of the season, cattle are moved eastwards to take advantage of the short-lived grass and water available. “As the dry season draws to an end in the west, grass is burnt.” This is meant to kill pests, chase wild animals and allow grass to sprout. As the dry spell approaches, all Karimojong groups move their animals’ westwards except for the Dodoth and Pian, who move northwards and south-east wards, respectively. This movement is dependent on the seasonal viability in the areas that lay beyond the direction of the movement flow (Ocan, 1993). He notes though, that due to the unreliable rainfall, it is hard to give definite periods when the movements take place, dominant occurrence however, is that rain seasons can be situated between March and September. Pastoralists are known to be great masters of their environment; such that the unreliability of rainfall in no longer a much worrying hurdle. The greatest drawback to the transhumant pastoralists were restrictive government interventions and local conflicts. It is worth noting that alongside pastoralists, Karamoja also hosts the only nomadic community in the country - the Suk (Pokot). Unlike pastoralists who have permanent homes to which they return after a given period of time, nomads consistently move with the whole families in search for pastures. They neither have permanent homes nor abiding claims over land - this practice has changed over-time though. Ocan (1993) reports that before the establishment of the colonial rule in Karamoja, the area was already experiencing outstanding conflicts between agriculturalist and pastoralists over land, in addition to conflicts that existed among pastoralists communities over livestock, grazing area and water points.

1.2.3 Gender, Survival and Conflict in Karamoja

Just like in any other less modernized society, in Karamoja survival was/is the primary focus (responsibility) of both men and women, but accomplished through gendered roles and expectations. At a basic level, survival can primarily be realized through production and provision

of food – thus, this constitutes primary gender roles among the Karimojong people. Learning from Ocan (1993: 118) “gender has a great historical implication in the understanding of the Karimojong people”, since “much of the historical evidence available on Karamoja seems to point out that the first step in the separation of roles was between men and women”. Although land ownership is not gendered, broadly speaking, because of the communal land tenure system which is operational in this area, land use and control are. Traditionally, women are expected to undertake agriculture (in the sense of crop farming), while men are associated with pastoralism (cattle herding). Notable though, both of these subsistence activities require use of the same resource – land; not merely as ‘means of production’, but as habitat (foundation of existence) and guarantor of survival.

However, despite this broad gendering of production lines i.e. crop production to women and pastoralism to men; there was a window of fluidity to either accept or expect a different gender to participate in either of the two (main) production lines, but limitedly. For example, in the traditional Karamoja, of the four labour processes of garden clearing, cultivation, weeding and harvesting, required in the pursuit of crop production, “garden clearing was a male activity” (Ocan, 1993:119). Currently though, the activity is no longer solely a male business, due to expansive loss of males to violent conflicts since 1970s, and other external influences on emerging social dynamics in the sub-region. Broadly speaking, there are observable alternates to traditional gender expectations and roles across a whole social spectrum. Similarly, although cultivation (and sowing) used to be a female affair, it can now be done by both male and female, depending on availability. Charles Ocan notes that what is likely to have influenced the change in the traditional gender relations with regard to cultivation in early 1990’s, is the introduction of oxen ploughs as tools of cultivation.

This is why, the current increase in the participation of males in agriculture has not yet meant increased sharing of cultivation tasks with their female counterparts, but instead, a gendering process of the cultivation tool (the ox plough). The increased male participation in cultivation is limited to use of ploughs because of the use of cattle involved and the masculine connotation appended of the use of ox ploughs. That is why hand hoes largely remain a feminine tool. Weeding⁵ and harvesting, are traditionally female duties, but there is a noticeable involvement of males

⁵ This applies to all social groupings except among the Pian sub-group, where males participate or are expected to participate in the weeding activities (Ocan, 1993).

especially in harvesting, which is less tiring. Although gender relations in labour processes of cultivation and harvesting are seen to have changed to recruit both male and female participation almost equally, agriculture remains a dominantly feminine occupation, since women still engage in more tedious processes of garden clearing and weeding.

Important to note, the reason why cultivation and other domestic chores are a responsibility of a woman in traditional Karamoja is because, unlike in most societies, women are the providers of a home among the Karimojong; it is their responsibility to provide shelter, food, firewood and water. This is why, both men and women can either sell or have control over the agricultural surplus, although hardly could a woman sell livestock. Nevertheless, even when both male and female could/can sell and have control over the agricultural produce, it is not uncommon for men to take advantage of their masculinity and to exercise more (selfish) control than women. This is typified by the fact that some men can sell surplus harvest for personal alcohol drinking.

It is also evident that gender roles are not the only differentiating factor among Karimojong communities, but also age and classes; which exist even among women. For example, not all women are meant to weed crops, but the younger ones (co-wives of the first wife and/or daughters). Equally, although cattle was/is owned and controlled by men, some women are reported to have owned cattle, especially first wives in some homesteads. Possession of cattle among women, was limited to few, who were privileged, with the endorsement of their husbands (Ocan, 1993).

Gender roles and expectations are not only associated to resource ownership and/or production, but it is such ownership and production that give value to the existence of a man (as an influential social being) and a woman (as a wife and parent). That is why, in principle, socialization of males in Karamoja was around cattle acquisition and protection (thus rampant and deadly cattle raiding). According to Saferworld's (2016:2) brief, "a man cannot be considered a real man without the possession of cows. It is by the ownership of cattle that one acquires status in society and is respected. Those who own the most cows receive the highest respect." And, as already noted, unlike many other social contexts of Africa, "Karimojong men are not expected to be the primary family breadwinner", at least traditionally. This is why, crop cultivation is what gives value to a woman as a wife and parent (primarily at a family social space), while possession of cattle ups a

man's social status above the family. This is a pointer to how gender roles and expectations define and limit women and women's social spaces, despite their role in nurturing their communities.

The reference to the socialization process of males around 'cattle acquisition and protection' (as a gendered role) brings 'tools' needed in this socialization process in picture. Traditionally, these were locally made tools; spears, arrows and bow, until when guns substituted them. Now, because guns, both as a resource and a tool, make sense with regard to their usefulness to the cattle economy, they were in males' possession. The influence of guns on what Karamoja became is enormous; including change in age-based power relations, gender roles, and the role of cattle in defining social status. There came a time when 'the gun' not 'age' determined the source of power (authority) in Karamoja.

Interesting though, with changing social realities, especially after significant reduction in livestock population, coupled with increased number of educated folks in the sub-region, men are "expected (by both women and fellow men) to contribute economically to the household, ideally through their livestock" (Saferworld, 2016:2). This is why it is not uncommon now for men who lack cattle to do work that was reserved for women in the past or seek to work in the gold, marble or limestone mines across the sub-region. Now, the said expectation (of men) extends even to their cooperation with their wives in providing for their families.

Apart from resource use and possession, gender considerations can also be seen from dimensions of conflict and violence, and their cause, causers, and consequences. Generally speaking, cattle raiding, which was the major human behavior/activity in which conflict and violence manifested is/was an enterprise of men. However, usually, their impacts are squarely shared by both male and female sections of their communities. Violent conflicts involving the use of guns, which began in 1960's have had a toll on both men and women in different ways. Since cattle raids were an affair of men, the male gender was the candidate of death in these suicidal raids. Men were exposing themselves to a risk of losing their lives in the name bravely, while their female counterparts shouldering the burden of having to live with painful high-likelihoods of losing their husbands, brothers and sons. Although the male gender faced the direct impact of death, indirect impacts of increased stress and the burden of single-handily managing families and social responsibilities left behind by the deceased fell on the female gender. Reportedly, some statistics about causes of

deaths in Karamoja show the magnitude of the problem then. Jabs (2007:1499) reports of a study conducted in 1998 and 1999 of more than 300 women of the Bokora and Matheniko subtribes interviewed, virtually every one of them had lost a male relative; “either a husband or at least one male child to this intra-tribal violence”.

Peculiar though interesting, even with clearly known sidelined contribution of the female gender in decision-making at community levels, in a context where cattle raiding and the associated violence is a public decision, causes of such violence still carry gendered undertones. For example, women were often cited for being a formidable force behind cattle raids; through demand for the full payments of their pride wealth (in form of livestock); by forcing their husbands to prove their manhood by participating in such raids; and by chanting the praises of successful raiders as they return with their booty. What remains disturbing, in the event that this is true, if women’s covert influence can be this impactful (taken seriously by men), why aren’t they allowed (taken seriously) in making public contribution towards decision-making?

1.2.4 Pre-colonial and Colonial Legacies Carried Forward?

The over 500 to 300 years of Karimojong history portray a range of constant hardships; from epidemics (for both animals and people), to droughts, famine and social conflicts (Ocan, 1993; Gray, et al., 2003). Although this may create a historical picture of mayhem and disaster, Ocan (1993:105) notes that “there were periods of social calm and positive relations”. Amidst such occurrences, “the interventions to these calamities were internally construed to reflect the dominant interests within various Karimojong communities”. Because of the harsh ecological setting, the epidemics and social conflicts, the history of Karamoja is dotted with progressive and retrogressive oscillations, which had impact on its social transformation.

The occurrence of ‘massive natural disasters’ in the region is the most likely reason for the ‘massive conflicts’ reportedly experienced in the 18th century. This is because, conflict among pastoralist communities centrally rotate around access and or control of resources. Yet, natural disasters and epidemics incidentally deprived communities of livestock, pastures, water and cattle, creating a vacuum of scarcity and need for replenishment. The realization that all Karimojong communities, with the exception of Pokot, have survived in their current environments for over 300 hundred years and, given the habitual hostility, prompt a thought that environmental hostility

must have influenced a mechanism which dictates their relations and or reactions to their surroundings. The sub-region had faced many of these before the dawn of colonialism.

Reportedly, the greatest threats to colonialists in Karamoja were the Jie. By the late 18th century, the age-set system had been set in place in the pastoral region and much pronounced among the Jie, who were in a process of building semblance of a state. The children and youths (warriors) were active age groups, obliged to take care of the cattle. And, these would go to war in protection of animals and raiding expeditions. Above them were the elders, the icons of authority. After emerging from hurdles of inter-territorial expansionist tendencies, epidemics, and inter-community conflicts, the period 1898 – 1910 saw the Jie growing strong with a big range of social transformation under the leadership of Loriang. Upon achieving victory onto victory in the subsequent battles with the Bokora and the Labwor, the Jie gave more powers to the man who led them to this victory-Lorengamoy. Lorengamoy re-organized the army and drew internal defense lines based on the local areas, which incorporated the creation of defense units similar to the modern-day battalions (Ocan, 1993). This was a development typical to the modern states. Subsequently, the emerging ‘Jie state’ became the envy of many, including the advancing colonialists. By 1910, the Jie community had a standing arm of 750 men, with other helping subsidiaries. The colonizers could not have managed to take over the region, especially the part occupied by the Jie, if it were not for the persistent invasions in which they used Iteso and Acholi forces. The Karamoja came under invasion/attack because, the British realized that if they were to maintain their influence in the region, a discernable presence had to be maintained in this area. From 1911 onwards, “Karamoja and the Jie came under military administration, with regular patrols, initially by K.A.R (King African Riffle) and then after the WWI by the Uganda police, operating through the district” (Lamphear, 1976 in Ocan, 1993:107).

According to the training manual of Legal Aid Basket Fund (N.d) and Odhiambo (2003) conflicts in Karamoja can be traced to organized raids and predatory expansionism that existed in the region even before Karimojong pastoralists had adapted the practice of freely carrying firearms. Over time of interacting with foreigners, some pastoralist communities obtained guns, especially from “Ethiopian gun runners, Arab slave traders, poachers and merchants from the East African Coast” (Legal Aid Basket Fund, N.d). The Jie community could as well obtain guns from Belgians in Congo and Italians in Ethiopia (Ocan, 1993). In November of 1911, the sub-region was declared

a closed zone under military restrictions by the colonial government, to which entry required an entry permit. This isolation meant and effected unprivileged treatment of the sub-region from the rest of the country. Consequently, Karamoja stagnated compared to the rest of the country in terms of colonially envisioned kind of development. Post-colonial experiences of Karamoja have not been substantially different from the colonial treatment. For example, just like the colonial government sealed off Karamoja from the rest of Uganda, it was the first “independence government of Uganda that passed the 1964 Administration of Justice (Karamoja) Act”, which divorced the rules on acceptability of evidence, placing unchecked powers in the hands of a single judge, and reversing “the legal principle of presumption of innocence” of the alleged criminal. By this time, in Uganda, this was only in Karamoja. Resultantly, any persons accused of engaging in cattle raiding “in which someone had been killed, was presumed guilty until they had proven their innocence”, not otherwise (Legal Aid Basket Fund, N.d).

It has been observed and argued that the state in post-independence Uganda had tended to treat Karamoja as a war zone, where the principles of democratic governance did and could not apply and crisis management mechanisms were resorted to, in governance of the people of the sub-region (Legal Aid Basket Fund, n.d:3). As a consequence, hostility and resentment tended to characterize the Karimojong experience of their governments, something that undermined the authority of governments in the area, and government’s capacity to progressively transform the sub-region. The isolation of Karamoja and the unprivileged treatment of the Karimojong people have nurtured feelings of intentional isolation and bitterness among the Karimojong. This bitterness is projected in the ways Karimojong relate with the communities resident in their vicinity (Legal Aid Basket Fund, n.d). In the first place, these communities treat the Karimojong as unwelcome foreigners, rather than as fellow countrymen. However, the suspicion and treatment are also influenced and warranted by cattle raids mounted by Karimojong over their neighboring communities. Moreover, the dominant image of the Karimojong painted by most communities in Uganda rest on negative stereotypes crafted around pastoralists; labeling them as a bunch of looting warriors and non-developmental conservatives. In practice, for so long Karimojong have had little consideration to enable them appreciate their collective national identity with the rest of Ugandans.

Noteworthy too, the Karimojong inhabit an ecologically fragile environment in which conflict is most likely, given the disparity between the availability of resources and the demands for them. In

Karamoja, conflict is not only most likely, but in fact useful in defining the competing resource needs of people. As the population of humans and cattle increase, the competition for access to the diminishing resources like pasture, water and salt lick becomes more acute. Critical to this discussion, is the realization that in their endeavors to change the region, colonial and post-colonial governments have been employing interventions rooted in modernistic and capitalistic definitions of social and economic development, which are contrary to the Karimojong world-view. Thus, undermining cultural and natural resources. For example, the famous communal land tenure system of the sub-region is symbolic of the communal lifestyle as opposed the individual-centered one. And, cattle raiding; which traditionally served to replenish the lost livestock and as resource re-distribution mechanism among communities, is not only evidence to show that the socio-economic world-view of the Karimojong is different from the interveners' world-view, but also that it was never understood by the interviewer. In the strict sense, the Karimojong culture seems to be promoting socialistic ownership of resources as opposed to the capitalistic ways, which influenced/ informed the interveners.

While peace and conflict research contend that conflict is an inevitable lifetime phenomenon (Galtung, 1996), it is almost consensual that violent manifestations are preventable excesses of conflict. Notably, "violence is a process" seeking some outcome, yet "the outcome is already hidden in the process, and the process chosen depends on the outcome" (Galtung, 2000:10). Reliant on this view, the researcher is positive that understanding how the conflict came into shape gives a better advantage for its resolution or prevention of its relapse. Given the context of Karamoja sub-region, my theoretical framework is built around perspectives of; conflict theory of Marxist leaning, Structural Violence Theory, Human Needs Theory, Biological and Realist Theories of conflict, Ethnic Conflict theory and the Integrative Model of Violence. With their application to the Karamoja context, I seek to establish how the theories explain conflict and violent experiences of Karamoja or inform their understanding. Aware of Lederach's contention that "conflict is caused by real problems of inequality and injustice expressed by competing social, cultural and economic frameworks" (National Open University of Nigeria, 2006:59), the conflict theory highlights issues of resource, economic and political nature, while the integrative mode of violence highlights motivation to and constraint against violence.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The relationship between natural resource wealth and the inception or duration of conflicts associated to them remains a much-debated topic in both conflict and economic studies. While some scholars associate resource scarcity with conflict, just as the neo-Malthusian perspective views dwindling resources as an incentive for conflict, an opposite perspective argues that abundance of resources cause conflict. A third perspective however, cautions that the relation between resources and conflict is complex, since they vary for different types of resources, and they are dependent on many other factors, including institutional context and political regimes (Nillesen and Bulte, 2014).

In the foregoing, the dominant models used to explain conflict are the aggression model and scarcity models of understanding conflict causes (Allen, et al. 2016, Rummel, 1977). The models have been used by various authors to explain causes of the intractable violence, experienced in the pastoralist corridor of northeastern Uganda. For example, LABF (N.d:4) note that “in Karamoja, conflict and insecurity are a manifestation of poverty, livelihood and underdevelopment”, all of which are causes related to the scarcity model of conflict explanation. However, on the list of the major causes of conflict in Karamoja by the same piece of literature “culture and cultural practices,” which are symptomized in the “cattle complex, warrior phenomenon and high bride price”, ranked as the number one cause of violent conflicts. However, this binary understanding of causes of violent conflicts; the ‘aggression - scarcity’ models, fall short of explaining their first example of causes. Other causes highlighted include; absence of effective governance structures in Karamoja; ineptness of modern governance institutions; absence of a clear, consistent and enforced government policy on the conflict and insecurity in Karamoja; proliferation of guns and collapse of traditional authority and institutions, among others. This points to the third perspective proposed by Nillesen and Bulte (2014), of looking at conflict as a phenomenon with very complex causes. Thus, it is not proper to simplistically limit our understanding of the Karamoja violence to scarcity and aggression.

As much as these are listed as causes of violent conflict and insecurity in Karamoja, they can as well be seen as effects. Therefore, process tracing is necessary in an attempt to establish causal

inferences; since effects may have become aggravating or secondary causes in a long-drawn-out conflict. The CEWARN baseline study of 2004 also spotlights competition over natural resources as responsible for the emergency of military-style armed conflict, which gives a scarcity leaning explanation, and aggression as an implied consequence. What is clear here is that understanding violent conflicts in pastoral Karamoja requires transcending the aggression- scarcity models of explanation, by looking at abundance of resources, external factors, and other context-related factors. In this study, therefore, I seek to come to deeper understanding of the causative or aggravating roles of culture (as a context related factor), guns (as an external factor) and pastoral resources in violent conflicts in Karamoja. I seek to place these in their historical and environmental contexts of Karamoja and beyond the two models, which run short of explaining them.

It is clear that solutions to any social problems primarily constitute in their full knowledge, this should be true of Karamoja as well. As noted earlier, for long, various specific interventions were sought to address the ‘unique’ condition of Karamoja. However, many can be said to have aggravated violence and failed conflict transformation processes for lack of deeper understanding of the Karimojong reality. In efforts to address the challenges in Karamoja, many interventions were characterized by deprivation of communities of their livestock and pastureland, amidst neglect of their survival concerns. This manifested in colonial and post-colonial interventions/policies, which, by design and practice, aimed at suppressing the continuity of culturally plausible Karimojong lifestyle.

Against this backdrop, this study is an attempt to interrogate and challenge dominant narratives about the causes of violence in pastoral Karamoja, and to generate further insights into the contribution of culture, resources and gun use to the manifestation of violence. Through questioning, comparing and contrasting of dominant world-views of and about the Karamoja sub-region, this study reached a better understanding of how and why each of the variables played in the causation of violent conflict and its persistence.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study was to understand the role of culture, resources and guns in the manifestation of violent conflict in the Karamoja sub-region.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

1. To investigate a causal relationship between pastoral culture and violence in Karamoja.
2. To identify resources which contribute to violent conflicts in pastoral Karamoja sub-region.
3. To examine the causal relationship between the presence of guns and the occurrence of violent conflicts in Karamoja sub-region.

1.5 Research Questions

1. What is the causal relationship between pastoral culture and violence in Karamoja sub-region?
2. Which resources contribute to the occurrence of violent conflicts in pastoral Karamoja sub-region?
3. What is the causal relationship between the presence of guns and the occurrence of violent conflicts in Karamoja sub-region?

1.6 Scope of the Study

1.6.1 Geographical scope

This study was conducted in Karamoja sub-region of Uganda, located in the North-eastern part of Uganda. It internationally borders with North western Kenya and South-eastern South Sudan, and internally bordering with the Acholi, Lango, and Teso, Sebei and Bugishu areas. Although the sub-region is composed of seven districts, the study was conducted in three districts of Amudat, Moroto and Nakapiripirit. Choosing three districts allowed the representativeness of communities across the sub-region, and it enabled the researcher to cross-check the narratives and concerns of formally conflicting communities. While examining the cultural, resource and gun aspects of the study, the views of the Matheniko and Tepeth communities of Moroto District, the Pian community of

Nakapiripirit District and the Pokot community of Amudat District were dominantly explored. This made it possible to ascertain the extent to which any of the three phenomena (variables) are interlinked with manifestation/causation of violent conflicts across the area of study.

1.6.2a Conceptual and Practical Contexts of the Study

By the application of westernized modern pre-categorization of social reality (as modern, traditional, backward or primitive) and the comparative cultural differences across Uganda's communities, the sub-region has been overtime labelled the home of primitivity, and the Karimojong crowned the icons of anti-modernity. The Karimojong culture was and is not only viewed as backward, but also as threatening to peace and security of people from within and without the sub-region and their property especially pastoral resources (mostly cattle, water and pastures). Consequently, with spotlights of perceivably culturally-supported raiding, a practice that lately involved massive loss of human and animal life, this practice sets itself against the constitutional promotion of the inalienable right to life, and it ridicules the right to property (cattle) from their rightful owners.

Similarly, it bred criminal offshoots of food thefts, road ambushes and temporary abduction of children (and women- sometimes) by raiders. Understandably, the need to protect the inalienable and constitutional rights of affected Ugandans, as well as stopping criminal acts involved, may have forced the government of Uganda to use voluntary and forceful means to disarm possessors of fire arms in Karamoja - an exercise that led to many deaths and escalation of violence (Centre for Conflict Resolution, 2011). Apart from the defensive and vengeful tones of violence in the sub-region, there is the alleged struggle for resources and access to them (Bainomugisha, 2007; Odhiambo, 2003; Ocan, 1993). Although underlooked, the need to protect pastoral resources from perceived and real threats and or the drive to control over resources like grazing land, water points, and replenishment of dwindling cattle numbers, centrally shaped the conflict (Mkutu, 2004; Interview responses). While the cattle resource that traditionally defined people's life (survival and status) has greatly reduced and many natives currently live without cattle, the only reliable resources in sight are land and minerals⁶ underneath it. However, without policy to guide the

⁶ Karamoja sub-region is endowed with several natural minerals, whose quality and quantities make them commercially viable. It is reported to have over 50 different types of economically significant minerals, including;

mining activities on land which is communally owned, people foreign to region flock into Karamoja to exploit mineral resources. Given the current state of Karamoja, mineral resource mining would have been the most valuable development catalyst, but this needs to happen with consideration environmental impacts and involvement of the natives. Hypothetically, if cattle were a resource so valuable to warrant violence as means for its acquisition and protection, the exclusion or peripheral inclusion of Karimojong communities in land use and mineral exploitation makes relapse into conflict and violence not only possible, but also predictable.

1.6.2b Conceptual Scope

This study sought to understand factors responsible for violent conflicts in Karamoja, by searching into the interrelated causal influences of culture, resources and the gun, understanding of which may make pacification and development of the sub-region possible. The study was based on quasi-hypothesis that, conflicts in Karamoja became typically violent and persistently so because, many of the interventions made to address the challenges of region were based on lack of clear understanding of the forces in play. This study sought to give a broader understanding of causes of conflict by avoiding limiting the inquiry to ‘scarcity and aggression’ explanatory models of causes of conflict. This was done by as well evaluating cultural practices, the use of guns (which is a typically conflictual human behaviour) and the resource factor, which are commonly associated to the occurrence of violence in the sub-region. Incomprehensive interventions either suggest partial understanding of the conflict causative factors, continued neglect or peripheral consideration of the sub-region’s affairs. The three factors are interrelated in a fundamental way that makes this study interesting. While culture defines and gives meaning to what is valuable to a Karimojong (including resources); initially, the gun only became means of protecting and acquiring it. Later on though, it became a destabiliser of Karimojong social order. Therefore, the achievement of peace and development in the Karamoja will depend on how well the causes of violence that failed them are understood.

gold, marble, lime stone, uranium, graphite, gypsum, iron, wolfram, nickel, copper, cobalt, lithium and tin, among others (see Miti, 2015 and Hinton, 2011).

1.6.3 Time Scope

Since the study interrogated issues of culture, resources and guns, both historical and contemporary perspectives were fundamentally necessary. Attention was given to practices among Karimojong communities that promote, condone or allow conflict and/or violence, before they were subjected to the colonial era and post-colonial interpretations, categorizations and policies. I got acquainted with post-colonial and colonial cultural practices, the resource question and gun use through literature review of documents and reports about the sub-region, which pointed back to as early as 1890s. To understand the contemporary dynamics however, my focus was to reach out to informative persons in Karamoja, who have rich experiences in the sub-region, some of whom were born in 1930s. This enabled me to receive information about what transpired from 1940s and those events which may have taken place earlier, but are part of the social or collective memory.

Much interest was vested in understanding the practices, their executional procedures, traditional meanings and the rationale behind them. This timing (which is certainly not determined by the researcher but by the availability of participant of wealthy experience) was very important; it allowed for comparison of the reported (documented) practices with the contemporary ones (shared by participants). Accounts that commence 1940s bring out practices of the colonial era, before Karimojong communities acquired guns and compare them with the post-independence period, when gun violence took a central stage. Most importantly, this stretch into the past gave me a chance to interrogate the strongly held-belief (though refuted by many Karimojong) that Karimojong culture attaches value to violence and upholds it, as though it is genetic to them. Looking at the cultural practices in question, overtime, helped to spotlight circumstances that gave or can give raise to adaptation to violence. Relatedly, resource and gun questions were studied with regard the cultural attitude towards them and communities' behavior around them before independence (as documented and narrated) and after the overthrow of President Amin.

1.7 Significance of the Study

Now, more than ever before, the fragile peace in Karamoja sub-region requires comprehensive supporting systems of conflict resolution, peace-building and development, other than mere address of symptoms. The findings of this study therefore, are likely to be instrumental in creating

awareness of turning points in the manifestation of violent conflicts in pastoral Karamoja with special focus on the interconnected influence of conflict causing factors. Which, correspondingly require interconnected and broadened conflict resolution and peace-building interventions, intending to address the gun violence, resource shortages or shortage claims and cultural mindset adjustment - if and when required.

This study sought to be a ground-leveler for badly needed strategies and best-practices for strengthening the peace at hand, by creating context-specific knowledge. The study is effecting this by its commitment to understanding and making understood the underlying causes or perceived causes, dynamics and interaction of the three variables in regard to violent conflict manifestation/ causation. I am positive that this research is ushering in a new plane of academic discussion, since it serves to question, challenge, re-define and/or aid academic conclusions about the violence that ensued in Karamoja sub-region. This is not only necessary for reaching sustainable solutions to the problems of the past, but also for making informed conclusions about the direction Karamoja ought to move.

1.8 Justification of the Study

This study is necessary because, it addresses a fundamental question about the state of Karamoja, which is; how did culture, resources and guns play in development of violent conflict in Karamoja overtime? When responded to, this question can answer so many other questions including ascertaining why conflicts and violence persist despite the many interventions and approaches to resolving them and causing development in the sub-region. While the sub-region is declared peaceful now, with only a few pockets of cattle theft and small-scale cattle raiding, local communities feel the weight of cattle deprivation and a threat to survival means. In fact, since December, 2013 through July, 2014 (which is regarded as a post-raids related violence period), big incidences of cattle raiding involving several deaths were still common in the sub-region (by this time the researcher was in the sub-region). This puts to question any convictions that the peace in the region will be binding unless informed interventions are made. The operational thinking at work here is that, the centrality of the resource question among other conflict causing factors need to be recognized and the grey corners in each of the causing factors to conflict need to be understood for binding peace building to happen.

1.9 Definition of Key Terms

Conflict: The concept ‘conflict’ induces various, sometimes divergent viewpoints as can be evidenced in definitions below. According to Roderick Ogley, (2010:410) conflict is reciprocated hostile behavior, existing between human parties, each of which could be an organization, a group or an individual. Noteworthy, often times the term ‘hostility or hostile’ (as used by Ogley above), is used to mean ‘violence or violent behavior’, thus seeing conflict as not disassociated from violence. However, Paul Wehr notes that, conflict is not synonymous to violence and is not necessarily destructive; but since it is disruptive of normal relations and it is capable of unpredictable upshots, it is seen as unhealthy and worth prevention. He clarifies that conflict is not the absence of connection between social actors, but rather, a positive and often powerful relationship connecting them (Wehr, 2010). Conflict is understood as a situation that exists between humans or groups of humans who perceive themselves as harboring competing interests, relative to several or a single issue, thing or situation. Normally, each party wants to pursue its own interests to the full, in so doing, it ends up contradicting, compromising or even defeating the interests of others (Odhiambo, 2003; Safeworld, 2010).

Culture: Is a learned system of meanings, communicated by natural language and symbols that allow groups of people to “manage social and physical diversity and to adapt successfully to their environment” (Rubinstein, 2003:30)

Gun: This is a weapon incorporating a metal tube from which bullets, shells, or other missiles are propelled by explosive force, typically making a loud and sharp noise or a piece of weapon. It may be portable or mounted. In a military context the term applies specifically to a flat-trajectory artillery piece (Oxford Dictionaries ,2014 and Dictionary.com, 2014). In the case of this study the term basically refers to portable rifles, often referred to as small arms, dominantly A-K 47.

Insecurity: This is the manifestation of conflict, which undermines personal and collective security, and is ordinarily characterized by incidences of violence (Legal aid Basket Fund, n.d).

Karimojong: The term is used to collectively refer to distinct but related sub-tribes/social groups of people inhabiting the semi-arid north eastern Uganda. In the strict sense, the term rightly applies to the main social groups of the Matheniko, Pian, and Bokora people. The other social groups it is used to refer to include the Pokot (Upe or Suk), Tepeth, Nyakwae, Jie, Dodoth, Ik (Teuso), Napore

and Labwor. Some of whom are agriculturists, others agro-pastoralist, while others pastoralists (Ocan, 1993). In this study participants were members of the Matheniko, Pian, Tepeth and Pokot, plus one Dodoth, working in Moroto.

Pastoralism: It is understood as a subsistence pattern in which people earn a living by nurturing herds of large domesticated animals. The species of animals herded vary from regions of the world, but they are herbivores, which dominantly live in herds and eat grass or other available plants. “Pastoralism is most often an adaptation to semi-arid open-country in which farming cannot be easily sustained without importing irrigation water from great distances.” Pastoralism is seen as the optimal subsistence model in these areas because “it allows considerable independence from any particular local environment.” Unlike farmers who have rare options, when there is a drought or other environmental hazards, pastoralists disperse their herds or move them on. A pastoral subsistence model reduces the risk of total loss when there is an irregular climatic pattern (O’Neil, 2011).

Peace: Is a super-value, it “has always been among humanity’s highest values and for some, supreme” (Rummel, n.d). Peace is viewed as the absence of dissension, violence or war in the West, and as calm of mind or serenity, especially in the East. In an attempt to reshape the western conceptualization, Schumann and Galtung understand peace not as mere absence of war, but by extension, as the achievement of common objectives and peaceful tasks undertaken collectively and positive peace as realization of much positive potential.

Resources: In the broader sense resources (natural resources) include everything that is derivable for human use, from any part of the universe; including those in the physical and biological spheres. In the physical sphere, they may include solar energy (sunshine), gravity as well as mineral deposits and rain. In the biological sphere, they include domesticated and wild animals and plants, including human resources too (Worthington, 1964). In this study though, resources mean stock of material or conditions that exist in natural environment that are scarce and have cultural, social and or economical usefulness for production and consumption, whether in their raw or improved states. In the same vain, pastoral resources are understood by the researcher as environmental elements that are necessary for undertaking a pastoralistic lifestyle. These include livestock, land, pastures and water.

Violence: Violence is understood as any needless, avoidable or stoppable abuse to basic human needs and to sentient life forms in general. Experientially, violence can be direct, structural and cultural. Violence reduces the real level of needs satisfaction below that which is potentially possible. “Violence to human beings inflicts harm to body, mind, and spirit”; therefore, hurting one of the three usually affects the other two through psychosomatic transfers (Galtung, 2010:312).

CHAPTER TWO:

UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE: THEORETICAL POSITIONING OF THE STUDY

2.1 Introduction

Mindful of the many, sometimes polarized attempts to describe violence, and elucidate its causes and origin, this chapter is dedicated to synthesizing theoretical insights into the possible cause/s of violent conflicts in general, but akin to customizing such insights onto the pastoral context of Karamoja. Although conflict contexts differ and understanding them requires specificity, the theoretical perspectives engaged with in this chapter are providing valuable insights for furthering understanding over varied origins, causes and dynamics of violent conflicts in both broad and narrow spectrums.

In this chapter, various explanations of violence are presented, discussed and inter-linked in a bid to establish contributory relationships between and /or among the three concepts (phenomena) of culture, pastoral resources and the gun usage, in relation to violent manifestations of conflict in Karamoja. Given the broad focus of the study (the triadic conceptual focus of culture, guns, and resources), the chapter explores various theoretical perspectives/explanations of causes of violence in the interest of building interpretational lenses for the circumstances, perceptions, motives and triggers of intractable violence that ravaged Karamoja pastoral sub-region.

This theoretical merger is grounded on the realization that, to comprehend violence, multifold lenses are necessary in order to bring together diverse perspectives, and to fundamentally probe different levels of human domains (Galtung, 1967 and Rummel, 1976). Rummel believed that “comprehending conflict requires intuition and insight, reason and logic, data and experience, ethics and morality; psychology, sociology, and philosophy; metaphysics and science and thus, reflection, theory, hypotheses, observation, interpretation, and practice”. This is a pointer to the fact that given the numerous human faculties and their interrelated crosscutting influences on individual and collective action, multifaceted approaches can best serve to aid conflict comprehension. Galtung (1967) too, advocated for considerations to “highlight the multidisciplinary character of peace research.” He believed that “the division (of peace research) into sub -, inter and supranational peace thinking underlines how all social sciences are necessary

and none is sufficient” for peace (and conflict) research. With this in mind, this study uses and draws from a number of explanatory models (theories and perspectives) of violence, in an attempt to understand and making understood causes of violent conflicts in a less understood or misunderstood Karamoja. To attain this, several theoretical perspectives are presented and discussed herein; to build a would-be grand integrated conflict theoretical perspective for explaining pastoral violent conflict behaviour. It begins with the conflict theory (which takes a materialistic-leaning perspective, which is more implicative of and associated with physical resources and power or their lack, as the most important explanation for or cause of violent conflict); the anthropological perspective (which points at materialism as a potential cause, but broadly evaluates it as insufficient to explain the phenomenon, thus posits the need to unearth motivations for violence. There too, is the ethnic conflict perspective of Horowitz and the Conflict Helix (which is a unified theory of cooperation, conflict, and its resolution- which, in its broadest sense, seeks to understand conflict at interpersonal, social and international levels. For this study however, the application of conflict helix is limited to understanding conflict at personal, interpersonal and social levels. The transcendental aspect of this perspective is when internal and external levels of evaluation are brought into the picture, along with motivational and constraint considerations, both of which can as well be internal and external. Noteworthy, detailed and more systemized operationalization of the theoretical perspectives presented in this chapter is done in chapter nine [study synthesis and analysis].

2.2 Conflict Theory/Structural Conflict Theories

The conflict theory is also referred to as ‘a structural conflict theory’. This theoretical drift has two main conceptual alignments; the radical structural theoretical orientation represented by the Marxist dialectical school, and propagated by Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Lenin, among others. The second perspective, which is the liberal structuralist conceptual orientation, is expounded by Ross (1993), Scarborough (1998) and the famous Johan Galtung (1969- on structural violence) and (1990 - on cultural violence). In general, this perspective “sees incompatible interests based on competition for resources, which in most cases are assumed to be scarce, as being responsible for social conflicts” (Donasco, 2014).

The conflict theory has its traces to political thinkers such as Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes, both of whom viewed humanity cynically (New World Encyclopedia, 2013). However, Karl Marx is famously known as the originator of the theory, which was built on an assumption that society functions in such a way that each individual participant and groups thereof, struggle to maximize their own benefits, which inevitably contribute to social unrest and change, including conflicts, violence, political changes and revolutions among others. Marx's basic conceptual understanding of conflict takes a materialist tone⁷, for he believed that "society is in a state of perpetual conflict due to competition for limited resources" (Investopedia, 2014). There are radical and moderate sub-strata of this major theoretical assumption; the radical one asserts that "society is eternally in conflict", which, in the proponent's view, is the reason for social change while the later maintain that "custom and conflict are always mixed". Understandably, "the moderate version allows for functionalism (a functionalist outlook) to operate as an equally acceptable (element of the) theory since it would accept that even negative social institutions play a part in society's self-perpetuation" (New World Encyclopedia, 2013), but also, it portrays conflict as structurally inbuilt. Building on the old version of the theory, the modern conflict theory articulates four primary assumptions which evolve around; competition, structural inequality, revolution and war as interrelated components of society, as elaborated below.

Competition: Competition over scarce resources (which could be money, leisure, sexual partners, and power among others) is at the heart of all social relationships, according to the theory. Competition rather than consensus is characteristic of human relationships for that matter.

Structural inequality: Inequalities in power and reward are understood to be built into all social structures. Individuals and groups that benefit from any particular social structure strive to preserve it, at the expense of the deprived.

Revolution: Change occurs as a result of conflict between social classes' competing interests rather than through adaptation (or compromise). Such change is often abrupt and revolutionary rather than evolutionary.

War: the theory sees war as a unifier of the societies involved, but it is also recognized as a phenomenon that "may set an end to whole societies" (New World Encyclopedia, 2013). This theory stands in favour of dominant narratives

⁷ It should be noted that the association of Karl Marx's conflict theory to 'materialism' emanates from his theory on 'historic materialism' – in which he sees 'factors of production', and control over them (in a capitalistic setting) as essentially generative of conflict, due to unequal power dynamics involved and scarce resources at the disposal of all.

used to account for causes of conflicts in many African countries (resource scarcity and oppression).

In Marx's observation, "social order is maintained by domination and power, rather than consensus and conformity". He sees society as essentially capitalistic and exploitative; one in which, "those with wealth and power try to hold onto it by any means possible, chiefly by suppressing the poor and powerless" (Investopedia, 2014).

The conflict theory also describes most of the fundamental occurrences in human history, such as the emergency of democracy, civil rights and capitalism, as efforts to control the masses rather than promoting genuine aspirations for social order and change (Investopedia, 2014). Collins (1993:290-295) summarizes the premises of the conflict theory into four proposition, that; (a). "each social resource produces a potential conflict, between those who have it and those who have not". The basic dimensions of resources implied in this proposition are; economic resources; power resources (including positions of control and influence in distributional networks of economic resources) and status, social or cultural resources; (b). potentially conflicting interests become effective in relation to the extent of their mobilization and relative to the mobilization of opposing interests. This can be done through "emotional, moral, and symbolic mobilization", and "material resources for organizing." (c). Conflict engenders subsequent conflicts - the best breeding space for conflict is conflict itself; the perennial attacks and counter attackers between the Israelis and Palestinians far well typify this proposition. And lastly, (d) conflicts diminish as resources for their mobilization get used-up. In nutshell, resources are seen at the defining edge of the inception, duration and end of conflict.

Essential to note though, the conflict theory has been used to explain a wide range of social phenomena, including wars and revolutions, wealth and poverty, discrimination and domestic violence among others. Preferably too, it was advanced to explain conflict as a result of capitalism and modernization and their associated industrialization. Evidently, most reported accounts and discourses about Karamoja highlight a number of confrontations, some of which were expansionist in nature while others exhibit alleged agitation for resources, including power/influence (Ocan, 1993). In essence, these can be said to bear some explanations from the conflict theory, however, Marx's major assumption is that the 'scarce' resources, over which

competition sets-in rest on a capitalistic setting; subjected to individual ownership, where, those who own means of production take advantage of individuals who lack them. On the contrary, the social-economic setting of Karamoja was far from Marx's conflict enabling setting; Karamoja was bordering between communalist and socialist social setting. However, still what would be richer communities (in terms of numbers and weapons of violence) often descended on less populated or less armed communities, reportedly over resources struggle. There are emerging pieces of evidence (from interviews and field data) that Karamoja's problem (cause of conflict) was not scarcity of resources and deprivation as pre-supposed by the theory, but rather, abundance and other motivations that are not necessarily material.

Noteworthy, overtime, various thinkers have generated different versions of conflict theory – (these can collectively be referred to as perspectives of 'conflict theory), most of which are primarily rolled around the same hypothetical position that different social groups have unequal power at their disposal, while they are destined to struggle for the same limited resources for survival. Such related theoretical off-springs or versions of the conflict theory include; structural conflict theory; the human needs theory, biological conflict theory, and realist conflict theory, among others.

2.2.1 Galtung's Structural Conflict Theory

Johan Galtung is an important scholar for this theory since 1969, which he later followed-up with insights on 'cultural violence' in 1990, as part of structural violence theory. In principle, he broadly categorized conflict as structural-conflict and actor-conflict (Galtung, 2009). After extensively dealing with the concepts of 'peace', 'conflict' and 'violence'; with their inclusivity and exclusivity by implication, Galtung builds his explanation for the cause of conflict or violence from triadically linked dimensions of; "influencer, an influencee, and a mode of influencing", which are comparable to; "subject, object, and action" triads, in view of a human agent. He notes though, that this concept of violence is limited, since it only highlights the interpersonal aspect of violence, especially physical violence. In his view however, violence can distinctively be categorized as: 1. physical violence (somatic influence) and psychological violence (influence on the soul and emotions); 2. negative and positive approach to influence (means of influence), where "a person can be influenced not only by punishing him/her when he/she does what the influencer

considers wrong, but also by rewarding him when he does what the influencer considers right”. 3. The “third distinction is... on the object side: whether or not there is an object that is hurt”, to which he notes that even when direct physical or psychological violence is not directed to any specific object through some actions, the threat they may create and the intention for acting, can qualify as violence. 4. “The fourth distinction... and the most important one is on the subject side: whether or not there is a subject (person) who acts.” This is particularly important to this theory since it distinguishes sources of violence as “personal or direct,” and as “structural or indirect” (Galtung, 1969:169-170).

In both cases of this manifest violence (personal and structural), persons can be ‘hit’ (violated physically) and ‘hurt’ (violated psychologically) and “manipulated by means of stick or carrot strategies”. Although in the ‘hit and hurt’ cases, violence can be traced back to real persons as actors, in the second case (structural violence) there may not be any concrete persons inflicting direct harm onto other persons in the structure. In this case, “violence is built into the structure and (it) shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances.” (Galtung,1969:171). Thus, the “general formula behind structural violence is inequality”, especially in the distribution of powers (Galtung,1969:175).

Structural violence is understood to manifest in many ways, including uneven distribution of resources and decision powers over the same, a condition that warranted Karl Marx’s criticism of a capitalist society. Galtung also understands conditions that engender structural violence as ‘social injustice’, which are worsened when the persons low on income are the same persons low in education, on health, and on decision-making powers. The fifth (5) distinction he made is between ‘intended or unintended’ violence. The importance of this distinction is more to do with the concept of ‘guilt’, which is often tied to intention as opposed to consequence of an action, although “the present definition of violence is entirely located on the consequence side” (Galtung, 1969: 171-172). Discerning this connection is important in Galtung’s view, for it exposes inconsistencies present in discourses about peace, conflict and violence studies. Moreover, ethical and some religious systems which stand against ‘intended violence’ easily fail to identify and castigate structural violence. The sixth (6) distinction is to do with manifest and latent levels of conflict, each of which can be personal or structural.

In Johan's view, the general formula behind structural violence is inequality, especially in the distribution of power. And, structural violence can best be understood by understanding the function of social structure, which roll around "ideas of actor, system, structure, rank and level". Actors are driven by goals, and they act in a set of systems of interaction (understood as a structure). In the interactions among systems, value is exchanged and distributed. He outlines six interactional pathways that maintain unequal distributions of resources in a society, which can at the same time be seen as potential framings of structural violence: "linear ranking order; acyclical interaction pattern; correlation between rank and centrality; congruence between the systems; concordance between the ranks; and high rank coupling between level (Galtung, 1969:176). Thus, such interactive pathways can be implicative of social structures that are potentially conflictual.

By studying a conflict scenario, wherein, there is the exploiter and the exploited; he extends his description of conflict as the conflict of interest (structural conflict) and conflict of values (actor conflict). Although he acknowledges that it is in every one's interest to maximize value, he does not hold values as intrinsically egoistic, but as realities defined and shaped by cultures. Thus, consciousness, the extent to which parties are capable of seeing the forces operating upon them, is central to distinguishing conflicts of interest and conflicts of value.

Galtung (2009:53-54) worked with an assumption that "in the pure conflict of interests [there is] no consciousness; no insight in the situation in which the party finds itself." That however, does not mean that the conflict does not exist; it exists only that it is objective not subjective. He does not assume that the parties have no consciousness at all, as living entities they should have it, but "whatever consciousness they have is false since they do not see their own situation." This happens "through the penetration of the consciousness of the underdog, through the mystification of the structure for him/her, that he/she is led not to see the obvious. This can take place at the level of the person, of the group, and the society". He compares this exploitation-penetration mechanism of the top dogs to the underdogs to what parents do to the consciousness of the children they dominate; what the teachers do to the students they dominate; what managers do to the workers they dominate, and what centre nations do to the periphery nations they dominate. In his view, actor-oriented analysis of conflict exposes values somewhere in the actor's consciousness or sub consciousness, revealed in attitudes and/or behaviour, while structure-oriented analysis exposes asymmetry built into the structure. And, the asymmetry defines interests of two types: the interest

in maintaining advantage (on the part of the exploiter), and the interest in getting out of disadvantage (on the part of the exploited).

Galtung's structural theory of conflict makes attempts to account for beliefs and practices that may have blindly or unconsciously condoned, tolerated or even promoted conflict and violence in socio-cultural manifestations of daily life of pastoral communities in Karamoja. In the spirit of the theory, the seemingly traditionally acceptable (conflictual) behaviour, as those described in chapter five, can be seen as undercurrents of a structural paralysis. Important in this theoretical submission, is the realization that structural violence seem to operate at the unconscious level of most of its victims. This may suggest that what many Karimojong may defend as culturally acceptable behaviour, for example; the less violent raids that were overseen by elders (in the far past), the warrior tradition during good harvests, and pride that comes with confronting wild animals or 'the enemy', are indirectly and unconsciously influenced by the structural theory of conflict/violence.

2.3 Materialism and Motivations: Anthropological Explanation of Violence

Anthropology as a discipline is centrally interested in understanding a human being as a rational, physical, psychological/emotional, spiritual and social being. But also, the origins of violence in human societies and why. For long, anthropologists attempted to seek explanations for conflict and war by studying communities with high propensity for war and violence (see Sponsel, 1994, Wiberg, 1981, Fabbro, 1978 in Kelly, 2007), later on, it was discovered that knowledge of the distinguishing features of warless or peaceful societies also have useful insights for understanding the origin and causes of violence (conflict and war) (Haas, 1990; Kelly, 2007). In his book *Warless Societies and the Origin of War*, Kelly (2007) uses characteristics of warlike societies to deduce characteristics of warless communities by way of their opposites. He notes that it is currently typical that, "every theory of the origin of war necessarily forecasts the characteristics of peaceful society" and potential causes of the war/ group violence (Kelly, 2007: 11). This section highlights some theoretical perspectives that can be said to belong to the grand anthropological explanation of cause of violence. I then discuss how materialistic and motivational perspectives are anthropologically understood as important conduits for understanding causes of violent conflicts.

2.3.1 Biological Conflict Theory

The biological conflict theory can as well be understood as the innate theory of conflict. It asserts that conflict is inherent in all social interactions, and among all animals, including human beings. It argues that human beings are animals, being a higher species of animals notwithstanding. Therefore, humans would naturally fight over things they cherish, sometimes ending up making them obsolete. Arguably, since human (our) ancestors were instructively violent beings, and since we evolved from them, we too must bear destructive impulses in our generic make-up. Thomas Hobbes, St. Augustine, Malthus and Freud are all classical biological theorists.

Polarization is shown in the difference between “expected need satisfaction” and “actual need satisfaction” of human nature (Davies, 1962:6 cited in Donasco, 2014). Where expectation does not meet attainment, the tendency is for humans to confront those they hold responsible for frustrating their ambitions. This is the central argument in Ted Robert Gurr’s Relative Deprivation thesis (Donasco, 2014).

2.3.2. Realist Conflict Theoretical Perspective

The realist conflict theoretical perspective originates from classical political theory and it shares both theological and biological doctrines about an apparent weakness inherent in human nature. It thus traces the roots of conflict to a defect in human nature, which is seen to be selfish and engaging in the pursuit of personalized self-interest, defined as power. Morgenthau (1973:4) and Walt (a realist after him) argue that the imperfection in the world, namely conflict, has its roots in forces that are inherent in human nature. It stresses that human nature is selfish, individualistic and naturally conflictive. And, just like individual persons, states will always pursue their national interests (defined as power), and such interests will come into conflict with those of others/ other states, making conflict inevitable. Peace practitioners therefore, are advised to prepare to deal with the outcomes and consequences of conflict since it is inevitable, rather than wish there were none. This theory justifies the militarization of international relations and the arms race. The theory has been accused of elevating power and the state to the status of an ideology, hence having a tremendous impact on conflict at the international level (Donasco, 2014). To perspectives like this ones, peace educationalists like Carlsson (1999) caution that our views on aggressiveness of human nature influence our responsiveness to conflicts to a certain degree. If we believe that there is a biological instinct of destructiveness, we tend also to believe that wars or destructive conflicts are inevitable, which, consequently breeds passivity.

2.3.3 Human Needs Theory

The position of the human needs theory is similar to the proposition of Frustration-Aggression and Relative deprivation theories. Its main assumption is that all humans have basic human needs that they seek to fulfil, denial and frustration of which could affect them to the extent of leading to conflict (Danesh, 2011). This theory is advanced by scholars such as Abraham Maslow, John Burton, Marshall Rosenberg and Manfred Max-Neef. Basic human needs, as famously referred to by Abraham Maslow, consist of physical, psychological, social and spiritual needs. He proposed a hierarchy of needs beginning with the need for food, water, and shelter, getting up to advanced need for safety and security, then for belonging (love), self-esteem and, finally, personal fulfilment and self-actualization. Denial of these needs can force victims of the denial to resort to violence in an effort to reclaim or protect these needs (Valenzuela, 2005).

John Burton, one of the pioneers of the human needs theory, did not believe that violence is coded in human nature. Instead, that conflict is likely to primarily be caused by the need for identity, recognition, security of the individual and group identity, and other human and societal values. Contrary to perspectives that see a human as an ‘aggressive man’; ‘power-seeking man’; a rational ‘economic man’, or ‘Hobbesian,’ ‘Lockean’ or ‘Freudian’ man, Burton sees a human being as a ‘necessitous man’:- a being primarily driven by needs and necessities. Thus, at “every social level, man’s natural and universal needs are the fundamental first causes of conflict and disputes, from the simple to the complex” (Shodhganga, n.d:36-37; Sandole, et al., 2009).

2.3.4a. Materialist Explanation of Violent Conflict

Clayton Robarchek, in Haas (1990: 62) argues that the most commonly advanced anthropological explanations of conflict in “pre-industrial societies are of materialistic and deterministic ‘final cause’ arguments that see human behaviour as ultimately caused by and explainable in terms of the material ends that they serve.” He highlights two strands of this kind of thinking; 1, the ecological functionalism, in its facet of cultural materialism championed by Marvin Harris and; 2, the socio-biological strand. Remarkably, although these two strands have points of disagreement, they share fundamental assumptions about human behaviour. The most important (shared)

assumption is one that the sole cause of warfare (as a form of human behaviour) is “limited to the material realm; to things such as food, mates, land or other scarce resources.....rather than in the realm of ideas and ideals, beliefs and the value, purposes and intentions, that many anthropologists call culture”. It is recognizable that this assertion is an attempt to associate material outcomes of conflict or warfare/ violence to its causes.

The materialist explanation of conflict/violence takes more of a scientific criterion, which upholds belief in objectivity, measurability, verifiability and other characteristics which qualify any knowledge as scientific. Noteworthy though, in many anthropological speculations; ethnological, historical and archaeological speculations about the causes of human social behaviour, including war/violence, the technical and methodological conditions used only allow for the collection of material data alone. Unfortunately, although this poses limitations, it is upon this basis that a theoretical proposition that only material factors are relevant to the explanation of human behaviour is developed. This forms a basis for a scientific epistemological leaning that “only material causes are real” (Robarchek (1990: 69). Harris⁸ (1964:91) in Robarchek (1990: 70), advises that the best approach for understanding human behaviour should be by “... linking together separate portions of the behaviour stream without invoking the actor’s subjective understanding of what his ‘purpose’ or ‘goal’ is supposed to be”. In fact, even behaviourism, which is a materialist form of psychology, is premised on a similar reasoning, that since only observable behaviours are measurable and objectively verifiable, all other elements are irrelevant. This does not only mechanize human behaviour, but it also deprives humans of the definitive feature of rationality as a prerequisite to action.

The statuses of material conditions proposed as causes of human behaviour are of two kinds; initial conditions and final conditions. In the final conditions/states, causal explanation of some causal experiences is sought and found in its effects. The challenge that presents with this argument is the fact that it is possible for the actors to act when the end result is totally outside the realm of their consciousness. In a bid to extend this explanation into the motivational realm, taking the Semai case, it is argued that “understanding human behaviouris impossible in the absence of motivational information”. Moreover, “final cause explanations are unacceptable in principle in

⁸ He is a leading theorist of materialist anthropology, who argues for sole consideration of material factors in understanding human behaviour including warfare or violence.

the absence of human intentionality” (Robarchek, 1990:70). The challenge Clayton Robarchek has with the materialist explanation of violence/warfare is, final causes are functional goals outside the consciousness of the actor who allegedly makes decisions. In addition to final causes, also initial conditions (as causes) are stressed. This looks at avenues of material gaining as the material determinants or influencers of warfare. The assumption here is that having identified a necessary condition for human behaviour is to have explained that behaviour, which is not the case (Robarchek, 1990).

2.3. 4b. The Motivational Explanation of Violent Conflict

The pre-occupation with materialistic explanation of violence disallows focus on non-materialist explanation of violence, something that does not go well with Clayton Robarchek. He is convinced that “any theory on human behaviour must necessarily presuppose a theory on motivation”; even if it does not centralize it, “it must at least incorporate some assumptions about why people behave at all” (Robarchek (1990: 62). Important to note, even though materialistic explanations of the origin of violence are critiqued for leaving out motivation, they implicitly bank on motivation of some sorts. For instance, it is acknowledged that most materialist approaches have ‘implied motivation’, building on an assumption that “human motivation (for action) is material maximization” (Robarchek (1990: 62). In this assumption, “more is better, and more of everything is always sought, whether land, meat, women or off springs, (thus) if the striving results in a conflict with others, the material ends are its cause” (Durhan, 1976; Chagnon and Bugos, 1979; Biolsi 1984; Price, 1984; Ferguson 1984b; Barnett, 1983 in Robarchek, 1990). In an attempt to establish how the materialist-determinist model of conflict explanation works, a conflict case between individuals and groups, one involving access to important and scarce resources was found informative for this study. The case also fulfilled the assumptions of the socio-biological strand, since “it involved people who were kin and non-kin, and who were very much concerned with their own and their descendants’ wellbeing” (Robarchek, 1990:63). The dispute in view was among a specific people who “were deciding whether or not to plant trees, whether or not to cut down others’ trees, whether or not to support their kinsmen and whether or not to shoot their opponents with poisoned darts, as some feared (this) would happen”. Firstly, this shows that human beings are not blindly driven into violence by the urge to gain materially solely or alone. Although scarcity of land can be taken in this case as a material factor in play, “no accounting of the material

correlates of these people's actions can truly explain them unless it addresses these decisions and the intentions and goals of those who made them." Robarchek (1990) suggests that understanding this dispute and (other scenarios of group violence) requires putting material aspects "into cultural and social contexts, attempting first of all to comprehend how the situation was conceptualized and defined by the involved" (Robarchek, 1990:63). This understanding is a caution to refrain from judging human actions from an outsider's lenses alone, as well, it is an indication that even material influences of conflict/violence could be a 'secondary cause' or an outcome of factors that are immaterial. Therefore, there lies subjective and social meanings of people's actions, playing in multiple and multilayered contexts of their occurrence. Robarchek (1990:63) understands people "as active participants in their own destinies, goal-directed decision makers in pursuit of particular goals and objectives." They are seen as rational agents, who "pick their ways through fields of options and constraints, many of which are indeed biologically and environmentally conditioned." Distanced from a materialistic conceptualization of motivation, Clayton Robarchek conceives motivation as involving "all the forces, factors, options and constraints, both intrinsic and extrinsic, that influence the choices people make. It affects these choices both in terms of the goals they strive for and the purposes they intend, and the means they employ in their achievement" Robarchek (1990:64).

In his attempt to understand a motivational context of the Semai community, known for non-violence, and in trying to highlight the difference between his motivational approach to understanding violence and the materialistic-deterministic approaches of other anthropologists, Robarchek Clayton examined the concepts for the image of reality as defined by the people in question. This endeavour began with a materialistic consideration of human needs and their satisfaction. However, in this equation the relevance of 'needs' increases with their transformation into 'wants'. This transition is important because, it is through this that 'needs' become relevant to actors; when they are given mental recognition/awareness. In principle, mental recognition/awareness of these 'needs', is what elevates them to the level of 'wants'. They become wants when deliberate attempts to desire them and demand for them is at play. As such, "unrecognized needs.....cannot give direction to the behaviour of a human being or society" (Robarchek, 1990: 67). He notes though, that "once cognized, a material want is still not a determinant of behaviour, but merely one of factors (perhaps a very salient one, perhaps not) in a complex motivational equation". In an example of the Semai people, he noted that an image of a

person, whether the self or the other, is partly determined (a person will be what his culture defines), therefore major determinants of self- perception will relate to assessments that others make of those individuals and that they make of themselves, in terms of culturally-defined values. This will be “guided by fundamental values and assumptions of society...people come to evaluate themselves largely in terms of these cultural values which thus incorporated as components of individual self-images, developed and maintained by the continuing feedback of daily interaction” (Robarchek, 1990: 67). Reportedly, the images/concepts of the self, the group and of the world are basically “incorporated into personalities of individuals of communities as fundamental assumptions about the nature of reality. They are thereby components of motivational complexes (action strategies used to operate in such a world-view) and channel individual behaviour choices into non-violent directions” or violent directions in case of violent societies (Robarchek, 1990:68). The collective behaviour of individuals generated, in turn constitutes the learning environment of the next generation, this can be an environment where children have opportunities to learn to use violence or to be more peaceful.

2.4 Theoretical Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict

Although most authors on conflict and violence in Karamoja do not strongly ascribe ethnic influence to it, ethnicity is not totally out of the picture. Some sources (Ocan, 1993; Lorelle, 2007; Center for Conflict Resolution, 2011) show that even when cattle raiding was the major driving force for the violence, these antagonisms majorly happened along tribal or ethnic lines. The Center for Conflict Resolution (2011: 6) noted that “the most common occurrences of violence are (were) attacks between different tribes, the army and warriors but sometimes there are attacks within members of the same community”. This section of the theoretical framework is interested in discerning theoretical perspectives on ethnic conflict, for their potential fit/relevance in explaining contributing factors violent conflicts in Karamoja sub-region of Uganda. Both instrumentalist and primordialist theories of ethnic conflict are reviewed, but before that, extended attention is given to Donald Horowitz’ theory of ethnic conflict, which highlight propositions from both theories.

2.4.1 Horowitz's Theory of Ethnic Conflict

Horowitz (1985:XI) cautions that “the importance of ethnic conflict, as a force shaping human affairs, as a phenomenon to be understood, (and) as a threat to be controlled, can no longer be denied.” He however notes that lack of acceptable definition of what conflict is, is one of the limiting factors for theorization about ethnic conflict, since most definitions tend to describe it as ‘struggle, strife or collusion’, in ways that distinguish it from the phenomenon of ‘competition’. He is also concerned that while some definitions qualify conflict as a “struggle for mutually exclusive rewards or the use of incompatible means to a goal”, not in all cases of conflict rewards are intrinsically mutually exclusive, or the means used always incompatible. Thus, he prefers an understanding of conflict as “a struggle in which the aim is to gain objectives and simultaneously to neutralize, injure, or eliminate rivals”, wherein, the nature and incompatibility of interests and means used remain open to investigation according to contexts (Horowitz, 1985:95). Theorization about ethnic conflict, in Horowitz's view, belonged to academic endeavours for understanding the process of modernization, and the broader academic move toward class analysis.

He noted that “ethnicity has often been studied in the context of modernization”, proposing three ways in which ethnic conflict had been viewed; 1. “As relic of an outdated traditionalism, doomed to be overtaken by the incursions of modernity”; 2. “As a traditional but usually stubborn impediment to modernization.”; 3. “As an integral part – or even a part of the process of modernization itself.”(Horowitz, 1985: 96) The first view was widely shared by proponents of modernization theories, who hoped that the foundation of ethnic allegiances would soon be dissolved at the on slaughter of impending modernistic institutions, practices and values in newly formed states, on grounds that they would lose importance in the modern times. It was hoped the educated elites, urban dwellers and civil and military sectors of the new states, would be the most ‘distribalized’ faction of society, playing the distribalization role, going forward. Nevertheless, the strength of ethnic affiliations, even among the elites and status groups, serve to dismiss ethnicity as a primitive obsession yet to be dealt a blow by modernization forces. It has been surprising that “the very elites who were thought to be leading their peoples away from ethnic affiliations were commonly found to be in the forefront of ethnic conflict.” Upon this revelation, “it is wondered whether ethnic conflict is the result of an extraordinary persistence of traditional antipathies so

strong that they can survive even the powerful solvent of modernization” (Horowitz, 1985:97-98). It would be this to explain persistent ethnic allegiances even among modern elites and modern countries.

While many ethnic conflicts are said to reflect or to be more likely in situations of ancient enmity (where antagonism existed in the past), there are notable cases of artificial and purely new (without known past outstanding) hostilities. The former is typified by examples of the Sinhalese and Tamil kingdoms of the ancient Sri Lanka; the Mende and Temne in pre-colonial Sierra Leone, and the Maronites and Druze in the present-day Lebanon, among others. It can be argued therefore, that old hostilities can be given fresh significance easily. This way, “history can be a weapon, and tradition can fuel ethnic conflict”, but several ethnic conflicts cannot rightly be explained by reference to past rivalry (Horowitz, 1985:98).

Horowitz further notes that some scholars were increasingly viewing ethnic conflict as a by-product of modernity. This however, sends him asking, if this were true, how are pre-modern ethnic conflicts accounted for, unless ‘modernization’ is not understood as a time-bound concept (therefore referent to all changes) or unless ‘ethnic conflict’ is narrowly understood as limited to the modern times! Borrowing Karl W. Deutsch’s concept of ‘social mobilization’, overly understood as “an overall process of change, which happen to substantial parts of the population in countries which are moving from traditional to modern ways of life” (Horowitz, 1985: 99), ethnic conflict and modernity can be seen as linked. Social mobilization involves practices like exposure to or embrace of mass media, changes in literacy, residential options (from rural to urban), occupational changes and increased involvement in mass politics, all of which play down the commitment to traditional ways of life. In Deutsch’s view, ethnic conflict is a product of something comparable to “a race between the rates of social mobilization and rates of assimilation”, whereof, “the proportion of mobilized but unassimilated persons of a society are the first crude indicator of group conflict” (Horowitz, 1985:100). This way, social mobilization is understood to foster competition, especially in a competitive social environment created in the modern setting. “It is the competitor within the modern sphere who feels insecurities of change more strongly and who seeks communal shelter in tribalism” (Horowitz, 1985:100). The educated and elites in general are believed to gather collective support from their ethnic societies, in the

interest of advancing their positions for benefits of modernity. He notes that modernization theories are premised on a belief that “people’s aspirations and expectations change as they are mobilized into the modernizing economy and polity. They come to want, and to demand more; more goods, more recognition and more power.” Important too, “the orientation of the mobilized (masses) to a common set of rewards and paths to rewards means..... that many people come to desire precisely the same things.” Subsequently, “men enter into conflict not because they are different but because they are essentially the same”; they are more alike - at least in the sense of harbouring the same wants (Horowitz, 1985:100). This way, modernization is said to promote conflict.

The pathways (theories) that draw a relationship between ethnic conflict and modernization processes, evolve with convergence around two themes: The role of ambitions of elites on the one hand, and “the role of differential modernization of ethnic groups in fostering conflict”, on the other hand. Rather than playing the detribalizing role earlier anticipated, the modern middle class “often furthers its interests by invoking ethnic support”. Therefore, elites harbour interests related for benefits that can accrue from modernity. Donald wonders though, if interests of elites and their pursuance are generative of ethnic conflict, why should non-elites render them their support and, why are class interests strongly reflected in ethnic tensions?

To respond to this, it is important to note that modernization theories assert that benefits of modernity; educational and economic opportunities, are often not evenly distributed among ethnic groups. It is this uneven distribution that breeds tensions, between, among and within groups. This explains how and why this happens, it is because some groups (rather than all) gain a lead in the competition for the rewards of modern society, and “the social classes that emerge tend to overlap and reinforce ethnic group boundaries, thereby making ethnic group confrontation more intense” (Horowitz, 1985:101-102). A complimentary explanation can be give too, ethnic groups that are wealthier, more educated and urbanized tend to be envied and feared, on grounds of their new positions, opportunities and benefits in the new system of socio-economic stratification. Donald argues that differential modernization of ethnical groups is a very “useful starting point for analyzing the collective psychology of ethnic conflict”. However, differential modernization is neither completely monopolized by one particular group, nor is it the only way social stratification happens. As much as modernization theories of explaining ethnic conflict put emphasis on

“modern elites, modern stratification system and the modern sector of developing societies in general, these theories pay inadequate attention to the motives of non-elites, whose interests and benefits from the modern sector are at best weak (Horowitz, 1985:102).

2.4.2 Primordialism and Instrumentalism: Theoretical Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict

Discourses about causes of ethnic conflict characteristically fall under two fundamental theories: primordialism and instrumentalism (Afa'anwi Ma'abo Che, 2016). In the view of the former, ethnic conflict fundamentally springs from differences inherent in ethnic identities (Vanhanen, 1999; Esteban, Mayoral, and Ray, 2012 in Afa'anwi Ma'abo Che, 2016). Ethnic identity is perceivably ascriptive and more or less genetic; “assigned at birth, inherent in human nature, and passed on genealogically from generation to generation.” This perspective suggests that ethnic ties are inborn in human beings and humans have deep natural bonds that connect them to some people (with whom they share ethnic identity) “and produce natural divisions with others” (of different ethnic identities) (Dodeye, 2015).

According to the primordialist perspective therefore, “ethnic identity is fixed across time” and it is a function of ‘common blood’ shared within each ethnic group, which, according to this perspective is the basis for anticipating hospitality and cooperation among the in-group and hostility and conflict against out-groups (Horowitz, 1985 and Afa'anwi Ma'abo Che, 2016). “Because ethnic differences under primordialism are ancestral, deep, and irreconcilable, ethnic conflicts arise inevitably from ‘ancient hatreds’ between ethnic groups and ‘mutual fear’ of domination, expulsion or even extinction” (Geertz 1963 in Afa'anwi Ma'abo Che, 2016; Horowitz, 1985). By underscoring differences in ethnic origins and identities as the primary cause of inter-ethnic hatreds, fear, and conflicts, primordialists tend to suggest that, ethnically heterogeneous societies will unavoidably lock into ethnic conflicts (Vanhanen, 1999; Afa'anwi Ma'abo Che, 2016). This theory proves insufficient to elucidate conflict dynamics in the Karamoja sub-region.

Instrumentalism: In the instrumentalist school of thought, ethnic identity is “neither inherent in human nature nor intrinsically valuable” (Varshney, 2009:282). And, ethnic conflicts do not emerge directly from differences in ethnic identity. Rather, they arise “only when ethnic identities are politicized or manipulated to generate political and socio-economic advantages for an ethnic

group at the cost of depriving or neglecting other ethnicities” (Posen 1993; Collier and Hoeffler 1998; 2000; 2004; Chandra 2004; Ruane and Todd 2004 in Afa'anwi Ma'abo Che, 2016). In Collier (2002)’s view cited in Dodeye (2015:148) “ethnicity is perceived as a strategic basis for coalitions that are looking for a larger share of scarce economic or political power and so it is a device for restricting resources to a few individuals.” It can safely be argued that instrumentalists point to factors outside individual human being, and other than ethnic identity for explanation of ethnic conflicts. These include, security concerns (Posen, 1993); competition and inequality (Gurr 1993a; 1993b and 1994 in Afa'anwi Ma'abo Che, 2016); and greed (Collier and Hoeffler 1998; 2000; and 2004 in Afa'anwi Ma'abo Che, 2016).

Collier (2002) proposes that greed is far more a stronger cause of ethnic conflict than grievance. Therefore, ethnic conflicts are products of rational decision-making processes, by rational agents over scarce resources, often driven by interests and aims of political leaders for political and economic gains or deliberate manipulation by inciting or encouraging ethnic violence. Other underlying interests can include cleaving for prosperity, power and security (Dodeye, 2015). On top of explaining the role of elite manipulation in ethnic conflicts and violence, the efficacy of this theory also lies in explaining why some ethnically disjointed societies choose to fight or to cooperate rather than fight. Arguably, such decisions depend on calculations of the costs and benefits of either of the options, and, when the cost of cooperation is more than the perceived benefits, ethnic conflicts tend to be unavoidable (Walter, 1997 in Dodeye, 2015).

Generally, instrumentalism can be said to provide a more robust theoretical perspective by its recognition of “the relevance of political and socio-economic structural dynamics to account for temporal and geographical variations in the occurrence of ethnic conflicts” (Afa'anwi Ma'abo Che, 2016). Important though,

While instrumentalism highlights elite manipulation or politicization of ethnicity as the foundational source of grievances which induce ethnic conflicts, it cannot independently explain why people easily, cooperatively, and effectively mobilize along ethnic lines. It must draw on the wisdom of primordialism in recognizing the power of ethnicity to perpetuate a sense of ‘common blood’, a sense of shared values, shared interests, shared threats, and most fundamentally, a sense of

solidarity, which is indispensable for collective action (Afa'anwi Ma'abo Che, 2016).

Both the primordialism and instrumentalism theoretical perspectives are useful for the analysis of conflict in Karamoja (see Chapter 9). They both highlight a double-edged and compatible reinforcement of violence based on the influence of modernization, at least at level of use of modern weaponry and appeal to ethnic undertones and traditional rivalry among Karamoja pastoral communities.

2.4 Conflict Helix: The Integrative Model for Explaining Causes of Violent Conflict

In its far-reaching lay-out and by its linkage to explaining war and revolution, this model is a pathway to theorization about causes of violence. Rummel (1976) asserts that nearly all traditional explanations of violence begin as conventional explanations that try to account for the observed regularity of various forms of violent events in such isolated entities as gender, class, or ethnicity. These in turn are seen as related to differences in biology, psychology, sociology and culture among others. In his view, most traditional explanations of violence of this nature remain partial and incomplete since they separately emphasize different yet related manifestations of violence, without ever trying to provide a comprehensive framework of explanation, which takes in the full range of interpersonal, institutional, and structural manifestations of violence (Rummel (1976). A similar gap can also be found in the conflict theory propounded by Karl Marx, for it attributes the birth of conflicts to institutional and structural establishments, without giving attention to personal and interpersonal influences.

An observation is made that most of the one-faceted explanations of violence are likely to emphasize behavioral expressions of persons to a relative exclusion of the institutional and structural expressions and vis-versa (Rummel, 1976). A similar disposition is traceable in conflict explanations of the conflict theory, which underscore institutional and structural contributions to conflict to a negligible inclusion of personal expressions. From the theoretical point of view, down through other elements of this study, I intend to avoid a single-dimensional approach to understanding conflict causes/contributors and trends in Karamoja, thus a justification for application of progressive theoretical lenses, from simple outlook (conflict theory and ethnic conflict theory) to more complex anthropological explanations of violence (which are a

combination of human needs, biological, materialist and motivation-based explanations), with shades of complementarities from the integrative model of understanding violence.

Noteworthy, interpersonal explanations of violence can be classified into one of the four categories, partly based on the cause of individual violence as either '*internal*' or '*external*', but also on the particular orientation assumed about the relationship between '*human nature*' and '*violence*'. Habitually, explanations of general violence are associated with theories that situate the origin of violence within the person or within the social environment in which persons live. Ad hoc/mainstream/one-dimensional explanations of general violence instead, constitute those theories that explain violence in one or two fundamental ways: Firstly, in terms of '*properties*' or '*processes*' that are either external or internal to individuals - internally motivated and externally motivated, respectively. By implication, in both circumstances people are stimulated to act violently, but from different ignition points. Secondly, those that explain violence in terms of the failure, absence, or lack of internally or externally built/grounded constraints to inhibit or prohibit people from acting on (driven by) their violent impulses. These constraints are typically represented as self-control (when internal) and social control (when socially generated) (Rummel, 1976).

What the two explanations of violence have in common is the tendency to reduce violence to one primary variable or set of variables. "These one-dimensional explanations of violence often acknowledge the importance of other variables, but rarely do they factor them into their examinations and analyses" (Rummel, 1976). While some mainstream explanations of violence "maintain that humans are naturally inclined to act violently, requiring little in the way of stimulation or motivation", thus violence is seen ultimately as a product of failure in constraint or control mechanisms (see biological and realist theories of conflict), other mainstream theories "maintain that humans are naturally inclined to conform to the rules of custom and order, requiring much in the way of stimulation or motivation, and that violence is, ultimately, the product of unusual or 'deviant' impulses" (Rummel, 1976).

From the dualistic perspective above, violence assumes a subjective outlook; seen as normative in one case and deviant in another. Dialectically though, it is arguable that it may very well be the case that some forms of violence are normative and deviant at the same time; "depending on

whether or not they are sanctioned or unsanctioned as culturally and socially appropriate or inappropriate” (Rummel, 1976). This submission highlights the existing judgmental divergence with regard to the cultural practice of cattle raiding (in its traditional form); depending on the cultural inclusion or exclusion of claimants in the Karimojong world-view.

It is upon realization that theories about violence are partial, that Rummel adopted an integrative perspective of explaining anti-social and violent behavior, in which he sees violence as ‘*internally motivated*’ and ‘*externally motivated*’ as well as being ‘*internally constrained*’ and ‘*externally constrained*.’ When applied to understanding violence, this epistemologically highlights a complexity of human interactions that cut across both behavioral motivations and cultural constraints, existing inside and/or outside the person who may be conflictual. And, when compared to the earlier and more traditional, ad hoc, and one-dimensional explanations of violence, the integrative explanation of violence is a model that is conceptually extra-dynamic and multi-dimensional in nature (1976).

In my attempt to understanding the violence in Karamoja, I employ the multi-cellular model of understanding violence (integrative explanations), which give attention to the dynamic relationships between the internal and external influences of violence and in some instances to non-violence; the push towards (motivation) and pull away (constraints) from violence/nonviolence. The application of these pathways to understanding violence and/or nonviolence recognizes the accumulative nature of human behaviors, the reciprocal consequences of abusive and non-abusive behavior, and the integral relationships between events, situations, and conditions in the course of one’s personal and social experiences (Rummel, 1976). The theoretical rigor herewith, seeks to create understanding of the circumstances around motivation towards violent behavior or constraint from it. This will be key to situating the roles of the research variables according to external (resources and guns) factors and internal (cultural) motivation and constraint factors.

In conclusion, the theoretical perspectives above represent different levels of understanding and explaining possible causes of conflicts and violence in specific contexts, with increasing levels of complexity from the first to the last perspective. Use of these perspectives progressively address the gaps in the prior perspectives, as the researcher digs into what lays beyond what may be

apparent. This is important for understanding social-cultural influences since value systems have a formidable influence that cannot be understood in a material form.

CHAPTER THREE:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents research methods and techniques of inquiry and data analysis that were used during the study. The study adopted an interpretivist research leaning, in which meaning-making is central to understanding of cultural and social realities. This qualitative research leaning, best-suited the nature of my study because of its interest in understanding causal relations and influences among pastoral culture, use of guns and access to or protection of pastoral resources in Karamoja in the context of violent conflicts therein. In this study, content and thematic data analysis techniques of primary and secondary data were used.

This chapter discusses various aspects of the research process, which include; the research design, study population, sample size, sampling techniques, data collection methods and corresponding research instruments, as well as quality control method, data management and processing, research procedure, data analysis and limitation to the study.

3.2 Research Design

Using Ader, Mellenbergh, and Hand, (2008)'s understanding of research design as a framework a research process takes and given the nature of the study, a qualitative research approach and a case research design were employed. Resultantly, the methods and techniques of data collection and analysis were qualitative in nature. This research approach allowed for deepening understanding of the research problem at hand through triangulation of data collection methods, data sources, and analysis techniques. These included; interview, focus group discussion and observation, and primary and secondary sources, respectively. Triangulation of data collection methods, sources and analysis techniques enriched the study. Also, they aided the process of meaning-making over the literature, narratives and perceptions about violent conflicts in Karamoja in relation to how pastoral culture, resources, and availability of firearms played out in its manifestation. A theory-guided idiographic case study was used, which aimed at describing, explaining, interpreting, and understanding a case as an end in itself by way of process-tracing, rather than as a vehicle for developing broader theoretical generalizations or interventions (Levy, 2008).

3.3 Area of Study

Conceptually, this study aimed at generating understanding of how the pastoral culture of the Karimojong and Pokot people (who antagonized overtime between and among themselves), their pastoral resources and the use of guns contributed to violent conflicts in the area. Geographically though, field study was conducted in Moroto, Nakapiripirit, and Amudat districts of Karamoja sub-region in Northeastern Uganda. These three districts were chosen because of their centrality in the manifestation of violent conflicts in the sub-region; the inhabitant communities of the Matheniko, Tepeth, Pian and the Pokot, were important parties to these conflicts in the three districts, both as victims and as perpetrators.

3.4 Study Population

The population of the study constituted of purposively selected persons from the three districts mentioned above. These included community members of the Matheniko and Tepeth communities (dominantly found in Moroto District), the Pokots of Amudat District and the Pian of Nakapiripirit District. Participants constituted elders, community leaders, religious and government leaders, former warriors and senior citizens of these communities (both male and female). The rationale for this constituency is that, these categories of participants had rich experiences and knowledge⁹ of the culture, values attached to pastoral resources, and possible explanatory inputs for use of guns in pastoral Karamoja and the violent conflicts that engulfed the area. Important too, most of these participants were key players in these conflicts; at least in their resolution or as their victims. According to the provision results of Uganda's National Population and Housing Census (2014:20-21), the three districts of study have a total population of 385,988; with "111,758 in Amudat; 104,539 in Moroto and 169, 691 in Nakapiripirit".

⁹ It is typical of communities in Karamoja to respect elders, and this was common in many other traditional communities in Africa and beyond (Mkutu, 2004). Mostly, elders were/are old men and women of good repute and wide influence; known and respected for their leadership abilities and wealthy (possession of livestock- in the context of pastoral communities of focus). They are seen as unifiers and voices of communities; mostly men of wide knowledge and experience. By having knowledge of Karamoja and experience of violent conflict as indicators of potential research participant, I refer to experience as immediate physical presence at the occurrence of a phenomenon (violent conflict), either as a victim or as perpetrator or exposal/observation of its effects in its immediate aftermath (not more than 3 days after its occurrence). What I consider as knowledge is the possession of information relevant to my study (which could be possessed from various sources such as oral tradition, narratives, reading, observation, reflection, collective memory and experience among others) and the subsequent ability to share/explain this information.

3.5 Sampling

Sampling is the procedure a researcher uses to gather people, places, objects or items to study (Kisilu and Tromp, 2011). Normally, the assumption for sample size selection is that the elements chosen for a study would consequently be representative of the study population. Thus, findings are regarded richly informative and/or conclusive about, at least to a section of a population studied, in case of qualitative studies like this. Study participants were selected by use of non-probabilistic (purposive) sampling and stratified sampling. Purposive sampling was done for interview and Focus Group Discussion participants. Stratified sampling was done on already purposively selected participants, stratified according to age and gender; putting participants of different age brackets and different gender in different focus discussion groups.

3.5.1 Sample Size

Since it is a qualitative study, the absolute determining factor of the number of participants was the point of saturation. Although, it had been planned to involve up to 175 participants, in total 93 persons from the three districts participated in the study, most of whom were natives of Karamoja, selected on the basis on knowledge of Karamoja affairs and experience in Karamoja¹⁰, some of them (7 participants) where interviewed for at least twice. Forty-four (44) respondents participated in Focus Group Discussions, with help of research assistants, who doubled as translators. These constituted 7 Focus Group Discussions (FGD); 3 of which had 7 participants; 3 had 6 participants, and 1 had 4 participants. Three FGDs were conducted in Moroto, two in Nakapiripit and Amudat districts, respectively. Forty-nine (49) participants were interviewed; 19 in Moroto; 14 in Amudat and 16 in Nakapiripirit Districts. Moroto District had a bigger number of participants because it was at the centre of the violent conflicts in many ways. Firstly, it suffered most from cattle raiding attacks by the Turkana pastoral community between late1950s and 1970s. Secondly, since it had/has a military barracks, in the eyes of the communities, it symbolized the governments' aggression - many of which would be organized in Moroto. Moreover, it is this barracks (armory)

¹⁰ The 'knowledge' referred to as the basis for selection of research participants constituted in one's knowledge of the cultural beliefs and practices around cattle acquisition and protection, pasture and water use and protection among the Karamojong, and one's ability and disposition to recount and explain events and happenings in the sub-region, that are related to the study. Such individuals were chosen on the recommendation of community members or with regard to the trust their communities have in them. For the 'experience' indicator, interest was in people, especially natives, who directly experienced or participated in livestock raids and counter raids, bought, possessed or used guns, or were affected by such practices.

from which local communities accessed guns in 1979 is in Moroto. In total, the study interfaced with; 3 religious leaders; 13 elders; 8 local community leaders; 27 former warriors; 26 other female community members; 10 other male community members; 6 government leaders. These categories ensured a wide capture of views from the population of study.

3.5.2 Sampling Techniques

Sampling techniques are parts of research that indicate how objects of study are to be selected for study and observation. In this research, purposive sampling and stratified purposive sampling techniques were used. This study used a purposive sampling technique, which is ideal for selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study through in-depth interviews (Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2006; Kisilu, and Tromp, 2011). With the employment of this technique, informative elders, former warriors and local leaders were identified for in-depth interviews. Stratified purposive sampling on the other hand, was used for categorization of the identified rich-in-information cases of the study into sub-groups that were engaged in focus group discussions. This allowed some representativeness in terms gender and age. The use of this technique aimed at finding out how the sub-groups of male and female, victims and perpetrators perceived their reality.

3.6 Research Procedures

It is important to note that the researcher had spent reasonable amount of time in the sub-region prior to the field study, which gave him an exposure advantage. This helped him to identify potential participants in the study with ease (together with research assistants) as well as having an easy entry point.

Before conducting the field study, the researcher secured introductory letters from the University for Peace's Ethics Committee and Uganda Martyrs University, introducing him to the leadership of the three districts. Appointments with various interview and FGD participants were done earlier, a day or two prior to the activity. Three research assistants, one in each district and natives to the communities, constituted a field-data-collection team.

3.7 Data Collection Methods and Instruments

Both primary and secondary sources of information were used. For the primary information, interview and focus group discussion methods were used, while secondary information was got from various sources as indicated in section (3.7.2) below.

The three research objectives/questions of the study were operationalized in research tools in the following ways. Each specific objective/ research question was used to form a theme. Each theme was seeking the relationship between concepts/phenomena of the study. These themes are; culture and violence in Karamoja; resources and violent conflict in Karamoja, and Guns and violent conflict in Karamoja. Under each theme, questions that addressed the link between concepts under investigation were formed. The concept of culture was interrogated by reference to indicators of culture, ranging from the language system (words, proverbs, and folktales) that are referent to peace, conflict and violence; indicators of presence of social conflict controls or their absence; to inquiries about Karimojong socio-cultural characterization of peace, conflict and violence, including the symbolism associated with body tatoos of warriors. Cultural value, social distribution of the practice of cattle raiding and its cultural justification were interrogated too under this theme. The second theme was operationalized through questions that invited participants to name the means and environmental constituents that are indispensable for their survival; the resources which are susceptible to forceful capture and why; why people raided, ambushed, and killed; and about seasons of the year (wet or dry) that aggravated violence. The third theme was operationalized through questions about the when, where, how, whom and why the gun use, and how conflicts looked like before use of guns in the sub-region. Benefits and impacts of the gun were as well asked about.

3.7.1 In-Depth Interviews and Interview Guides

In-depth-interview method and interview guide (tool) were used to collect data about the three specific objectives and their corresponding research questions. An in-depth interview research method is a one-on-one data collection method, which involves an in-depth discussion of specific topics between the interviewer and the interviewee (Hennink, Hutter and Ajay, 2011). The in-depth interviews of this study focused on the contribution of culture, resources and guns to violent conflict manifestation or causation in Karamoja. Liamputtong and Ezzy (2006) describe in-depth

interviews as focused interviews, unstructured interviews, and active interaction interviews among others. Since the study required seeking information about both collective and individual experiences and explanations, in-depth interviews were helpful in generating information on people's views about the triad of factor/variables.

3.7.2 Focus Group Discussion and Focus Group Discussion Guide

Focus group discussion is an interactive discussion method of data collection, used to gather information from members of a clearly defined target audience, composed of six to eight or a little more members, who focus on specific issues for a period of 60-90 minutes (Hennink, Hutter and Ajay, 2011; Rennekamp and Nall, n.d). I opted for focus group discussions because they are very instrumental in bringing forth a broad range of views on a research topic, in a single session of interaction (Hennink, Hutter and Ajay, 2011). And, this method of data collection is suitable for exploring topics about which “little is known or where issues are unclear”, thus allowing for the generation of a range of views about the study at hand in a single event of data collection. It also enables vast data collection in a short period of time (Hennink, Hutter and Ajay, 2011:138). In this study, focus group discussion method somehow helped in the clarification of polarized views. Focus group discussion guides were used as instruments.

3.7.3. Secondary Source

Secondary sources of information have been used all through the research process. Secondary sources used include text books, encyclopedias, journals articles, internet sources, reports, conference presentation papers, and research papers. These have been reviewed before the field work study, to inform the study, but also during the writing stages of this research report.

3.8 Data Management and Processing

As a management strategy, research tools we developed in such a way that would allow easy and systematic data collection, that is; interview guides and focus group discussion guides were structured according to themes to enable the correlation between themes and the data collected for easy follow-up. While in the field, the researcher recorded interview sessions and focus group discussion proceedings. This insured full acquisition and retention of the information given by participants for processing and analysis thereafter. To complement phone recordings, brief notes-

taking was employed, this was helpful in taking note of the key emerging issues for clarity and probing. The information collected through recordings was transcribed at the end of the field research and the findings were integrated in this report.

3.9 Data Analysis

Being a qualitative research, content analysis was used, especially for secondary data. Content analysis is done by two forms of qualitative analysis, that is; pre-determined categories mostly for secondary data and interpretative themes for primary data (Step, 2009). By pre-determined categories the researcher decides what he needs to know; then he looks through the data and records relevant events, findings and perceptions according to pre-determined categories. This information is presented according to categorized themes, corresponding to objectives of the study. Content analysis means analysis of the contents of interviews or focus group discussions in order to integrate emerging responses to the themes of the study. Content analysis was done by use of interpretative themes, which is “one way of doing the analysis by reading and re-reading documents or transcripts of interviews to identify themes that appear relevant to the program (study)” (Step, 2009). This is applicable to both primary and secondary data. Such themes are helpful for exploring new areas or uncovering obstacles / problems that the researcher may not have been aware of. In the same way, findings/responses from the field were aligned according to the themes, while helping to open new lines of thinking about the Karamoja realities.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Aware of the nature of the study, it was important for me to put certain ethical considerations in perspective. Attempts were made to make sure that all respondents; for focus group discussions and in-depth interviews, be identified and informed of my wish to engage them in discussions early enough. Although my intention was to inform them two days earlier, this was possible with very few participants. Most of interview participants were informed a day before, while most FGD participants were informed early on the day of the activity.

All the discussions and interview sessions were conducted with clear consent of the participants at the beginning of each session, and were assured of confidentiality in the reporting of the research findings. As already noted above, the researcher introduced himself to the local authorities in

various areas of the study, by forwarding copies of the letter of introduction from his place of work, and talked to them. Important too, I have strictly considered anonymity of the participants' names during data presentation and discussion.

3.11 Limitations and Challenges of the Study

The biggest limitation to the study was language barrier. This was expected since the researcher does not speak Ng'aKarimojong and Pokot languages, which are the local dialects used by the native communities centrally studied. Because of language limitations, unmediated casual interactions with many of community members and participants were impossible.

Poor communication facilities and poor transport network were considerably a big challenge. This made access to participants hard and expensive. Many participants lack mobile phones for easy contact, while others live deep away from town centres where network services are limited or unavailable and public transport means are non-existent. This explains why it was not very easy to make two-days-notices / appointments with participants as had been planned.

3.12 Delimitations of the Study

The language barrier challenge was resolved by acquiring field research assistants (three), who helped me in the identification of potential participants (purposively) and making first contacts for appointments. In many other occasions, when study participants could not use English, research assistants helped with interpretation during interviews and focus group discussion sessions.

To address transport and communication challenges, with the help of research assistants, physical contact was the way out, rather than communication by phone or e-mails. For easy access, we used Boda boda motorists (motor cycle taxis) to reach out to research participants in rural areas of Moroto, Amudat and Nakapiripirit Districts.

CHAPTER FOUR: SELF IMAGE:

PEOPLE, CULTURE AND THE TALE OF VIOLENCE IN KARAMOKA

The Karimojong always know how to revenge, but they don't know how to start [a conflict]. You cause a problem to them, they will not forget [leave you], even the Pokot, even all the pastoralists; remember we are pastoralist (Interview, an Elder in Moroto, November, 2015).

4.1 Introduction

This chapter synthesizes the socio-cultural worldview of the participants, whose building blocks are the tales of their experience of life and violent conflict in Karamoja. This chapter is important for contextualizing the discussion, by especially bringing to the fore how people view themselves in a bigger context of the sub-region. It builds a rich foundation upon which subsequent chapters (which link-up the three central factors/concepts of the study- culture, resources and guns, and their contributions) are placed.

Participants in this study made a demographic composition of the Pian, Matheniko, Pokot, Tepeth, Iteso, Dodoth and one Italian respondent. As noted in chapter three, non-Karimojong (Iteso and the Italian in this case) participated on the merit of their long-term stay/work among communities of Karamoja. Their inclusion was important to blend the insider's view of reality with the outsider's outlook, in a way that would generate some level of objectivity. The study was undertaken in three districts of Napakapiripirit, Amudat and Moroto. More specifically, data was collected from Moroto municipal council, Katikekile, Rupa, Nandugent, and Tapach sub-counties of Moroto district; in Amudat town council and Loro sub-county in Amudat district; and in Nakapiripirit town council and Namalu sub-county in Nakapiripirit district.

4.2 The Karimojong: People as they Understand Themselves

The statement at the beginning of this chapter has two loose implications, that; 1. there is culturally imbedded (or expected) level of restraint from initiating senseless or baseless violent conflicts or 'hit and hurt' (using Jahan Galtung's words); 2. upon being subjected to any form of aggression

(to which they are not the primary aggressors), the Karimojong in particular, and pastoralists in general, assume a natural right to revenge – as a way of addressing a wrong/ an injustice.

In the strict sense of the word, among the Karimojong people, the word Karimojong is more referent to the community/people than a geographical area. From the colonial period, down through the subsequent post-independence governments, the term has been re-shaped to become Karamoja, but also to change the context of its initial reference from ‘a community or communities’ to ‘a geographical area’. A Pian participant noted that:

Karimojong, as a community, we have three ethnic tribes; we have the Bokora, Matheniko and the Pian. We all speak Ng’akirimojong and share similar culture; we are only divided geographically. And these names; the Bokora, Matheniko and Pian are totem-like sort of names.....We are identified by certain things; like the Pian, we are identified by this grass called ‘emulia’ (see the picture - Appendix II). I don’t know how it is called in English (Interview, Naparipirit town council, March, 2015).

In an attempt to know the symbolic significant of ‘emulia’ to the Pian people, the participant answered;

...I don’t know, but I want to believe that there should be some purpose for it.....the way I grew-up, I want to believe that there should be a reason for it. Because for the Bokora, theirs is cattle; the cow is like their totem, and then the Matheniko look at (have) the giraffe. We have 19 clans of the Karimojong; you can get a Katapit in Matheniko, you can get the same clan in Bokora and in Pian. You find that it is distributed in all the groups. The word ‘Pian’ comes from lightening, you know our community believes that Ng’ipian are gods, when people came here, they found when this place had a lot of lightnings, so it was named a place of lightening (Interview, Nakapiripirit, March, 2015).

He further noted that;

.....each clan has its own norm. For example, my mother comes from the Katapit clan,when they are shaving a child’s hair,... there are clans which shave all the head, others leave a small line of hair but in my mother’s clan, they would shave half way and leave the other half way – that is, if you’re a child. For them to shave the whole hair it has an implication, which I don’t know, whether it was a

misfortune to them, I don't know. But because you find it is a culture to them, it is normal to be identified with part of the hair removed and part of the hair left. And, it symbolizes a Katap; a child of Katap. I don't know if you removed all of it what meaning it would have, but I believe it was for the purposes of identification. There are also clans where children will never be shaved hair. From when they are born, to when the child is 6 to 10 years, they will not be shaved. The hair remains not until a misfortune happens in this home, for example if somebody dies; an elder, a relative, or somebody who is elderly or respected, then they start shaving the hair. There are clans, when death happens at home; they make fire while crying for the dead. But there is another clan..... , they don't, people are silent; people are quiet, people are there in silence. But others, of course in the past, what used to happen, if a person dead, it is a bad omen in Karamoja, and they did not burry, this is before and during the colonial period, and even after. They would just go and throw the body in the wilderness or go and put it in a thicket. They would put the body in a thicket or bush and they leave it there. That was a general problemand then, if they were in a given kraal (settlement) they would move away and leave the body in that kraal, but now it is all changing. Some elements of modernization are coming, now they (we) burry (dead) people. But I want to believe that these were related to ignorance and the blind aspects of the culture, they were bringing all these tendencies..... Either to fight, avert a misfortune or to bring something better. But Christianly speaking or openly speaking, when you look at these things you find that they have no value (Interveiw, Naparipirit, March, 2015).

Important to note, the discussion by the participant above is limited to three groups out of over 14 social groups that live in Karamoja as a geographical area. The 19 clans mentioned are different from the 14 social groupings I am alluding to here. There are two issues at stalk here. First, although the three groups are referred to as 'ethnic groups' by the participant (in the first sentence), it could have been for lack of a better term with which to communicate this reality or even, for easy identification/understanding. But also, because these 'social groups', the Matheniko, Bokora and the Pian, are often referred to by many non-Karimojong as 'ethnic groups'. This notwithstanding, what confirms that the three are not as distinct as ethnic groups; they speak (not

just similar) but the same language and share similar norms as he explained. As much as each of the three social groups is symbolized by a different environmental element (*emulia*, *cow*, and *giraffe*), they all belong to the 19 clans, the same way many clans belong to the same ethnic group/tribe elsewhere. Moreover, he makes it clear that, their differentiating elements (*emulia*, *cow*, and *giraffe*) are totem-like sort of names; in other African societies (like among the Baganda of central Uganda), totems are of clans which belong to the same tribe/ethnic group.

The second point is the lack of mention of other communities/groups of people, who are known to belong to Karamoja sub-region, but are not recognized by this particular participant as part of the Karimojong community. These include the Pokot, Tepeth, Jie and Dodoth, Labwor, and the Ik communities among others, some of whose members participated in this study. This second concern has two conduits; 1. From the local outlook, the Karimojong community is smaller, both population-wise and geographically, than the Karamoja known to the rest of Uganda. 2. By simplistically using the term 'Karamoja' to refer to the whole of northeastern Uganda, some of the sub-region's communities (or their identities in this case) are consigned to the region's majority, who do not necessarily recognize them. Noteworthy, among the 14 social groups in mention, the Pokot are the most distant from the Karimojong identity-wise, since they were forced into Uganda following their displacement by colonial settlers in Kenya in 1938. This community was at conflict with Karimojong too.

A fifty-six-year-old elite noted that;

I know Karimojong are being associated with customs; taken as people who have a lot of customs. There are very many cultural things there; even I don't know some of them. When you go to the elders they try to teach you, I cannot claim that I know all. But there are many things there if you go deep, especially when there is a ceremony. You really find that people have to face you with certain things, there are certain things you have not to do; you must do this one first before you go onto the other one. Those things are very common, and I cannot say I know everything. But I grew-up in the Karimojong culture, where people believe so much in cattle, they do some small agriculture; subsistence farming but most of them associate their life with cattle and the culture rotates around cattle.....If there is any ritual to be done, it must involve the killing of animals and that is very common. If they

are going to perform rituals to get a blessing or to avert anything wrong (a curse for example) which may be affecting them, they kill animals. They always believe in killing animals to avert them and they perform certain rituals there along. Everything rotates around cattle, even when there is a problem of rain (lack of rain), or may be something bad has happened, they want to slaughter a bull and appease the gods to bring them rain, something like that..... So, anything, either bad or good, the animals are used to appease the gods or to avert what has happened, of course accompanied by the use of sorghum for the food.in the harvesting time they could use it (sorghum) for drinking, but besides, they would kill animals and people enjoy (eat). That is what we do, the Karimojong use animals; cattle to sustain their life or in bad situations they will use it to avert bad situations. So...without cattle, there is no Karimojong. It is very common now that all families have cows; if you do not have, you are really suffering and not enjoying life well (Interview, Nakapiripirit town council, March, 2015).

As notable in the submission above, it is typical of young and middle-aged elites to distance themselves from the culture. Firstly, because they have been way from their communities in pursuit of education, but also, because they feel these practices do not ogle well with the new values they have adapted. The participants underlines the centrality of cattle/livestock in the subsistence, social and religious life of the Karimojong people, including addressing cosmological puzzles. A Pokot elder, just like many Karimojong and Pokot participants did, portrayed the Pokot people as culturally more embracive of others peoples who come to their community. He noted that:

Pokot people are socially non-discriminative. All tribes live with us here in peace; you can live anywhere among us. We have a belief that 'whoever you share water with, is part of you', we are cautioned not to discriminate. If you try to do something bad, like hurting or killing such a person (who lives among you in peace), you have committed a sin – it is against God's will. We have a belief that an enemy is the other one beyond your borders, but the one who lives among you, is part of you. (Interview, Elder, Amudat town council, October, 2016)

In an elaboration of their socio-cultural reality lived in Karamoja, by a community which is not Karimojong, a Pokot¹¹ elder explained that;

God created human beings to live in peace, but human beings have resorted to fighting. Since I was born, while my father lived we continued to fight. We went on fighting, fighting and fighting Up to the recent past, fighting was still going on. When the white man (he meant Europeans, the British more particularly) came, they started telling us 'no, you people should stop fighting, you should not fight each other'; even our fathers tried to inform the people to stop fighting. I grew-up in conflict, even our children have continued with fighting.

By now, Karimojong have managed to kill five of my children (his own sons). And our children (the Pokot or children of the Pokot) have also killed so many Karimojong. When President Museveni came, he continued with the message of the whites; telling us that 'you people you should not fight'. During the time of the Whites, communities here (in Karamoja sub-region) did not have guns; it is only the Whites who had guns then. The first people to have guns in the region were the Turkana. The Pokot people acquired guns after the overthrow of Amin- when the Karimojong who acquired guns first began to sell them to the neighbouring tribes (communities). They also started killing people, now the conflict started. They continued to sell guns. When the issue of disarmament came during the regime of Museveni, they decided to take away the illegal guns. During the disarmament process, I was involved in guns' collection. And I was among the elders who helped in the process, Lomiat (another influential elder in the Tepeth community) also collected from Tapac (a sub-county in Moroto District). I collected from Nakonyen, my kraal, 150 guns. I don't even want to see a gun now; if I see it I report it to police immediately. I am now a peace-maker; telling (talking to) people about peace, in Uganda, Kenya and elsewhere. I have travelled widely preaching the message of peace. Communities and organizations keep calling me to talk to people. I don't want anything else but peace. As you have heard, I am a peace-

¹¹ Pokot and Karimojong people have violent encounters for long now, and it is not uncommon that they still refer to each other as 'enemy'.

maker- I have been to Kaabong, Kotido, and all other districts of Karamoja region, in Teso sub-region, across to the side of Kenya, including Turkana, all preaching peace..... (Pokot Elder, Interview, Loroo sub-county, Amudat District, April, 2015).

In the submission above there is where conflict/violence is seen as a phenomenon experienced by at least the last three generations of the Pokot people, according to the narrative of the participant above. This is evident in his mention of how his father, himself and his children to have all lived through violent conflicts. This is further underlined in his assertion that by the time of the coming of the colonial British, violent conflicts were already ongoing, something denied by some Karimojong research participants. Nevertheless, this understanding is challenged by his other foregoing explanation that..... *“the Pokot people acquired guns after the overthrow of Amin- the Karimojong who acquired guns first began to sell them to the neighboring tribes/communities. They also started killing people, now the conflict started.”* The period when this happened is 1980s. The conflict he alludes to that ‘started’, is one characterized by gun violence.

What needs to be understood here is that, pre-colonial conflicts were fought with arrows, sticks and other rudimentary tools, unlike the confrontations of 1980s where guns were at play. This is a conflict (of arrows and spears) that attracted the white man’s caution. In principle he is talking about two forms/levels of violent conflict; one involving the use of locally made rudimentary weapons, while the other characterized by the use of foreign and automated weapons - guns. In confirmation of this, a Karimojong elders confirmed that *“yes, in 1961, the (colonial) government disarmed us with spears and arrows; spears that we were using to protect ourselves and animals from wild animals”* (Interview, Nakapiripirit, November, 2015). In another interview though, some elder located the first violent encounters between the Pian and the Pokot to have occurred in 1940s, not later, which puts in question the reference to three generations of violent crashes.

Another point worth attention is the fact that, to date Karimojong and Pokot people still refer to each other as enemies (or at least former enemies), if they were enemies by 1980s when guns were accessed from Moroto barracks and sold, one wonders why the Karimojong would have sold guns to people they call enemies! This could be understood by reflecting on the fact that, when the Turkana raided pastoral communities between 1960s and 1970s, they did so to both the Karimojong and the Pokot. In a way, both communities were victims of the same (common)

enemy, and they both needed guns to counter the threat. In other responses presented in chapter eight, another Pokot elder situates the violent use of guns among the Pokot people in early 1960s, a period reported to have been the time to Turkana raids on various Karimojong communities. Moreover, he as well mentions the Turkana and the Dodoth as the pioneers of gun-aided raiding on the Pokot community. Important too, the generational violent conflicts mentioned by the Pokot elder above should have existed between the Pokot and Turkana (rather than between them and Karimojong), since the two belonged to colonial Kenya, and were traditional neighbors. Moreover, the Pokot are said to have been displaced into Uganda by the aggression of their neighbours (the Turkana) and by the influence of the colonial settlers (Mkutu, 2004 and Ocan, 1993).

By virtue of the participant's narrative, by the time the Karimojong accessed guns, both communities had a unifying factor that had trivialized the sense of 'enmity' between them (if it had been there before). In any case, it is evident that the worse-off animosity grew later when both communities were already armed; it was in fact aggravated by the presence of guns in both communities; in the struggle to balance of power.

Also, the narrative above underlines the fact that the influence of elders can be a good tool for bringing about lasting peace, the same way their influence had perpetuated conflict and violence. Seeing Saul turning in Paul (a great warrior turning into a peace lover and maker) can fundamentally change the attitude of the community towards peaceful living. In fact, although the current relative peace in Karamoja is attributed to disarmament, the influence of elders paid a central role in the effectiveness of the disarmament process, after six previous attempts.

As reported by Charles Ocan (1993), the Pokot came later (in 1938) to Uganda, after being displaced by the British settlers from Kenya. Field research findings expanded that narrative by adding the Turkana in the equation, they are said to have taken over the land of the Pokot in Kenya, displacing them into Uganda. On wondering whether, violent fighting occurred in the sub-region even before the Europeans came, another elder replied; *"Yes, people could fight but they were using spears and shields."* He further explains that *"there was a gun called 'Ntarath', this was releasing one bullet at a time- this was the first gun brought from Turkana, they were using it there,* (the participant does not remember the year in which this kind of guns was brought to Karamoja). *They have a mountain there called 'Moruathigara' in Loima, the Pokot were there, when they were chased from there by the Turkana who had guns, they kept running this way (to*

the current Pokot land in Uganda). *When these people (Turkana) acquired guns, they started chasing the Pokot and the Rupa People (the people of Rupa- Rupa is a sub-county of Moroto district- it is habited by mostly the Matheniko and the Tepeth). The Matheniko went there (to Moroto district) and the Pokot came this way (to Amudat district), they (the Turkana) finished our elders because of guns, that is why we shifted this side.*" (Pokot Elder, Interview, Loroo- Amudat, June, 2015).

In fact, the *Suk* people, currently known as *Pokot* or *Puchon*, are occupying land that was formerly for the Karimojong. So, there is a tendency among some Pokot people to avoid this narrative. When asked about their origin, some Pokot feel like their legitimate and rightful belonging to where they are is being challenged. As reported above, they have in the past conflicted a lot with the Turkana over traditional rightful ownership of land in Western Pokot county of Kenya. In an attempt to solicit views about who Pokot people are and their origin, the discussion below alludes to the sense of questionable legitimacy:

Question: What is the origin of the Pokot People?

Answer: *Why are you asking me funny questions! I am asking you now; where are you from?*

Response by the researcher: I am a Muganda from Buganda, but our great grand ancestors; the Bantu, are believed to have come from Cameroon, west Africa, long ago to East African areas, including central Uganda where I come from. Similarly, Karimojong say they came from Abyssinia, the current Ethiopia, so I seek to know where the Pokot people originated or came from.

Response by the Participant: *Okay, now I get you...The Kalengin are one, one big group. That is, the Kalengin of Kenya, the Sabiny and the Pokot, when they came, the Kalengin remained there (in Kenya), the Sabiny remained in Sebie (an area laying south of the current area of the Pokot), the Pokot continued coming, coming up, when they reached Moruathigara, in the side of Loima (District of Kenya), they stopped there. Their coming (here to Amudat) I think they came from this side (of Loima). (Translator's input/clarification - according to the way I understand, he has never followed that well, he did not ask his parents about our origin before). What he is telling you is that one group, which is the Kalengin, the ancestors of the Pokot remained there, others continued, some remained in Sebei,*

the rest came here. Our people have stayed in Loima, but began dividing themselves. We have people who are in South Sudan, they are called Merile – those people are Pokots, they diverted the way (Pokot Elder, Interview, Loroo- Amudat, June, 2015).

Although the narratives above look at Karimojong and Pokot as separate inhabitants of Karamoja (which confirms literature), the narrative below does not only locate more communities in the sub-region, but also makes them more connected. A Pian participant informs that;

I would think that the people of this region are divided into sub-groups; the Dodoth, Jie, Bokora, Pian, Matheniko, and the Pokot could be part of it and the Labwor people, but according to the division of areas. But I would categorize the first groups as the Karimojong..... the people of these groups belong to a certain area and have special norms no matter what other people think. We are also proud of our language, unique is our language,even when we were described by other people negatively because of this issue of cattle raiding, we are still proud to be Karimojong because of our language and the unity among us. I want to tell you that if something happens to a person, if something happens to a person in the next village, all of us will run there to rescue or to know what has happened. Of course, over the years, with the intrusion of foreign culture, some of these things are disappearing.

Another thing I am proud of is that for we don't have those institutions like kingship or kings, we better have elders. We respect our elders, these elders could be fortune tellers, could be rich people in terms of having cows, these elders could be according to certain age-groups. These elders are respected, but decisions are made as a group not just one person. For us the Karimojong we say the truth- if there is something to say, they will say it, these underground things; under the desk whispering, no.... However, sometimes, this leads us into trouble, because we just speak openly. We decide together, it is not only the leader/s who do. We say let us decide together, if something is good for the community... So, these are the things we are proud of as Karimojong (Community leader, Nakapiripirit, April, 2015).

Unlike the first categorization of Karimojong, this participant makes an impression that the Jie of Kotido District and the Dodoth of Kaabong District belong the Karimojong community, and this is the common view of the public. Although the Jie and Dodoth together with other communities are externally viewed as one, they have outstanding differentiating factors, but still share many social-cultural aspects, given the said same origin, their long interactions and intermarriages.

The submission highlights some of the key aspects that matter to the socio-cultural world-view of the communities of the sub-region; the traditional high regard and respect for elders, which is now dwindling. The participant above highlights, what one of the research participants (Italian by birth) said about the Karimojong, who looks at them as being “*straight forward*”, while recognizing that they can be judged by others as being “*stubborn*”. This disposition underlines the aspect of ‘priding in revenge’ which was severally mentioned by participants, as will be noted in following discussions.

4.3 Modeling a Shepherd Among the Karimojong: The Past and the Changing Environment

By using abridged sections of the narratives presented in chapter five, this section draws a clear picture of how a shepherd would be shaped in the traditional Karamoja and the changing socio-cultural environment. Since culture is a way of life, above all, looking at ways through which a community nurtures its citizens provides useful insights into sanctioned and allowable human behavior (motivations and controls) and the values that inform and justify them.

We [male] started becoming shepherds at six years old, beginning with goats’ kids, then to calves and to cattle at the age of 10 to 12; this was in the past, it is no longer happening these days. In the past, boys would take care of animals until they are 18, 20 or 25 years old. If you don’t have your own animals you keep grazing animals [of your father or family], when you reach 25 years of age, they marry for you a woman [this implies, your family would contribute the pride wealth required by the bride’s family]. In the past, you could not marry until you’re initiated into manhood [undergone situations that challenge their way to maturity, as will be seen below]. Even our women could not go to men when they are not given away by their parents. It was protected against by our culture, because if you’re spoilt like it is done these

days, tomorrow you will become a mother or wife. If they are spoilt, who will become good mothers?.... Our parents would train us in many aspects; even eating, we could not eat while standing, you had to sit down. They would tell us, no, no if you eat while standing, you will bring a far woman, whom you don't know their family and culture. For us, you should be marrying near where you know, so that you don't marry in families which are cursed.

Below the age of 25, people would be regarded as children - they would say, you have just come from your mother's breast- you don't know how to care for people; to care for a family. And our parents did not want us to marry many wives because of the hunger of 1700s or 1800s which made us to split; the Iteso and the Karimojong splitted then.

The Langi¹² [people] were Karimojong; those of Kenya [the Turkana people] were Karimojong. What made them to split like this is the drought. The weather here is not really consistent. It can take even two years without anything [rainfall]; so, the people spread into other areas. So, we were cautioned not to marry many wives, because our grandfathers had experienced that problem.

So, that is why they waited until you're mature and initiated. Today I am seeing things mixed-up; our generation is getting surprised with everything that is happening! I wonder; is it education which brings things like this? Is it education that brings children to get spoilt like this? Is it education that leads children to kill us? Is it education that makes children to disobey? Is it the anger, is it the pride? Is it mixing with other tribes? We are confused, we [the natives/Karimojong] don't know which line to take to be respected. If you come to Moroto we are just abused, we are just helpless people, we are just squatters within our district. People pay us residues; people pay us only for carrying firewood. Now other tribes have captured everything; they do all the businesses here, we don't know where we are driving- we have not sat down to realize what our mistake is (Interview, Elder, Moroto, November, 2015).

¹² Another tribe occupying some areas of northern Uganda, in the neighbourhood to Karimojong.

The account above has several highlights; from how a typical Karimojong boy child began (at least in the past) to undertake what identified him as a shepherd and a man. Similar to many other interviews, the age of 5 and 6 are cited as the entry-point-age into a pastoral lifestyle, which is a life-long journey. But of course, one's orientation into this career begins at birth, by virtue of the surrounding environment; natural and social. The traditional pastoral setting was so permeating to a level of creating an impression that the reason for one's existence is to nurture/ take care of livestock.

In another highlight, the participant notes that as much as elders and parents had control over a particular growing generation, violence and other external influences undermined their power and have influenced many shocking changes in Karamoja. Early marriages, which is understood by many outsiders as a culturally supported phenomenon is cited among the shocking changes in sub-region by the participant above. A general sense of powerlessness and loss of control over their affairs and destiny, on the part of the natives, is also pronounced in the input above. This is associated with/to a number of factors including general loss of or reduction in the cattle population (which was their major means of survival, source of pride and social status), increased number of non-natives buying or sealing off land (which is traditionally communal), majority of the emerging businesses and formal jobs are owned and done by non-natives, respectively. These, coupled with historical marginalization in political, educational, social and economic spheres force a big number of the native population see themselves as a deprived community.

In a quest to know how one raises to responsibility and respectability, a participant's explanation below is particularly informative:

*When you finish all the levels of facing life, that is; you fought, you managed a group, or by good luck you went for a raid and you succeeded, and you came back (alive). Then they will tell you, now, go for initiation. Now after 'Asapana' (initiation), you are made an elder. **Can one initiate even at 25 years as long as you graduated through the ranks?** Yes, yes, but of course in decision-making you will still be low, there are people who go ahead of you, when there are certain*

events, there are those who go to shrines (Interview, Youth, Moroto, November, 2015).

There was a tendency throughout the data collection process, especially among the youth to confuse initiation “asapana”, which is communal and collectively done, with ‘appreciation of elders’ by the youth, which is an individual initiative. According to many elders, initiation (asapana or asapan) is not a prerequisite for marriage. It is only a prerequisite to becoming a decision-maker (an elder) in a community. In another account, another participant gives a more detailed account of the journey to shepherdship;

...when you're above five years of age, you begin to look after the kids for the goats, then you graduate to calves and goats and then to cows. Now, you're being guided by those who are older than you are. All those processes are actually preparing you for warlike life. In the first place, you become resistant to weather conditions; whether it is dry season and extremely hot, or wet season and extremely chilly. You begin developing resistance in yourself when you are so young- this is done with an aim of developing resistance in preparation for you manhood..... In between childhood and adulthood, at the age of sixteen, eighteen, or twenty there, you're exposed to fights amongst your fellow age-mates, this is fighting in whatever ways, including wrestling and use of sticks. All these are to prepare you for future challenges of conflict, so that you don't fear - you're meant to be strong. This became like a cultural kind of procedure. A child grows from one age-set to another age-set to real maturity, when they will now call him a man. At the age of sixteen to twenty, you have to be respected; you attain this by killing wild animals like snakes. You begin with snakes, if you succeed in killing dangerous venomous snakes, next time you go to a leopard, if you succeed in killing one, that is already a brand on you.....After this you have to graduate from this, by the time you kill a leopard you do it alone and you don't kill a leopard using a spear, you use sticks. You're trained while fighting to protect the other stick and protect yourself from the crews of the Leopard.....

When you graduate from that, you go to hunt for a lion: you go for the following animals; for the lion, you go with your group - you now form a group. You go to

hunt a lion, rhino, an elephant and buffalos. These are the four big animals. These are killed by a group, each contribution made matters, but the one who finishes it, they always say, he did kill the elephant. All these are stages of graduation to manhood that make conflicting (violent) behaviour built from childhood.....Even traditionally, raids were actually planned and seasonal. And, they were planned for specific time and reasons (Interview, Community leader and Elder, Moroto, June, 2015).

Violence or its induction are identified as key ingredients of the nurturing process of a shepherd in Karamoja. This in a way, signals (or can be interpreted) that a good shepherd is one who outplays others in the performance of violence, which is learned and experimented at various levels of growth. The underlying explanation for this is the general outlook to survival in semi-arid ecologies as naturally hostile. The training undergone is therefore, meant to make them fit for the task of protecting cattle in this hostile environment. Taking the anthropological understanding of behavior as culture¹³, the nurturing of a Karimojong pastoralist and the manifest behavior that ensues are unforgivable reflections of the Karimojong culture, as an embodiment of values, aspirations and motivations, which explain or justify their behavior.

Many participants acknowledge that life losses meaning and is inconceivable in Karamoja without cattle and sorghum. For example, the two are regarded to be very important in the narrative below;

... because sorghum resists drought than maize. The life of Karimojong is sustained by cows, (because) when it becomes dry (when a dry season comes), animals migrate to wet places; cows follow water. But if you leave them (cattle) in one place, drought will finish them. During the dry season, when this place gets dry, it dries completely; water disappears. We also survive on sorghum when it rains; our rain is seasonal but sorghum fights on (Interview, community leader, Moroto, June, 2015).

¹³ See. Preserve Your Article, Available at : <http://www.preservearticles.com/201102184075/define-culture-and-discuss-its-features.html>, (accessed on: 22nd February, 2016).

An elder however believes that their current situation of drought is because of God's disappointment with them; "... for all these years(of violence) we are cursed; unless we go back to reconcile with God, because we asked for war, which is not good for our life – unless we come together to reconcile with God- God is the main key to everything, until our people come together and then reconcile in the traditional way- if all of them could accept that they made a mistake by asking our grandfather for war", they think then, their situation can change.

4.4 The Elders Factor: How to Become One

Learning from the foregoing, the 'elders' factor in Karamoja is an important one. In principle, especially in the traditional setting, they provided leadership, determined resource distribution and use, settled disputes and dispensed justice (Mkutu, 2004; Ocan, 1993 and LABF, n.d). In the narrative below, what qualifies someone as an elder is comprehensively elaborated. He confesses however, that he does not know the genesis of age-sets structure, which apportion social leadership responsibility to elders.

I cannot tell you the genesis of it, but when I grew-up I found when Karimojong have what we call age-sets; age-groups or generations. My grandfather belonged to the age-groups called 'Ng'imoru' (the mountains), and this group/generation lasts for between 50 to 70 years, before they give power to the next generation; to their children.....this happens through initiation; for you to qualify to become an elder, you must have undergone initiation. The Bantu; the Bagishu also circumcise, when you don't circumcise, even if you're very old you're not a man yet, you're a child. But for us, we do it through the killing of bulls, and then they (elders) perform certain ceremonies. You kill a bull, the elders make you wear certain regalia, they prepare (adorn) your head, they prepare (adorn) it with some kind of clay, then they put a feather (ostrich feather) at your forehead and other rituals. I have not yet done it, but I am going for it very soon. So, the old men through that initiation and as they age, come to be respected. And, they (initiations) are always done through the assemblies (big/communal gatherings). For example, if this is a nucleus at the centre and there comes another one, then another one, then comes another one here (herewith, spheres of influence are related to concentric circles). For example, the age-group of those of my grandfather and his brothers, it is the older ones in their

family who initiated first. With my great grandfather, the first wife was the mother of my grandfather, but that old man had five women; but among the five women, the mother of my grandfather was the first wife. As he married on, the children of the first wife, when they become of age and they are initiated, come here (at the centre of the inner nucleus/first circle). So, the family of my great grandfather and the children of his first wife are here at the center; the next wife in the next (outward) circle and the third one like that. As they initiate,.... now I am using an example of a family, those children of the first wife of my great grandfather have to first complete..... Then they go to the next wife, they initiate after, but as they are ageing and getting out, as far as my grandfather is alive, as long as he does not feature (in the initiation process), he is not seen as an elder because he was not initiated. Those of my grand fathers (his brothers) who initiated first have to be respected more. If this is played at a clan level, the age-mates of my grandfather and their age-mates have their circle, and my great grandfather and their age-mates will be at the center.....they normally say we are age-mates, we initiated the same time, those also have their turn, that is how the circle has been. Now, the children of my grandfather and their age-mates, like my father, being the first born from my great grandfather, will wait until the grandfathers give them the authority to initiate. What does that mean? If my father is the firstborn of my grandfather, even if he reaches 70 years without those of my grandfather's giving him/them authority, they will never initiate. **So, they are never elders? Yes, they are never elders, until they initiate. What are the considerations for this authority to be given?** Now the authority is given in this way, as age-groups of each social group phases-out, they start giving power to their children. **Do they give them verbally?** No, through some ceremonies. They go, gather together and then pass it on; they give them instruments of power, the same way they give to judges. For them they sit together and say, now we are passing this power to you; it could be through a spear, where you can have the power to kill an animal before the public. But actually, it is a very rich culture, I will only know it well when I inter into the system, I have not been keenly following. Because I am in town and civilized, I am on the side of civilization, but it is really very interesting to be known..... when their

generation was phasing-out, they made those of our fathers to initiate. They said aahh.... we are very few, we cannot constitute a very big community of elders/ decision-makers; let us now give our children power. Some of the age-mates of my father initiated in 1963 or around 1961 there. But some groups initiated in 1960, the first batch handed over power around 1956, including my grandfather.... The groups of those of my father are also getting out (dying away) and now they want to hand down to us, but what I know there are still those of my grandfathers who still have young sons because now as I talk, from my grandfather's side there are men around twenty years of age. ...Although they want to make us start initiating, they are now handing it down to those of my fathers....So we have to wait now until that man of twenty years will get out; that is when we shall begin getting power. These are what we call generation age-set/groups. Now, since my fathers initiated in 1956 up to now, we still have some of grandfathers with power (Community leader, Interview, Nakapiripirit, April, 2015).

With some explanations rendered about generation age-sets among the Karimojong, something can be said about the organization of their communities according to age. Each family as a constituent part of the society makes a follow-up on who must be initiated, who will represent that section of the community in decision-making responsibilities, and this happens across the three social groups (Pian, Bokora and Matheniko) that make-up the Karimojong people, and reported to happen among the Jie and Dodoth too. The initiation of a generation into power is not a one-time-off event; it takes time, (consider the example given above, where initiation happened between 1956 to 1963) to have the initiation of that generation effected across the communities in question and it is common that representatives from the three communities attend to such ceremonies across the spectrum of all initiating communities. These ceremonies are meant to publicly show leaders and decision-makers to their communities, who are responsible for uniting people and be their voice, as well as remedying problems that may befall them.

On wondering why violence has been so intractable in a society where respect for life is believed to be a fundamental cultural consideration, and the responsibility of elders. A participant noted that *“there is that part of Karimojong culture that respects life; it is actually the rite of initiation; which is being exercised by other tribes like the Bagushu.”* He further noted that;

For us we go through that and you're initiated to become a man. And when you become a man, becoming man means you're initiated to become somebody who is responsible (for community welfare and decision-making); responsible and respected. Even if you grow old as long as you're not initiated, you're not recognized. When you're initiated you can force things; you can actually dictate to the youth not to do certain things. That is the ultimate goal every youth would want to achieve; to see himself initiated. During that time (in the past), a certain age-set called 'Ng'imoru' had the control of power for a longer time (than usual), just because nothing is documented that this group should leave power after this long, the only thing they would follow is until they are all finished (dying away); when they are dead or when they have remained very few. This had actually been a problem because if an initiated group comes up with a violent kind of thing (practice), it would remain, that is when the culture becomes violent. But if it comes up with a practice that keeps and promotes peace, it is okay, the place (sub-region) will be calm. The previous or current generation is responsibility for the violence, while the generation undergoing initiation now; the son and grandsons of 'Ng'imoru' are now talking about peace (Elder and leader, Interview, Moroto, April, 2015).

This is indicative of the fact that generations/age-sets/age-groups have the capacity to lead their communities towards certain directions. In a way, they could add or detract certain practices to their cultural pool of practices if they wished, for worse or for better. Therefore, the naming and understanding of values, aspiration and certain practices as constituents of Karimojong culture, requires knowledge of the generation at play and their values or contribution to the socio-cultural developments at hand.

4.5 The Birth of Violence

In addition to pointing to the conclusion above in a clearer way, the narrative below gives an account of the perceived origin of violent conflict among the Karimojong communities. An elder noted that;

One of the old generations, when their fathers initiated them, they said, aaahh fathers, give us cows, we want enemies, who are our enemies? Asking for enemies for their generation. In the past, the culture of Karimojong had a link with Akuj

(God), very strongly. The elder stood-up and said, eeh children, enemies are bad; enemies are extremely bad. Why do you want enemies? No, no, no, we want enemies, we want cows, they insisted, where do you want us to get cows? So, they talked like that until they overpowered these elders; for two days talking like that (demanding for enemies, from whom they would acquire cows/cattle). They asked their fathers, where do you want our children to get animals? They were finally given the enemies; they (elders) said okay, go and fight, go and get your cows, go and get your cows with hardship. That is what they were told. **In which year was that?** It is quite long, far back, I don't know the year. We had an elder, Lokolimo, from a clan which is very famous, which always presides over the issue of initiation, down there in Nyakwae community, around those mountains (pointing to mountain peaks in Napak District- Nakap mountains). What happened is, one day when they finished their initiation ceremony; the first initiation, they organized, saying that they were going for a raid. They were going to raid the Turkana, not knowing that the grandson of Lokolimo,that family was very strong and Lokolimo was the elder of the initiating clan, and up-to now they are respected all over Karamoja, it is the one holding the culture of Karamoja together. When Karimojong begin to initiate, every group/tribe/ ethnic group of Karamoja goes there; they are given honey, they are given tobacco; six molds which is compounded, they are given a winnower, they are given a mortar, they are given a gourd with milk, they now go back to their places; like the Matheniko come back to Matheniko, they are also given a spear, as an instrument of power, now when they come back they begin initiating the rest (of their community members who are ready)..... So, when these people went for the first raid, when Lokolimo gave them power, they want to raid the Turkana; who were enemies. All the three groups went; the Matheniko, Pian, Bokora. On the way, here within Nakiloro; the current Kobebe area, there was a kraal of the grand sons of Lokolimo, these people not knowing that this was still in their area, they thought this was the Turkana, they raided and killed people. When they delivered these cows back home, they were all happy that they had brought the cows. Now the message reached Lokolimo, that 'your sons have been killed'. It was a shock, but because it had been already done, it could not be reverted. That

is how the culture (of raiding) started, when the children of Lokolimoi died and there was no one responsible for consoling him and insure compensation.... because he said, don't compensate me with anything; with my cows, because he knew that all cows in Karamoja were his. He asked, you are paying my children with my cows? Continue and die, go ahead and continue dying, and that is why there has been that big bloodshed. This was the start of the violent conflict; the raiding, otherwise Karimojong used to stay without raids to the extent that the Turkana were part of the Jie, originally. So, in the whole pastoralist fraternity, the first community to start raiding were the Sabiny, when they raided Bakusu; they raided Bakusu and killed them. That is the first recorded raid, but many people don't know about it. This is when real raids started and these other ones followed. This one which took the grandsons of Lomolimoi, it is the people themselves who wanted it, because they wanted people to fight (Elder, leader, Interview, Moroto, April, 2015).

It is interesting to note that the Nyakwae community, mentioned above as central in holding the culture of the Karimojong together, is hardly mentioned as a typical Karimojong social group. It is cited as one of the minority groups in the sub-region (Ocan, 1993) and regarded as one of the indigenous communities, together with the Ik and Labwor, who occupied these lands before the arrival of the currently dominant social groups of the sub-region. Placing them at the centre of initiation responsibilities, although only in the far past, implies a slim relational gap among other minority groups of the Karamoja, whose relevance seem to have dwindled since the colonial influence in the area.

From the narrative, having been given authority to run the affairs of their society from the retiring generation, the in-coming age-set chose to ask their fathers to allow them wage conflict on their neighbors in the interest of acquiring cattle. It is widely believed that this is how the trait of cattle raiding (and the violence accompanying it) entered into the Karimojong culture. The gesture of asking for enemies may have two, rather opposed implications; 1. Their insistence may imply that they were asking for something unusual, and distanced from the usual expectations of communities from the initiated age-sets. This could account for the reason why it required allot of insistence from both sides; those who demanded for it and those who had to grant it. And, it must not have been part of the operational norms of the time. 2. It is also possible that by asking for enemies

from whom to get animals, a similar thing could have happened before. Their insistence is likely to have been based on knowledge of its possibility and practicality, at least in the past. It is very much likely that the in-coming generation wanted to revenge for previous attacks Turkana had had on the Karimojong in the past, this can be traced in the narrative of some participants who take the Turkana to be the first (traditional) enemies of Karimojong before anybody else.

Asking for enemies meant asking for permission to fight or unleash violence. There are a number of possible explanations for this - it was not for its' own seek, but as means through which to acquire animals quickly. It is also possible, that the new generation may have wanted to exhibit their capacity of fight, which can be referred to as the warrior tradition (see Otterbein, 2004). Although not categorically mentioned, it is likely that livestock numbers had reduced (likely to disease or drought incidents). Following this, there may have been a desire among the younger generation to replenish them, which is said to have been a common phenomenon among pastoralists. Pointing to this possibility is the fact that Lokolimoi's sons and grandsons had migrated with some of his livestock to Kobebe areas; an area, according to the narratives of several elders, is traditionally known for being free from diseases and pests. It was regarded as a place of re-turn for the safety of livestock in an event that the sub-region is attacked by diseases and pests. As well, this could be pointing to a point of departure, where, the new leadership choose to abandon the values of the time (of patience), taking up to the value of quick gains in the time of scarcity.

What is also at play is the realization that the in-coming generation did not want to shoulder the responsibility of this seemingly deviant undertaking alone, so they sought the support and discretion of the elders. In Karamoja the sense of collective responsibility is strong, and with it, comes a sense of collective blame -that is why, many may feel, it is not wrong to avenge on any members of a community to which their perceived aggressors belong. For example, a participant who had lost five of his children through violent raids noted that *“when my sons were killed, I said no, I have to revenge. I went and I killed many, but these people do not get finished. Even us the Pokot, they killed us but we do not get finished. So, what I resorted to is peace, because. Even if you kill they still come, you kill they keep coming. The only medicine is peace.”* Wondering whether he killed the killers of his sons, he noted that *“I did not kill exactly those who killed my children, when I got to know them later, I told my boys to leave them, there was no need for revenge*

after finishing the other ones (those he had killed) (Pokot Elder, Interview, Loroo- Amudat, June, 2015).

As well, what happened can be seen as a beginning of a revolution or a stage in the developmental evolution of the society; the young asking for power to execute their interests. What is interesting is the fact that they did not just act, but asked for permission to do so. What is also underlined is that the alleged mentality that all cows/cattle belong to Karimojong appears to be old, where the participant mentions that all cows in Karamoja were known to be for elder Lokolimoi.

Notably, in several interviews, (just like in Ocan, 1992 and Mkutu, 2004) Turkana and Jie people are said to be related to the Karimojong, by way of their origin. This could be the reason why the attacking group (Matheniko, Pian and Bokora or any of them) was not able to realize that their victims were their relatives (children of Lokolimoi) **not** Turkana (since physiological and linguistic difference are not pronounced). As well, the assertion that traditionally, raids were overlooked by elders and never involved much killings (reported in several literature sources including Ocan, 1992 and Mkutu, 2004 and in field interviews) is challenged forthrightly. It is possible however, that incidences like these were foundational to introducing the aspect of requiring oversight and monitoring roles of approving elders during raids, in the interest of minimizing violence and bloodshed.

About the lifestyle led by people in the north eastern dry corridor of Karamoja, a participant explains that adaptability is the reason for embracing pastoralism, and livestock is looked at as mobile wealth;

People here all along had not been cultivators. They were not able to cultivate crops; they were dependent on animals; cattle, wild life (games) and wide fruits. Everything was totally dependent on these and honey. Until sometime, still far back, when a certain group, a clan which had been in Kangole, discovered sorghum and people started cultivating it. Before sorghum, there is a wild plant called Ekauda, it is very, very small. People could collect it, pound it, winnow it and used to make porridge with it mixed with milk. So, cultivation started later here. People were dependent on these things because of the climate and there was no settled life,

people would be moving all over with their animals. So, until the sorghum was discovered, so settlement started.

The main way of life is pastoralism because it is adaptable to situations. For example, you can migrate from here and get water somewhere else. You cannot carry crops from here to Matany. So, that is the whole thing, the reason is climatic. But now it has graduated from pastoralism of nomadic life to agro-pastoralism; thus, involving the growing of crops. Now people are having two lifestyles; the settled and the mobile. In the home where the children and old men (people) are kept, the sorghum is grown. The youth move with animals in search for water and pastures, especially in dry seasons (Elder, Interview, Moroto, April, 2015).

With the increase in the population of communities and intensification of pastoral activities; competition, conflicts and clashes became inevitable. Violence is said to have become increasingly worrying that it warranted disarmament by the colonial government;

*...in 1961, the government disarmed us, taking away spears and arrows that we were using to protect ourselves and animals from wild animals; from hyenas....., as I said, in 1945 the war (conflict) started, now we started fighting with spears with the Pokot. We were not fighting with the Bokora, Pian, and Matheniko before the period of 1980s. The government removed spears by seeing us fighting with the Pokot..... the Pokot came, there is a place called 'Morwang беру', where the Pokot came and killed women; the Karimojong from Bokora, Matheniko, Pian went to revenge, after waiting for the government to compensate in vain. We passed through Namalu (in Nakapiripirit District), went to the side of Karita (in Amudat District), all that side completely up to Kacheriba (in the current northwestern Kenya), a war (fighting) which involved thousands and thousands of people; **crying why does somebody kill women, do they go for raids? Do women go for cows? Women are children (innocent)**. So that war (conflict) made the Karimojong to make a very terrible fight and then the government decided to remove the spears (Interview, Elder, Moroto, November, 2015).*

The said confrontation was majorly driven by the desire to revenge, allegedly after the failure of government to compensate this death. Traditionally, compensation was a very important conflict resolution mechanism where death had occurred, failure of which, would make revenge inevitable; and, this would have been for elders to coordinate. Now that the colonial government had disintegrated governance structures of these communities, the government was expected to have executed the responsibilities created by the governance gap they created. Also, among the said sanctions related to cattle raiding, the killing of women and children were not only abominable, but also, would require more compensation than that required in case of a man, especially in case of the former. Killing of a woman or a child is seen as pure provocation of communities to which they belong, unlike in the case of a man. Noteworthy, it can be argued that although a certain level of social controls against violence may have been in place, the attitude and practice around revenge is far a big motivating factor for violence, especially that it even allows revenge on surrogate victims.

These were propelled by survival concerns too. While pastoralist communities acknowledge that records of violence hang negatively on their necks, they feel they have not been positively regarded and treated by various governments of Uganda, a reason for their becoming more rebellious. In his view,

As pastoralists, the government has not clearly protected the pastoralist, especially here in Uganda. Even though we have settled, we still move with our animals. If you tie us in one place we shall not survive, if animals are tied in one dry place they will all get finished. What do you want us to do, if you wanted to protect everybody; their life and the property, you have to make the way for the animals to move; to go and graze in the water place; the swampy place where there is no one cultivating. Our leader is one (national leader- president). But if you say that you remain in the dry place and water is not there, and grass is not there, that is not acceptable (Interview, Elder, Moroto, November, 2015).

Therefore, the need to address survival concerns of pastoral communities is important to addressing the conflict, violence, security and safety questions in Karamoja. Without this, armament and disarmaments do not sufficiently address the problem.

For example, several armaments and disarmaments took place in Karamoja, but it only increased the hostility with time. The participant above remembers of another disarmament exercise attempt before the NRA/M government came to power;

*“.... there was disarmament of the Obote II regime, the government tried to disarm us, during this time, guns were just pipes (Amatidea -locally made guns), but not much (foreign automatic) guns; only the Matheniko brought the guns they got from the abandoned Barracks of Amin. The Obote government joined with the Kenyan government, started to disarm us, came with aero planes; helicopters, bombing people, doing what..... But they did not take even one gun, they failed completely and this is another destruction which made the Karimojong to get annoyed. Another thing that annoyed the Karimojong to the raid of the Iteso (a tribe habiting areas in the south of Karamoja sub-region), there was somebody called ‘Apa Lolis’, they (him and a team of other elders) went to reconcile with everybody (every community they had angered) during President Obote’s government. The Karimojong went up to Bwera with the district leaders. And then, the army which was there, I think this was planned, killed them, even the district commissioner from Jie, even some other leaders died innocently. They were killed in Bwera by Iteso; by the militias of Teso (the area of the Iteso people). Then the Karimojong went and revenged. **Why did they kill them?** The Karimojong had gone for peace and they killed them (innocently). **Had there been incidences of fighting between the two groups before?** No, no,.. I don’t know unless it is in the records of the government. Because we were just watering our animals, grazing our animals, then the leaders said let us go there to beg for grass there, you know all our water flows to the Teso side. We do follow our water, where water flows, so we go; we follow water. When we are going there, we convince our leaders to go ahead and convince other leaders that we are all Ugandans, to allow our animals graze from that area where the water is. I don’t know what annoyed this army (militia group). I don’t know whether they were annoyed, or whether they were authorized to do so, because the government did not do anything. So, they killed those elders; peacemakers, after killing them - I think the Karimojong mobilized and then went to that Barracks (military detach), the leader (commander) who was there was removed and killed,*

*up to now they don't know where the body is..... That person who was ordering the killing was called 'Amodoi'; a commander.The Karimojong surrounded that barracks and killed them. Now from that annoyance, the Iteso again killed yet another elder, when people were in peace. They killed the father of Col. Ogutti, I don't know which rank he is now. The Karimojong got annoyed again, they went and revenged badly. **The Karimojong always know how to revenge. But they don't know how to start.** You cause a problem to them, they will not forget (leave you), even the Pokot, even all the Pastoralists; we are pastoralists (Interview, Elder, Moroto, November, 2015).*

Revenge and counter revenge are being highlighted as a defining feature of pastoralist communities – in their understanding, revenge is sought to inflict/cause equal or more regrettable pain to the victim of that revenge. And, as circumstances that surrounded the peace deal between the Turkana and the Matheniko show; the Lokiamu Peace Accord of 1973, peace is sought when revenge is least possible physically/materially, at least on part of one of the parties to a conflict - at the moment of defeat or eminent defeat. In many cases, when Karimojong and Potok talk of making-peace, they imply reconciling with persons or communities they antagonized with in the past. Thus, it is very possible that when the elder says a team of leaders had gone to make peace with the Iteso, there is an implication of past antagonisms that warranted need for formal re-address.

Noteworthy, violence was not wide spread simply because it is directly advocated for by the culture, but because, by and large, it is an expected consequence of unpleasant encounters (not necessarily violent ones), or a response to counter-aggression (revenge), if neutralizing measures are not taken. Revenge is understood as necessary means for restoring pride, quenching anger, and asserting the self. It is important to note that vengeful attacks used to be more violence than the attacks for which revenge was being sought.

CHAPTER FIVE:

INDIVIDUAL PERSPECTIVES: NARRATIVES OF LIFE EXPERIENCES IN KARAMOJA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the chapter above. It is a presentation and discussion of four fundamental narratives (by four of the participants), used in this case to facilitate deeper understanding of how life was lived, the cultural expectations of the time, personal evaluations of their individual lives and behavior in a wider socio-cultural context of their time, as well as sharing their views over a broader social reality in which they lived. Sharing personal narratives of some of the key participants makes it possible to compare and contrast their content, but also, it aids a process of identifying consistencies and differences which are necessary for analysis. The narratives are used to situate individual experiences in larger communal contexts. As well, they made it possible for the researcher to map-out constants and variables of the socio-cultural dynamics of the past Karamoja. Two of the narratives presented herein are by elders; regionally recognized elders, one of whom is from Nakapiripirit (belonging to the Pian social group), while the other is from Moroto (belonging to the Matheniko social group). The third one is by a community leader, in Moroto and the fourth narrative is by a youth from Moroto. All of them were got by the interview method of data collection.

5.2 A Narrative by a Pian Elder from Nakapiripirit District (Pian community)

I was born in 1933, during the colonial period. I started being a shepherd in 1943. We were grazing between us and the Pokot; in a place called Acolicoli. We were grazing there; watering our animals together with the Pokot. There was no conflict, it came after some time..... You know for the Karimojong, when you bring your cows, you first water the big, huge bull which you're proud of..... our parents (Karimojong) at that time were doing like that, the Pokot also. One day accidentally, the Pokot brought their bulls, they wanted them to drink first, and the

*Karimojong also wanted theirs to drink first. Unfortunately, a bull of the Pokot entered into the herd of the Karimojong, and some stubborn youth misappropriated the bull from there. Then the Pokot tried to search and search but they failed to find it. And then, they demanded for the bull, and demanded.... until one day, the Pokot had organized; they surrounded the animals of the Karimojong. That time, they said now, we shall not release these animals until our bull is given. The Karimojong demanded the Pokot to release the cows (livestock), the Pokot refused. They slept there with the animals; they were a lot of animals. Now for Karimojong, the message had already reached the villages all across the region that the Pokot had surrounded their animals, now the Karimojong began coming,.... they were coming, and coming, and they were demanding; they sat there, they slept there. They pleaded, 'you release the animals', the Pokot refused to release the animals. In a short time, this was the third day, the Karimojong shouted, what are you waiting for? By that time Karimojong were not using spears, they were just using sticks and so on, and stones. They started stoning the Pokot. They wanted to grab the animals from the Pokot, they exchanged stones and there was a person who had a very heavy (strong) hand, he threw a stone to the Pokot, and hit one of them down, when the Pokot saw that one of them was screaming down, a Pokot speared a Karimojong. For they had spears for taking care of cattle against the wild animals- we had a lot of wild animals here; lions, these Leopards, the hyenas also other different types, these were eating the cattle. When the Karimojong saw things like that, aaahhh they grabbed the animals from them and started killing them, and the animals went. These were exchanges of stones and the conflict started from there. The time was morning hours, when the sun was rising. **Do you remember the year?** It was in 1943, it was almost a dry season, but the rain of that year was like this one (last rains towards the start of the dry season), we were ending the year getting into 1944. **Where was this?** It happened in the grazing area, the Karimojong did not have maps; we did not have where to stop (boundaries), it was administration (the administrative agents) that did these things (of putting where to stop/boundaries); marking the maps without the local people knowing, by then the Karimojong were behind the Pokot to Kisi, come-up to Kacheliba, to Tiko river*

which is flowing on the side of Kenya; the Karimojong would go up-to there. The Pokot are people who were brought by the British, I don't know from where, then they put them on the land of the Ng'akarimojong. At that time, I was around thirteen, meanwhile when the war (conflict) started, we were brought back home, the young ones of this age. Now, I was brought up to Lorengedwat, I stayed with my cousin. I stayed there in 1944, when it reached 1945; I went home in Lotome where I was born. Then the last born of my fathers (paternal uncle) called Ojawo, removed me from there and took me to his kraal in 1945. I stayed there, at the end of 1945, we were grazing this side of Rupa, around a mountain called Murweriweri, my father, the brother to my father (another paternal uncle) became sick. Because those days there were no hospitals, we were using local drugs (herbs). My fathers; the three fathers of mine, the big (older) one sent the two (younger ones). They sent the two up to the kraal where we were. Then after seeing that my father was badly sick, they put him on the donkey and took him back home. I remained there with different people, with whom we were not related, because Karamoja was peaceful. I remained there until 1946, then my brother who was looking after sheep and goats, was going/moving up to Jie (the land of the Jie people –in the current Kotido District). During the wet season they would come and we all meet there.....then he removed me from these people and the animals and I went with him. At that time during the wet season, the Jie, the Turkana, the Dodoth and the Toposa would remain at Sikopeine hill, it is a very isolated hill. Even around Murweriweri, the Nyakwae people would remain there during the wet season, it is a very beautiful place; dancing, what..... I had never seen what people call war or fighting, no. But elders would tell us that long ago in the past generation, people would fight with the Turkana and the Jie, but the generation of our grandfathers stopped that war long ago and made peace until when our father grew-up without knowing war on our land. Even our elder brothers grew-up without knowing what war is. We would continue grazing animals in the wilderness, you don't go home, you keep moving with the animals. During dry seasons, you come this side toward Moroto (home), in the wet season you go back to the wet places. Even Iteso, we were not fighting with Iteso. We never heard that we were fighting the Iteso in the past, our

grandfathers never did, and that history is not there, if somebody says it, it will be a lie. At that time, when it was reaching the time of being initiated to become men - because if you're not initiated, even if you have gray hair, you're called a child. But when you're initiated, you're now mature, you know how to talk; you don't talk carelessly according to our tradition.....Now at that time, in 1956, we were called for initiation - there is a mistake that was done by the youngest generation of our fathers called Ng'ibang. These people when they were called to be initiated, they said 'no, our children cannot be initiated before we attack the enemy'. Aaahh, because the old muzeyi, belonged to the clan/ age-group called 'Etukoit', our grandfather was called Lokolimoi, he called all the Karimojong that "come, I am now growing old, I cannot now continue, ... come and I show you the cultural ways of performing ceremonies. So, the Ng'ibang said, ...aahh no, we cannot initiate our children before attacking the enemy. **And who was the enemy then?** I don't know at that time, but let me talk and you will see who they were saying was the enemy. But by then we were mixing well with the Turkana, even the Turkana were innocent about it. So, after this was demanded from the old man, he said oooohhh, why do you do that!!!! Who asks for an enemy!!! The enemy is ignorance, the enemy is poverty, the enemy is disease; the enemy is bad, who asks for these????!!!. Now I am alone; I am alone because of fighting, I remained alone in my family. These people continued to convince the elder, they convinced the elder until it reached a time, when some people said, why don't you give them? Then the elder accepted the gifts they had brought; the oxen, the goats, and so on. But after accepting the gifts, he told them that now you go to Nakadanya; Nakadanya is our place of wisdom; our fathers said it was a place of wisdom, where God whispered to them. Before this (before God whispered to them), they did not know how to make fire, they were using stones they did not have spears; they did not know all these things, but from Nakadanya, they got those things from traders. From Nakadanya they got allot of cows, even milk was there, everything was there, it was peaceful. They were sent to go there and make ceremonies (rituals) from there. That day they met bad luck, while they were still making their demands, a snake bit a person, they wondered why should this thing happen to us? Then after, a sisal pierced a woman,

then people moved away without finishing the ceremonies (consultation rituals). Now gods showed the Karimojong what they were begging, violent accidents happened during the ceremonies.... But still, when they went back, they opened a raid. Because their animals were mixed (animals of various communities would go anywhere across the sub-region), the animals of this elder were on that side of Turkana, he had sent his grandsons to go and bring the animals for milking. Then these people found this young man called Aliyoni, they killed him and they brought the animals. When the animals reached people said, iiito... (an exclamation in Ng'akarimojong), these are our cows!!!! The clan that killed the boy realized that they had made a mistake, they went to Lokolimoi. Oooohhh, we have made a mistake, we have made a mistake,.....eeeh, what? The elder asked. Oriko noyin!! (an accident/ a mistake) they replied... Who and who? The children of Lioyatadaye killed Aliyon, he was told. Then the old man kept quiet for some time, is this what you have been begging?! He asked. So, you were begging me. Now you have killed me, and now I am telling you; you will be getting accidents (mistakes) all the time, even from the kitchen; you will start killing yourselves, finished. So, we got cursed, that is why Karimojong started fighting amongst themselves; the Bokora fighting the Matheniko and the Matheniko fighting the Pian. The people they were expecting to be their enemies were the Turnaka and Jie. Because in our past, Jie were siding with the Turkana, the Karimojong (Bokora, Pian and Matheniko) were siding the Dodoth and Toposa. The Jie have got some relationship with the Pokot. So, now we started fighting from both sides; the Pokot fighting us, but also the Jie and the Turkana fighting us. We got more confused to the extent that we started fighting within the family. This is what I have experienced. But the problem of these borders was created by the British, without the local people's knowledge. 1945 is the time when the British demarcated the borders; the Pokot and the Pian were grazing upto this mountain together (mountain Moroto). When the administration demarcated the borders, then they employed chiefs and county chiefs, one who had more people would be paid more. The size of their payment (wages) would depend on the population a chief had. Now, somebody called Losili, a county chief of Pokot, removed all the Pokot from other areas and returned them to what we now call

Pokotland. That time was the beginning of the serious war (violent conflict) between the Pian and the Pokot. By 1952, I was learning in the school here (in Moroto District), I was staying with someone from the Dodoth community then. I had ran away from Lotome to Moroto here, because our parents did not want us to go to school. In order to study you had to escape from there, so I had to escape to be able to start learning here. In 1951 and 1952, we were staying with a certain man, he was a Dodoth and he was also learning (studying). We had a donkey; we would close it inside the house (while at school). Then when we come back, he would make local beer; he would give me to sell the local beer, the other friend of mine, he would ask him to look after the donkey, just like that. He had no woman also, only us. By then, the government refused the Turkana to come to Uganda because of the disease that was killing the animals, especially goats. The same applied with the Iteso, what divided us from the Iteso was the Veterinary Department because of the disease; they put a quarantine. The local people did not (understand and) want those things. So, the Turkana, because you know the Turkana, the Dodoth, the Toposa, the Didinga from Ethiopia, would all bring their livestock for sale in Rupa here (in Moroto District). There was a big market, whereby lorries could come from Mombasa and Kampala, for livestock. Even by 1945 it was already in operation. It was a very big market- do you see Campswahili, and then Cambiazi (these are areas in Moroto Municipality). Cambiazi is where they were retaining goats to be taken to other areas. They would buy from the market and camp there, and then lorries come to take them as far as Mombasa. So, by stopping the Turkana; people who were feeding from here, having homes here, especially among the Jie, now people coming from there had to stop, they opened war against the Karimojong....Longanyang (the man he was living with in Moroto), would take food with his donkey up to Turkana, exchange with goats, brings them and sells them to the people in the market. That man was killed in 1952 by the Turkana. Then the war/conflict started, the government/ the British government put track posts along the borders, up to Kidepo, up to Kamioni. The Turkana continued fighting, they had got guns from Ethiopia; these small guns, even they killed the British; the horse police. They continued to fight, until 1965,

*they swept over most of Karamoja, especially the Bokora side; stealing animals, police tried in vain. (President) Amin came and tried, but nothing could stop them; they were very bad fighters; like infantry, you will not fight them. They went up to Abim District where animals had gone, by that time people would take their animals up to Abim, escaping from the enemy- yes, animals would be taken up to Abim for safety. Now between 1960 and 1965, war (violent conflict) began between the Jie and Bokora, the Turkana combined forces with the Jie. The Bokora were together with the Matheniko and Pian fighting; that war (conflict) continued. After some time, another peace (accord) was made, between the Turkana and the Matheniko but this was when the Turkana had finished their cows. Then the Matheniko became their slaves because they joined them (the Turkana), directing them where the cows are. **Was this the Lokiamu Peace Accord?** Yes. That destroyed Karamoja completely, the Matheniko directing the Turkana even up to Pian, they swept all the animals; that is what they brought to Karamoja. People became so helpless, that is why you can find them on the streets, especially the Bokora who went in 1965. Also because of hunger and drought, they went up to Masindi, those are now settled in Masindi, some are in Mumiasi in Kenya, some in Busia, other are now in Namatala, some are in Iganga, some are on the streets of Kampala. But the government did not care, because the government's work is to protect the people and their property. We were completely ignored after getting independence, at least the British were trying. But the tendency of abusing us that we are hopeless people, that you Karimojong you can die with your animals; we lost wealth and Karamoja was very rich. Karamoja was flowing with honey and wild animals; they were together with us and the Karimojong were not killing them. This road going up to Iriiri, there were wild animals all along the road; you go to that side (Nakapiripirit from Moroto); when I was still a shepherd, I could see lions moving, animals moving, because these were our wild animals, they were not eating us and they were not disturbing animals (livestock) - I am telling you we are now in a wrong time; in a very wrong time. Now, that is why we are making peace so that we forget those things once and for all. But our fear even today, the Turkana have guns, the Pokot still have guns, now we are helpless, anytime if the government pulls out like*

in the time of Obote and Amin, we shall suffer beyond that, we shall run I don't know up to where now!

People now, this young generation is too corrupt, they don't respect parents. The time they had guns they were killing even their parents, they were killing their women. So, let us pray that these people change once and for all. But my fear is, a gun can strike in a second and we are back in violence. I have experienced the gun; I ran from Namalu to Lorengadwat naked, it is a priest who gave me cloths, I got separated from my family because of the gun! Some people who are here have not experienced what the gun is. I think the people from Masaka (the home district of the researcher) experienced it in the time of the war of Sabasaba (a war that ousted President Amin, fought mostly by a Tanzanian army); they came up to here - I think that is the time the Baganda reached this place, I think that was the first time they came here, they did not know because their place was far. Those who were coming here were traders; the Moslems who were buying goats at that time. Now at this time we at least sleep; but with fear! You know what forced us to have guns was this war of Turkana and the Pokot, until we broke the boreholes, we removed pipes, we started making local guns. Now at the time of the running away of Amin, that is the time we got guns; this is the time we started resisting Turkana and the Turkana also feared us at that time, otherwise, things were not easy. During the time of Museveni government, we convinced our children that you have finished us, you have finished your wives, and you have finished your children; let us surrender this snake (the gun). It was us the elders, especially I was directly involved. The Karimojong after feeling the pain, they surrendered the guns, but we don't know whether the government will protect us for life and our grandchildren, we don't know.

There is an assertion that people who raid, lack cattle with which to marry- was raiding caused by the lack of cattle with which to marry? *The hearts of the people are not the same, somebody can write or say things in the way he thinks. When we marry; to marry, not everybody marries with cows. Today in Karamoja, a lady accepts a man and the parents accept them to go on without even giving anything. If we call the Karimojong who are talking like that (that they have to*

marry with many cows) and we put them here and ask them that you; have you married officially; you, how many cows did you marry with... they have not, if they are open. It does not mean that they were raiding because they failed to marry - that is wrong. Raiding is just evil, and it is by a type of people of a bad character. In my life, I have never gone to raid, haven't I married? My brothers have not gone to raid, don't they have wives and children? That is a saying (a claim) by the people who are contradicting what they speak (say) and what they do. There are some people who have been hunting (getting wild animals for pride wealth payment) or acquiring animals for pride price without raiding. They are not any different from other people and they are married.

Really, raiding is for the stubborn people¹⁴. Even if you come in town here, there are people who are surviving on stealing, the same applies to raids; some people were surviving on raids; those are the ones who say that they raided because they wanted to marry. But today we don't marry (pay off women), you're just given a lady. Some people think, because they have produced children, you're in marriage, for we don't call that marriage. **What would be marriage in the true sense?** The true marriage is one in which you give property to the parents of the lady; to compensate for the way they have been caring, nurturing for her to grow as a good girl, that now you get her as a good wife who will nurse you. When you give something, then she produces you children officially, but this other one here is friendship, it is not marriage just friendship. Because for us Karimojong we don't demand; we don't demand anything from our daughters. If the girl brings a man to the parents or a man comes to ask, we accept it, we don't even demand him to give us something like in other tribes; they stay there until they become ashamed. They say, now children are growing, if somebody comes to marry these children of ours, to whom will the children belong? I think you need to give something to my parents so that we stay officially, the woman can advise the husband. Because for us, if you take my daughter, I just observe you, she can stay I don't ask for something, no,

¹⁴ This explanation points to his earlier submission of a generation that asked for enemies. In a way, this justifies that raiding is not a cultural practice, but a practice preferred and asked and indulged in by the stubborn ones of the Karimojong.

*you yourself have to see it. But the children you're producing are not yours because you have not married my daughter. **Whose are they then?** The children belong to the woman, because you're just like a he goat which, for example, if your he-goat comes to my she-goat, now the kid of this goat will be for who? So, if you just go there sleep and you don't mind to come and apologize, to say father, I have messed up. Because for us what we do, if you get my daughter, after getting pregnant; at five months you have to come to the parents and kneel and apologize - I have made a mistake.... then we say, we shall now charge you for the first child. We say okay, you shall bring three oxen. Long ago, if you don't have them you would bring thirty goats, because every ox would equate to ten goats, that is it. If you don't, we leave you to stay with your wife, we wait for you now, whether you want to stay with your wife until you're old, but the children belong to my daughter, they are not yours, because you're a he goat you don't mind.*

*So, this talk about marriage with a hundred cows, with fifty, with two hundred, is all rubbish. Some people are proudly deceiving other tribes that they are marrying with hundreds of cattle; this and this number of cows.... I know if many men wanted my daughter, for example, they compete amongst themselves. One may like to give sixty cows or a hundred cows, to show how much one likes to take my daughter. But even so, it is me to judge and assess the behavior of these men. You follow his clan to see whether it is a good clan. Some clans are really cursed, when they produce children they keep dying. So, it is me (the parent) to judge which one to accept, is it one with thirty cows or the other one with sixty cows. If you're ambitious, like people who go and ask for cows and goats. If am ambitious I can make a mistake because I don't see the life of my daughter, I am seeing the life of cows, forgetting the life of my daughter or grandchildren. I think people talk about some history long ago, when some people would deceive some tribes, for us it depends of circumstances, you can marry with 10 cows, you can marry with 20 cows, you can marry with 30 cows, but now because of conflict, there is poverty, where do you get cows? ...You see, when I was a councilor here in Moroto, all cows were finished here in Karamoja, completely. **Which year was that?** That was in*

1980s; in 1982, I was a councilor here, I was a councilor from 1979, it was around 1980, I went back to the elders, I remembered in my mind that long ago there were few cows here, our grandmothers were married with anthills; they were marrying with ropes; they were marrying with whatever they had. **Anthills!!??** Yes. Then I went back (and asked) do we still need to marry with cows? Now where are the cows? What is good is for you to bless your child to go to the other clan officially. Now we started marrying with money; UG Shillings 100,000/=, 300,000/=, food, we started marrying with these, and elders all accepted and everybody accepted, until again when the Kavuyo (crisis/tensions) came, when Obote II ran away. At the time of 1985, 1986, and 1987 there was Kavuyo. When the Karimojong began grabbing animals from other tribes. Then I saw people going back to marrying with cows, but not all. Those who talk about marrying with very many cows are lairs; those are lairs, they just talk. It is like when we were still young in school, we were deceiving these other tribes, aahh you know, for us we marry with a hundred cows, we wanted to avoid them from taking our women/girls because we were not believing (trusting) in them, we were just deceiving them. One day again, when I was a canteen manager of a prison in Mbale, and then we were joking in a bar, I said you people we don't like seeing you tying a cow, you make a cow a prisoner. Now for us Karimojong, God gave us cows, cows are ours. You Bagishu you are given Matooke, you Iteso you have been given cassava. Every tribe has been given something, so if I find a cow here (tied), that is a cow that got lost, those are our cows. It was just a joke, but people have taken it seriously that the Karimojong said that all cows are theirs. For I thought it was a joke, but they took it serious, for us pastoralists when we are grazing, doing what, in peace, we joke alot.... But when you talk to them even if you're joking, others think you're meaning it. That is where the problem of a hundred cows was used to threaten other tribes from taking our daughters. But today they have married, we have now mixed together. As long as you come to the parents, not marrying behind the curtains and you say she is my wife. Then tomorrow you start biting her, then the girl fears to go back to her parents, she starts moving on like that, because she is started things without informing parents, without bringing somebody home, without us interviewing the

man.....That is why it is good when you accept somebody, to bring him to the parents. Because parent want to know that person, instead of you running to away just like that. So that is how it is.

A snapshot on Narrative One

What becomes clear in the first narrative, although many authors (Schilling, et al., 2012; Rugadya, Kamusiime and Nsamba-Gayiiya, 2010; Muhereza, 1998; Safeworld, 2010:1 and Mkutu 2004) alluded to pasture, water, and scarcity of resources in general as major causes of or contributors to violent conflicts in Karamoja, the origin of the confrontation between the Karimojong and the Pokot outlined in the narrative differs from the authors'. In this narrative, violence was triggered by pride and the urge to assert the selves from both parties, and it is something that had been happening for a long time, without necessarily turning violent. In this incidence though, the usual and normal, eventually got infested and manifested with ill-intentions in a bid to trim the pride of the competitor/challenger. This saw, this mutually enjoyed game, turning into a provocative misappropriation of one's cause of pride (the big bull). So, we see a long-lived game of and for pride, captured by breach of the rules of the game (misbehavior/deviance). This is said to have caused the first violent encounter between the Pokot and the Karimojong, and laid a foundation for confrontations in future.

Interestingly, unlike some of his Karimojong counterparts, the narrator does not believe that their culture is violent or promotes violence. Instead, he believes that violence, especially which manifested through cattle raids should be individually blamed on its executors (not the culture as whole). He thinks that there are pockets of individuals with divergent behavior that should not be blamed on culture as whole, since people are different and they choose what they do at personal levels. This resonates well with other participants' responses. There is one who believed that "raiding is not a culture (a cultural practice) but some people just used it for economic gains" (Interview, Nakapiripirit, April, 2015). It is further noted that it was only around 20% of the population of Karamoja that got involved in cattle raiding and related violence. Therefore, unabated violence and excessive livestock raiding are to blame on the corrupt modern lifestyle, presence of guns, love for money and general moral and cultural corruption, enabled by external forces.

Just like in the first narrative, in most interviews and FGDs, participants occasionally mentioned the term ‘enemy’. In general terms, it is not used to mean an aggressor, as we would have normally expected, but often used in reference to a person or group of persons who have what you desire or are suspected to desire what you treasure; those who may fail, tempt to fail, or likely to fail you in the achievement of your desires, even when your desires are against their survival or welfare. Since aggressors would change over time with changing alliances, the view of ‘enemy’ as an aggressor is secondary, especially in reference to past and persistent aggressors.

By operating with this worldview, qualifying someone or a group of people as ‘your enemy/ies’ justifies actions of aggression against them or forceful acquisition of their belongings that you may desire. When I convince myself that you’re my enemy, that reduces the feeling of obligation to protect you or restraint from not hurting you, and it increases the feeling of entitlement to use you or your belongings for my benefit. This is well represented in the scenario when one of the past generations asked for an enemy, when they practically meant people they would attack and rob off their cattle. This also explains configuration and re-configuration of alliances in Karamoja over time. This conceptual flexibility of the term ‘enemy’ allows former friends to become enemies, just because they own cattle you desire, and you can forcefully own them upon proclaiming them enemies. What is clear, in a process of making enemies, there is capitalization on ‘distinctiveness’ as opposed to ‘commonality’ of the parties in play.

5.3 A Narrative by a Matheniko Elder from Moroto

In reality..., raiding is actually part of the culture. Because, such acts of violence are instigated right away when you’re still young. You pass through, in fact, subjected to various kinds of hardships. When you’re a boy, you’re not taken good care of; you do not put on any cloths for example. The only thing your parents do is to give you shoes (sandals made of hides and skins), you work and walk naked, and in the rain, you’re no sheltered. Especially when you’re above five years of age, you begin to look after the kids for the goats, then you graduate to calves and goats and then to cows. Now, you’re being guided by those who are older than you are. All those processes are actually preparing you for warlike life. In the first

place, you become resistant to weather conditions; whether it is dry season and extremely hot, or wet season and extremely chilly. You begin developing resistance in yourself when you are so young- this is done with an aim of developing resistance in preparation for your manhood, long before adulthood. In between childhood and adulthood, at the age of sixteen, eighteen, or twenty there, you're exposed to fights amongst your age-mates; this is fighting in whatever ways, including wrestling and use of sticks. All these are to prepare you for future challenges of conflict, so that you don't fear - you're meant to be strong. This became like a cultural kind of procedure. A child grows from one age-set to another age-set to real maturity, when they will now call him a man. At the age of sixteen to twenty, you have to be respected; you attain this by killing wild animals like snakes. You begin with snakes, if you succeed in killing dangerous venomous snakes, next time you go to a leopard, if you succeed in killing one, that is already a brand on you. When you kill one, there are two things that can be done; 1. You have a heifer that you love most, you put marks/brands on your heifer, you cut them on the ears, in whichever shape you want it. After this you have to graduate from this, by the time you kill a leopard you do it alone – in fact I killed it myself- and you don't kill a leopard using a spear, you use sticks. You're trained that while fighting, to protect the other stick and protect yourself from the crews of the Leopard. You approach it with a branch of a tree, you raise it up when it is coming with the crews open, they will be entrapped in the leaves as they close; when the crews of a leopard open and close, they take long to open again. You just hit the head of a leopard because it is soft. Those people who are attacked and disorganized by leopards are those who use spears or arrows.

When you graduate from that you go to a hunt for a lion: you go for the following animals; for the lion, you go with your group- you now form a group. You go to hunt a lion, rhino, an elephant and buffalos. These are the four animals. These are killed by a group, each contribution made matters, but the one who finishes it, they always say, he did kill the elephant. All these are stages of graduation to manhood that make conflicting (violent) behaviour built from childhood.....Even traditionally, raids were actually planned and seasonal. And, they were planned

for specific time and reasons; if it would be done in the month of August, it is done because people are already satisfied and are strong enough; and when you go to raid, you go there to show that you're a man. That is why you would put on (wear) a leopard skin that you killed; you put on all these traditional attires meant for fighting. The reason why you go with all those attires is that no one at your home, not even your follower should inherit these things. Your enemy, who kills you inherits these things, also to the side of your enemy, it is the same thing done.

*At first, the Bokora were one with the Matheniko and Pian, and their enemies were the Pokot, their enemies were the Jie of Kotido, their enemies were the Turkana. These were the three traditional enemies of this ethnic group; those were the main ones; that is before the gun came in, and at that time I was also still looking after cows. **At what time was that?** Earlier than 1968, because I came to school in 1968, I came from the kraal. I had to escape because it was not a government policy that children should go to school, so I had to escape. In the colonial time, we had free education, freer than the one we have now, completely free, if there had been much emphasis on changing the mentality of the Kariojong people; of the Karimojong society from that time, we would not have seen the issue of the guns coming in.*

The raiding would be planned and the Jie would be informed that we are coming for cows; counterparts would be informed that we are coming for cows anytime. Those would also prepare, aware that the enemies are coming; they now send spies and so on. When cows are brought, before they reach the villages, far from the settlements, they all know the children who have graduated through all the processes, those who grew-up in poverty and their families are poor. These are given the first chance for each of these families to pick like three cows each, if the grown men (elders) came, each of them can pick like five cows. And out of five, one should be a bull for them (to slaughter). These (the poor and elders) drive their cattle aside, the rest of the cattle stay around 100 meters behind. So, from where you're standing, as heavy as you're with those costumes on your body, if you survived, you have to run those one hundred metres to get the animals where they are. If you ran and reached early enough, to pick those you want, those will be

yours, if you got few you take those or you throw a spear and it falls in front of the herd, those before the spear are yours. That is why many people mistook the giving of cattle for marriage in Karamoja with the throwing of the spear - that in Karamoja when you're giving away a daughter, you through a spear and where the spear ends all those cows are yours, no. It was the cows that are raided; those who are able, people from well to do families should demonstrate that as much as we have wealth, we are still strong and we can acquire as much as we want. That was the cultural kind of pattern, and all these, you grow-up knowing, you must attain one of these things.

*Let us talk about the female sector. **How or what was the contribution of women? Traditionally, is there anything women have ever played in this?** (questions put and answered by the participant himself). Yes, a hundred percent, because, one: the age-sets of girls are also trained by women; old women. They are trained to be strong by the women; they work and sleep together in one hut. In the hut they struggle (fight or train), they practice to be strong so that if a man gets them in terms of courting - because the traditional courting was not the way the whites do; that you get a girl, you talk and you accept each other just like that! For us (Karimojong) as much as the girl likes/loves you, you don't just get her, you have to struggle, and if you struggle and defeat her, she will say, yes this is a man. The girl must test your (physical) ability. Why is this done? The woman has to discover whether you're ready to protect the family, in any dangerous time, you will be there to stand. That is why they could do that, so the girl also goes through the same system, but they don't fight wild animals. However, those who are wild can kill snakes. The process of fighting is a process of training themselves. Until a girl grows, I am talking in terms of the past, around 1960s, 1970s, before guns had adulterated the whole region and before new things came in (modern items/way of life). When a girl reached a certain stage of growth, about 20 years or 21, that is when a girl would be allowed to marry, when parents know she can make a hut; a grass thatch hut. You know in Karamoja it is the women who build a house, and that is part of maturity of a girl. Now, should you take her to the kraal down there, she can shelter herself and family, and the calves to keep them out of rain - all these*

are cultural practices- which make a woman a woman, and a man a man. These are no longer in existence these days, they have been spoilt because of the changes that have occurred,.... So, the Karimojong fabric of tradition has been broken, much as some (cultural practices) are still there. Before a girl gets married, she is courted by more than four or six men/boys. These six men are always enemies for her, if one gets her and she overcomes (defeats) him that one may not come back. The families of these boys courting are known by the family of the girl. They follow your track record; where your family comes from; what your family has been doing; is it free from witch craft? Is it free from wizardry? You know there is witch craft and wizardry. And in Karamoja there are a number of wizard practices; which are anti-social in the Karamoja society. There are wizards who dancer at night. They would as well investigate whether you come from a clan which has people who mount on animals- those who have sex with animals, but unlike in other tribes, when you're discovered here (in Karamoja), you're killed. Harsh punishments (which would result into death) would be used to eliminate or reduce people of this kind in society.

There is a kind of witchcraft; who look at animals or human beings and they die. After realizing that you're free from all these, now they look into the reproductive ability of your clan. Do people in your clan loose very many children in a process of birth? If your family does not have such bad behavior, you have passed it. Then the family of the girl; the father, mother and elder brothers, will sit her down and tell her that we don't know in your heart, we have looked at all your men and we think the son of so and so is fitting. They will not tell the name; it should be the girl to say the name. The girl may reply that, I think, I also had the same in mind; he is very good, strong, his sisters also accepted me, he has good sisters, they came here, you saw them also. Even during courtship, these sisters come to your home. Engagement could take five to six years, not like now where it has been adulterated; even in a matter of months.

But how did these things break? (the question is posed and answered by the participant). As I told you, the conflict was around but it was reasonable. The question is of how it became radical. During all this process, the Turkana were

under the management of Haile Selassie, who was then the Ethiopian emperor. So, three quarters of the Turkana were in Ethiopia and the guns were coming from Ethiopia, and these guns which were in Ethiopia were not made by any one in factories, they were made by prisoners. Prisoners were making those guns where you could put one bullet and then shoot, then come back and put another one. These were the guns Turkana were having, and they were superior weapons to any other spears or arrows we used to have. It happened that the Toposa were fighting the Turkana, yet the Toposa of South Sudan are actually relatives of the Karimojong. So, they would not allow the Turkana who had guns to overrun the Karimojong, they would come all the way from southern Sudan, to either Bokora or here (Matheniko) and continue to raid the Turkana. In fact, there is an entry point on this, north eastern part of Kotido, which has a very small linkage with Kaabong, and these people used to call this their corridor. This is how the relationship was, these people (Karimojong) and the people of South Sudan and it continued until around 1950s.

In which year did massive raids involving use of guns occur? *I am very sure about the one of 1967, in which I was actually involved. The Toposa came all the way from Sudan (the present day South Sudan), they came in the month of April. I was in a kraal then. That kraal was far behind those mountains of Napak, near Lake Opet; Lake Opet is behind those hills. They were carrying their guns and driving cows they were eating as food along the way- when they reached our kraal, they exchanged their heifers with the bulls we had. They slaughtered some animals, they roasted their meat, after roasting the meat they carried it. At that time, because of that training, that training you go through before becoming adults, I was asked to help these guys who had guns to carry meat, we left that place all through the place between Nakapiripirit and Moroto which was vacant, until we reached the Pokot (the land occupied by the Pokot people). The Pokot were one; in one area (concentrated in one area), some Pokot were in Uganda, that is why they were called the Kara-Suk; the Karimojong – Suk, before they were called Pokot. They were Suk, actually, that is how they were called. The Pokot name came later on. I don't know how it came about, I need to find out. So, we went up through all that*

place and entered near a place called Alale, which is now the district headquarters of the North Pokot of Kenya. We reached there, and the animals were raided in the morning at around 10:00 am o'clock, we found them when they were already grazing. Nobody was killed; the herdsmen ran and so on, all cows were collected. Because the Toposa had guns, the sound scared the Pokot. So, they ran, we fought, they overcame them, but of course the government was active by that time. **Which government?** The government of Uganda and that of Kenya, but by then, this place raided was part of Uganda. It had not been given to Kenya. So, people who were actively fighting this practice (cattle raiding) were the county chiefs; who are no longer in existence currently. They were very powerful and feared; powerful, feared and respected. They had their own askalis, selected by them, who were once warriors and were feared by fellow warriors and communities. So, the chief from this side (from Alale - where cattle were raided from) communicated with the chief in Matheniko (where the raiders were going to pass), by that time the chief in Matheniko was called Angela. So, they (the chief and his askalis) had to organize. We drove the cows, reaching somewhere behind those mountains (Mountain Moroto), a few kilometres to Nadiket seminary it was now late. The Toposa said, let us rest here, there is a place called Alakere, it is a very flat area, very flat and no trees. Because people wanted to eat, they began killing animals, and they killed according to groups. **So, it was a big group with sub-groups, right?** Very big, composed of the Toposa, the Jie, the Dodoth, the Bokora, the Matheniko, and the Pian; six ethnic groups against the Suk tribe. And the cows were too many, too many. I did not even know whether people were killed in the fight, but at night the government (government soldiers) came. The chief here and the chief from Alale came with their warriors; their askalis, they began shooting people when they were eating meat in the night. We did not have trees for roasting meat, but we used a certain plant for roasting meat, ...so where they would see fire lighting they would shoot an arrow, of course the Pokot were using arrows; for many years Pokot have been using arrows, all these other tribes have been using spears and shields for protection. So, where they see the fire, they just throw an arrow there and have somebody died, until people said, enemies are becoming so many, and the guns

were coming. But because the Toposa knew that the government is coming, they were wiser than the other groups. Remember the group which had gone was a mixed of people; the rich and the poor, and the poor were saying, this is a cow, I think I can take advantage today, and they were the ones driving cows. No, this was not the first raid in my time, there was another raid. The first raid I had about was two years earlier than that, around 1965 or 1964, when the Pokots organized themselves and came with a total aim of raiding the cows from this area. They went all through the northern part of Moroto town, of course together with the people of Tepeth, these are Ugandans on those mountains (Moroto Mountain). They went through, down to the place called Kobebe, where the current dam is. And because it was a grazing area, and because during the rainy season the cows of all these people (the Matheniko), including the Pian and the Bokora would all come this side of Kobebe because the place is always free from ticks during the rainy season, so the breed given birth to from there would be free from diseases generally. But also, because when cows (cattle) are there, the only insecurity is on the other side of Turkana, nothing else. So, they came-up to there; the Pokot were killed and killed at that place called Nakiloro, that is how the name came about. The Pokot were killed to the extent that they did not know where to go; so, a person would just sit down and holds his hands across his legs, looking down and waiting to be killed. So, the Karimojong said 'Elorok ekile', from this the name Nakiloro came about. During that time, leave alone these raids which followed later on; this was the first one in our time, followed by the other one I told you above.

Then there was one, where the Jie separated; they refused working with the rest of the groups. They turned against the Bokora and against the Matheniko. **What is responsible for this turn around?** They saw that they had nowhere to go for enemies to get the cows. They saw there were too many cows in Bokora, too many cows in Matheniko, and they had few cows in Jie. **What depleted or reduced their animals?** The Turkana and there was an outbreak of diseases, those were the main causes. The Jie mounted a raid on the Bokora; the Bokora and the Matheniko, they were grazing in the same areas. This was around 1969. When the Bokora, Matheniko and Pian learnt that there was an outbreak of disease (in the sub-region)

they all went to Napak near Lake Bisina, there were no enemies, so the only enemy to attack them were the Jie. When the Jie mounted a raid, they took a lot of cattle from the Bokora. What did the Bokora say, we will not fight the Jie, they went straight to the villages of the Jie, they sealed all the homes they could and killed so many people and drove the cows, so much as the Jie were driving the cows and jubilating that they succeeded, their enemies did not follow, the enemies (Bokora) had began from home. As they came near their homes they noticed vaults jumping over their settlements. They wondered, iito!! what is this?!!! They sent young men to check, they found when many people had been killed, cows were taken, and they have nothing left. They came home and cried. The Bokora changed the tactic; they attacked the villages where nobody expected them. When the Jie saw what they (Bokora) did, they brought the cows they had raided back to the Bokora and said lets have peace- that is how peace was created (undocumented peace deal) - this was an accord between the Bokora, Matheniko and the Jie. They made this accord and it yielded peace for some time. They said we shall never repeat this; they even created their songs of peace and reconciliation. The peace stayed until a time when the Amin government was overthrown. You know President Amin did not chase away any soldiers, if you are a soldier you remained a soldier, if you were a police man, you remained a police man, if you were a track police you remained a track police officer. These were to keep the security around; if the Turkana attacked a place, they would be the ones to be sent by the government to go and fight or track animals. They would not send soldiers, no, they would send those ones, because they know the terrain; they know the hardships here very well. So, Amin kept all these people intact, this helped to maintain peace and order. When Amin was overthrown in 1979, this brought in a number of issues; when the Tanzania soldiers came in there was separation of people, when they discovered you were a soldier, they would kill you, so the Amin soldiers had to run away. When they ran away, they left many guns here, but they also went with guns. But because they were not aligned to the new government, they remained at large with those guns, and now those guns re-enforced the community. Most communities did not have guns by this time; we were actually not able to have guns. And these soldiers, the Ugandan Army

by then, did not know what to do because they had lived very peaceful lives in the barracks. The army of that time was having a lot of luxury; everything was luxurious. They would come-out of the barracks for a walk without uniforms. They had their own shops in the Barracks. The only way they would be amalgamated and accepted in these communities is to live the life of the jungle of being a warrior (like these communities) in order to survive among them. By being there, they initiated the system of using guns in conflict. When this happened, communities also got a chance of going to the barracks; they picked a lot of guns, the Matheniko and others. That is how the gun-led conflict intensified. And they (guns) went to that age-set I was telling you about earlier; who graduated through all stages when they were urge and willing to see what a gun is. And now (after getting guns) the main enemy was the Turkana, no any other but the Turkana (a chance for revenge), so everybody organized and went to raid the Turkana in early 1980s, they raided the Turkana, and they brought the cows. The Turkana organized, they came and raided the Matheniko, I cannot remember the year because by this time I was already in school. What happened then the Matheniko saw things (raiding the Turkana) were not working well, the conflict then started between the Matheniko and the Bokora because they (Matheniko) also had guns. Once in 1980s when it was Obote Government, the Jie went on their own, they went up to Lango, they raided cows, I think this was towards Christmas in 1982. They brought the cows, they drove the cows all the way, instead of taking the direction to Jie, they moved as if they were coming to Bokora, reaching Bokora, they branched on the eastern part of Nyakwae or Labwor hills, in a place called Pworo, then they took their direction direct to Jie. So, those people organized, their soldiers were in for a Christmas break, they came from there, remember this was the Obote government, about six trucks full, plus Land Rovers, they came-up to Bokora, now the Matheniko and the Bokora were both grazing in Bokora land. There is a watering place called Lukwasiyen, they came, when they reached a place called Nyakwae Lokona Apatheca, they found one of the presidential escorts who had gone home for holidays, they got hold of him, that one had his car, they had privileges in fact up to Obote II government, that one directed them following the foot marks of the animals, he directed them

and he went. They followed up to Kangole, in Kangole,...but first of all in Lokopo down there, in the sub-county of Bokora, there were already many soldiers tracking the animals, others came up to Matany, others came up to Kangole, but they went back. But when they went back, the first mistake these soldiers made was to kill a government sub-county clerk of Matany. That man was killed at midday when he was closing the office. And the cows were not there; when they were going back the message reached the trading centre that the soldiers who are here have killed the cleck. I am telling you, ... in a pastoralist community, whenever something is bad.... should something bad happen here (in Moroto municipality), in a short time information will have reached as far as Kangole; it moves very first. What happened, these soldiers on their way back, nobody was bothered about it, got three small children watering the animals in a river bed, and they shot these children dead. Now these people saw that these people were enemies; these were not the trusted type. People went and mobilized the villages and attacked the soldiers. I am telling you, very few soldiers survived, very few soldiers. Those who survived were formerly here, those who had been to the seminary. Three boys (soldiers) passed via Kangole mission, and went via Lotome, through Lorwengedwat. They got some friends of theirs and changed the clothes, that is how they escaped. The colour of the uniform now became a hot cake for a warrior, that is how military uniforms and guns became a hot cake for warriors from that incidence. So, you kill a person (soldier), you take the gun, another person (a friend) takes the uniform- they would undress them, take military uniforms and wear it. So, they were killed and killed up to Kangole; they were 11 who survived, I participated in putting them in the police cells because people were finishing them. Those who went there, we opened the prison, removed prisoners and put them there. So, when people came we told them these are prisoners, because even police (prison police) ran away from the current police post of Napak District, in that black house you see, leave alone those houses that have been built, there is a house which is more or less round; that is where we kept the 11 people (soldiers). They did not have guns, they had already lost guns; when you wanted to survive you threw the gun away, they (warriors) pick the gun, you go. If you want to survive, just run bare-chested, just like them. When they were

fighting they did not have clothes, they would have these sukas (sheets) down. Those people (soldiers from Moroto barracks) organized a rescue, but I am telling you, the soldiers were kept off the water sources. Do you see that road from Moroto when you are going to Soroti, this is that corner near that school where there is a wind mill, that borehole was working; now at its eastern part, the army was kept there closed/defeated for close to four days by the warriors and the warriors had very many guns. They cut them off, no supply from Moroto could reach them, it was going to spark another bigger war between the government forces and the Karimojong, thank God some few ended-up coming from here (Moroto) through Lorengedwat, and came via Lotome, which was open. So, as they (the government) were mobilizing vehicles from Mubende, from Mbarara, and from Jinja to come. Those guys came and told us, young man and you friend, I was still a young man, though I had begun working, go and tell the warriors that the people they are fighting are not the ones who killed their people. Tell them that the people they are fighting are our soldiers, they were coming to pick the dead bodies, because some of them were officers, we went with that message. And that fighting; that had taken four days, attracted people all the way from Nakapiripirit, all the way from Pokot to come and see. You know, running here when something is going on is so easy for a warrior; they run without resting, they ran all through. So, when we went and announced to them, they all withdrew. Imagine all those vehicles of guns, plus those of the run-away soldiers of Amin, and those which were collected from the Barracks, as well as those sold, all increased the number of weapons in Karamoja. Now, when that was taking place, the Turkana made a very big attack on the Matheniko, shortly, within the same year. So, people were looking the other direction, the Turkana came and did malice here and took the animals. What happened, the Matheniko of Rupa said we need peace with the Turkana; for how long shall we have this. So, the issue of the Lokiamia Peace Accord was initiated by the local people. The people here said, how can we communicate with the Turkana, they got four terrible warriors to go to Turkana, they went there with sticks, they went there with Tobacco, each carrying six packs of pounded tobacco – those were 24 in total, they went to the kraals of the Turkana. The Turkana looked at them (one

of those warriors in still alive, others died). So, they looked at them, they had gone to a watering place, the enemies were at the watering place; they came, they came, they came, they were just seated (the warriors from Matheniko), until they (the Turkana) reached near them, they raised their hands and said come....we have come for peace, we want to have peace, they said. We are tired of killings; we are tired of killing each other. The Turkana could not believe, even though they could not believe, the message was sent around the Turkana area; up to Lodwar. Those in Lodwar and Turkana south said, if it is true bring those men here, they took them. People here (in Matheniko) thought they had been killed, because they stayed there for two months without coming back, for the Turkana to ascertain their seriousness about the issue of peace. They were taken all round the Turnaka region, in the third month is when they came back with the Turkana, it was a very big celebration. They said let us go to one place (for an accord), were we have lost so many people and that was Lokiliama; that is when the Lokiliama Peace Accord was initiated by the people. When the government of Kenya got to know about it, because these (four) people were taken even to the commissioner in Kenya, they supported the efforts. What used to happen before the gun, conflicts were not frequent but when the guns came they actually accelerated the conflict. They caused tensions among ethnic Karimojong themselves; they caused tension between the Bokora and the Matheniko, the Matheniko and the Jie, up to the Dodoth and Pian. But there was a lee-way to Turkana because of that Peace Accord. There remained conflict between the Bokora and the Pian, they had their enemy the Pokot, that was a natural thing. The conflict went on and on. There was also a conflict between the people of Lotome within Bokora themselves, which was just caused by misunderstandings and so on; people of Lotome and the Bokora were conflicting. If you went to Lotome people call themselves Ng'itome, and they are realizing that they have a group in Moroto and in Napak, and they also have a link with people on mountain Kadam, they have a link also with those people in the northern part of Kotido; in Kaabong, called the Ik. So, the internal fabric that used to keep people together broke. An elder in Matheniko would no longer respect elders from Bokora; those elders who used to hold the tradition together like this were all destroyed. That is how the conflict went

out of hand, between and among the Karimojong. There was nothing the government was doing to make sure this conflict is controlled. And they could not do anything much when people here/warriors were seeing soldiers as a source of their guns. That is how the all thing was, then, there was no infrastructure, the level of education went down, children would not go to school, raiding was seen as easier than going to school. These conflicts actually broke the line of learning (education), because children who were now going to schools resorted to raids, and then the road thuggery started, which was not a work/lifestyle of pastoralists. Road ambushes were along that road; you would not go without security; going to Iriiri. At Nakicumet you would not cross; to Kotido you would not cross; at Lobel from Kotido to Kaabang you would not cross without escorts. **Who were these doing this?** Children who had gone to school and they saw life in the gun was important; those who thought that in order to balance the life of a typical warrior and modern life is to have money. So, having money you had to go along the road. They also wanted to sustain that life, to do that you actually had to cause raids so that the cows (livestock) are brought are exchanged for money. With this change in mentality, the cows that would go to the poor could no longer go; the cows that would go for marriage would no longer long; the cows that would be kept for prestige could no longer be. So, cows (livestock) turned to be commercial; raiding became commercialized, that is how everything became a mess; completely mixed-up. And then, soldiers became also loose in terms of supplying bullets and because their salaries were small; they were on ration, so that is how things went-up. Even when Museveni's government came into power, it did not absorb the other soldiers of the Obote II regime. **Were these soldiers running away Karimojong? If not, how would they run into Karimojong communities if they were not?** That is right, because in the first one, when Amin was overthrown, a few guns were acquired, actually through killing of soldiers who were running out (of the barracks). So even when the Obote II government was overthrown, more guns were accessed through the same way. You're running in a vehicle; the vehicle is ambushed. But also, there were soldiers on the other side coming this way; coming back to Karamoja (Karimojong soldiers), so those who were not Karimojong had

to find a way out, to do this they had to fight through. When they were fighting through, they were overpowered and their guns were all taken. That is how the supply of guns continued in Karamoja. When the Museveni government came in, because of consultations and discussions, a few soldiers were called back, these were soldiers who came with multiple guns, because they thought when a new government comes in, they will not be wanted back, so they needed to have some guns. When this government came, when they were calling back these soldiers, they should have told them to help get the guns back. That would have been possible, and that would have been the way to encourage co-existence among these people. So, that is how things went out of hand, all these traditions were cut-off. Communities which had guns were no longer respecting elders; now the elders had no voice, even to curse, they would not. Killings continued unabated; before they began using guns, a child could not be killed, a woman could not be killed, a hunter could not be killed, a deaf person could not be killed, lame and mad persons could not be killed, an old man could not be killed; all these could not be killed, but when the gun came in!!!. You know with a gun you kill/ shot from a distance, so they felt it is not affecting them, because the spirits of the murdered were far and not affecting them (murderers), although they continued going home and doing those rituals of cleansing.

Before, when they were using spears, when they were fighting, I can say people were eating human beings, though not directly. Because, when you kill, when the fighting is still going on, a person who has killed the enemy will get the spear through your heart (the enemy's heart). He pierces your heart, when the spear comes out with blood he licks the blood and then he continues fighting. This is how some people believed that Karimojong were eating their fellow people. The reason why they would lick it is to strengthen the person in the fighting, so that the spirit (of the killed) does not take him immediately. So, I think in this aspect, in all these processes, the traditional bond died out; the aspect of age-sets was no longer there. Because an age-set would affect another age-set, and that affects another one, all these died out. People were moving together, like it is one group. That is how the conflict here by use of guns overran the tradition. So, traditional mechanisms

(practices) could no longer hold the people together. And that is why they said they needed support; external support (on which to survive). And that is why when the issue of disarmament came; the elderly were more pro-disarmament than the young ones. And the only hope, they were saying, depending on the mode of disarmament would take, was to see peace. If you don't mind taking you back, during the time when Turkana had guns,..here also people dismantled all the boreholes, which we used to call U-1, we had boreholes that had been built by the colonial government, and were being maintained by the government of Uganda, called U-1. These were boreholes which were cemented down, pipes were fixed down and up here you had timber; all those boreholes were dismantled; especially those which were far from people's reach (far from settlements and roads). Why? Those rods, which were inside the pipes of three inch, were very strong; people discovered that they were very strong. So, they removed those pipes, cut them and they became the barrels of the gun. People who were doing this are the black smiths, the techniques they used to make bangles and bells for cows helped them to make an opening for that metal so that it flatens to enable the bullet to sit on it. So, Karimojong started making their own guns; that is how the 'Amatidae' (locally made gun) came about. It was out of the pressure of the Turkana, that people began making guns. In which year did this begin to happen? The making of the 'Amatidae' began in 1970s; it could be 1972 or 1973. That is when most of the boreholes were affected, because I remember in 1974 when we used to go to hunt, we used to come all the way from Kangole Boys (a school in Kangole) to this side of Matheniko (Moroto) even towards the side of the road to Kotido. But the boreholes from which we could drink, like that side of Lopei, all their pipes had been removed. They had been removed to make guns. To that level, I think, the government thought that the only alternative is to disarm these people (the Karimojong).

The issue of disarmament was thought over several times and all along there had been that plan for disarmament in the previous governments, but they did not have modalities of how to disarm. They tried to disarm in Nakapiripirit; in Namalu and people killed a soldier. There was also an attack by the government using soldiers from Teso, they came up to Kangole; they were all killed and guns taken, that is

how guns were coming in. People who come from another tribe with an intention of doing something bad here will be heading for doom, they are not used to the terrain, they don't know the tactics these people use in fighting. Even the army itself, because the army listens to the commander, these people do not have a commander, when they have gone for war, it is fighting, period. If you have seen an enemy you do not need to be told that now shoot that is an enemy; you just shoot, every one commands himself, you decide when to shoot and when to stop. That is how the army has been fought. The disarmament was preceded by a number of meetings, discussions, and of course Museveni was planning to settle in Moruliga, we were discussing with the government, we did not have many NGOs here, we had MWF which came in 1982, when Oxfam left. They came to help people with relief because there was very big famine in 1979 and the following years.

Can you highlight how colonialism affected the region and the culture? *When colonialists came, back before 1930s, the Karimojong believed in their overseers. What we call the seers, the Layibon, what we can call the witchdoctors.... So, one of them had dreamt that 'there is something coming, coming from the West moving, it is white, we don't know what it is, but it is coming to take your land, prepare, otherwise the land is gone.' This thing/issue of the land going in Karamoja was long ago predicted. Even now, $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Karamoja land has gone, it was long ago predicted. Up to now, this is a big challenge, which will make the conflict continue, we have not solved the conflict as I mentioned earlier, we are just sleeping on it, but of course, I told the president that the next conflict will be on land.*

So, when colonialist came the Karimojong met them at a place called Kayepak, that is in Lokopo, in Napak District. So, they fought the white man here, they (white men) had arrested (captured) some people to carry their belongings, as poppers. They fought there, they were being killed but all the same, they were fighting and more were still coming. The colonialist feared, they said these people are dangerous, who are they? Another group of white men came; they came straight up to Longalum, near Matany. When colonialists came there, they had guns; these people were moving with guns, all those merchants were actually armed. Then they (Karimojong) had again that the same men (white men) had come again they

started organizing to attack them, those people escaped in the night (the white men), when they reached that place, they (the Karimojong) discovered that bullets were all around, and nobody knew these were actually bullets. Those who were creative removed the shell, got the powder and used it as tobacco (for sniffing). But before these two incidences, another Muzunga had come, he was exploring what was taking place in Nyakwae those years, he was called Tuff Nakaka. He was killed and his body has not been discovered until now, but the people know where it is buried. When the 'Bazungu' (white men) went back, they had seen how rich this place was; rich with ivory, they saw how rich it was, rich with everything. Then, they decided that let Karamoja be treated as an animal zoo; let it be cut from the rest of Uganda where we are; let us colonize it as a shadow; let it be part of the colony but when it is cut-out, whoever goes there must get a pass (written permission) in Soroti. Your passport (travel pass) had to be stamped in Soroti if you're coming to Karamoja, the current boundary between the Bokora and Teso was not there, the land was coming up to Awoya, that is where the boundary was; Soroti was part of Karamoja and there (in Soroti) was the last commissioner for this place.

Now in 1911, I think this was earlier than that fighting - they put up this hospital (the current Moroto Regional Referral Hospital), it was down there in a place called Natoukaikok; it was grass thatched then. One time, my father was arrested, I was not born by then, but our sisters were there by then, even our father told us. He was arrested for having refused to be a chief. He was kept there for six months, but my family members were carrying grass as a kind of payment for my father's release – this issue of corruption started with the Bazungu (white men), it did not start anywhere else. So, if my father was to be released, my people had to continue carrying grass for building the hospital. One of my sister who is still arrive was carrying it with the rest of the relatives for about six months, then my father was released. As I said, Karamoja was cut off then, but the road was there, you could come all the way to Moroto. The trading centres were Kangole and then Moroto, but missionaries had already come here, that was one advantage. Because of that curving out of Karamoja, Karimojong did not have any sense of belonging beyond

what they were looking at in terms of development. Even when missionaries came and brought education, it was only the children of the chiefs that went to schools. The rest of the people were saying, that is a white man's thing. Much as some became Christians, including our family, education was something taken for granted. And, because a girl was fetching more cows than education, that is why girls were not going to school.

So, cutting Karamoja out of the changes that were happening elsewhere in the world is a clear contribution to the continued existence of conflict. There was no time for any government to come down and tell people, 'please this is another way to go for development; this lifestyle must come to an end, we can begin another way of life', this was the problem. Even the successive governments that came after the 1962 independence, Karamoja was left like that; nobody was bothered; no schools were built. For example, Kangole Boys was built by missionaries, Lotome was built by the missionaries of the Church of Uganda, Nanduget also, and children used to travel all the way from Labwor, that is in Abim district to study in Lotome. There were no schools in Kotido, all children would move-up to Moroto- look at that! and these were children of chiefs.

People would walk all the way, walk, sleep and then reach, sometimes even after four days. That is how this place was left to fend for itself. Even when this government woke-up, trying to see how best we can help Karamoja, ... I have been telling you a number of things, including how best can we fight dependency on relief. People now do have 'AIDS in their heads', which is 'Acquired Induced Dependency Syndrome' on Relief. Because of that gap, when other districts were moving on, all successive governments, except that of Amin, Amin saw that there was only Moroto High School and all students from Karamoja were coming here. The Teacher Training School was the highest institution (of learning) here, and then Junior Secondaries were Kangole Boys and Lotome, there was no other. But later on, one was put in Kotido and in Kanawat. There was nothing else. Then when Amin came to power, I think Amin did good for us, he built Kangole Girls for the girls of Karamoja; it was the only school for girls by then and it is still the only one up to now. When he built that he said, there should be another secondary school

*in Kotido; Kotido SS and that is how this school came to be; It is Amin who built these schools in 1976. The few teachers who were Karimojong herein Moroto, even the Iteso, were trained there. These schools were followed by Abim Senior Secondary schools. As much as Amin is called stupid, he was so wise. He saw it that you cannot bring children from Labwor, children from Kotido or elsewhere and bring them here (in Moroto). He knew the problem we were going through with our neighbors the Iteso and the Acholi, even when we were at school, we were putting our choices outside this region (for lack of good schools). **What forced you to run away from the kraal for education, when it was not in positive regard most people in the region?** With me, I think the way I was born was unique. It is a long story but our family sent children to school; my father had sent my brothers, at least three of them, we were twelve. Out of the twelve, the three boys went to school, the girls did not go, and others of course died. My follower was going to school and I was going to look after cows, and that is why I told you I was in the Kraal in 1967 looking after cows, I saw how hard it was. That incidence of the raid, for example, here are the marks (injury scars) of the arrows I sustained during that raid near those mountains; I was young but I was speared by the arrows in the night. A man tied my hands, and in the morning, I was taken to Nabilatuk, in a place called Longatum, I stayed there until the following year when I discovered our cows while they were grazing. I did not even know where our home was, I went back home with the cows. I stayed there, then in 1968 I decided to escape, I escaped from the Kraal behind those mountains in Napak (Napak mountains), walked on feet, passing all through that flat area (towards Moroto). Reaching somewhere between those mountains, there were lions, and many wild animals. I climbed and slept on top of a tree; while on a tree, I fell down at night, when I had slept off. When I fell, I woke-up and started walking straight again. I came up to Lorengecola, in the current Napak county, I met the people of Labwor (another community traditionally living in the sub-region) who had been displaced by the Turkana in 1966; they were refugees here. So, I stayed there with them, I became part of that family, whose children were all killed by the Turkana. They identified me at a borehole in a place called Kobulim, I was naked of course. It was evening,*

they took me to their home and gave me food, then I slept with the rest of the children (of the settlement). In the morning I could not walk, I told them let me also go and help you to clear the garden, I cleared with them; with the girls, because other families had boys except this family. In the process, I killed a small antelope, and I brought it home, that was a very good blessing for that family. They said, their family could almost do nothing because other families (which have boys) could go hunting, like those small antelopes and eat, for them they never tested meat, this is the day when they tested meat; even the clearing of gardens was done by only girls. I had taken-up the initiative to go to school, because even when I was baptized in 1963, still my father refused me to go for baptism, I had to follow-up a priest. Yet he was an employee of the mission. Committed to my decision, I came straight to Kangole, reaching there, some relatives wanted to take me back (home), my grandmother was alive by then, she was from Teso, she hid me and then I had to move on feet from Kangole to this side of Rupa (a sub-county of Moroto District) - that is why I know this place more. I stayed in Rupa a life that was hard (followed by a pro-longed silence) - very hard that I cannot tell you; very hard, very hard to the level that I have eaten a human being. We were eating from the drums (garbage bins) of the barracks, you would go there and get food, the army was very good to us. They would be fed on meat; they were not eating fatty meat so they would through it down, for us we would eat. Then I discovered one of my brothers who had gone to school and finished by 1964, he was already working here in 1968. I discovered him here (in Moroto), he welcomed me and took me (to his home). We went back (to the father's home) when their cows died in 1969, I dodged my father, I thought he would not allow me to go back, he said; no, no let him continue with school. Then I came back to stay here. Later I went to Nadunget- the same year I was in Rupa is the same year I was in Nadunget, from there I came back to Naitakwa here. I said, I think I have become mature enough, I can run now even if they come for me. That is what inspired me. I did not have anything about it, I just said to hell with kraal life. That experience and the hard life made me to continue with school life. **What makes you believe education could create attitude change, yet elders had cursed the pen or education in Karamoja? Yes, it could**

be possible especially among other communities, because the Jie (who denounced education) were a small community, so they did not apportion their people to education¹⁵. And, where the current Kotido is, was a place for Labwor people, the Jie came there later on. So, the first clan, the Labwor people of Abim were also behaving like the Karimojong although they are Luo speakers, even Jie are Luo speakers. So, they (Jie) believed that it is the pen/education that was bringing this issue of colonialism; that the Muzungi (colonialist) brought the segregation and separation through making of boundaries among communities, yet people knew their (socially-based) boundaries. The question was, why do you demarcate and separate people, why do you say this is Moroto, this is Napak, this is Bokora, this is Matheniko, why do you say that? But in reality, leaving people to live such a lifestyle for so long without introducing them to new thinking (through education) is key to causing violent conflicts. But also, people taking arms by themselves, without learning the “cons and pros’ of the gun, and the breakdown of traditional ties of communities.

A Snapshot of Narrative Two:

In the second narrative, the general nurture of a human person, the consequent mentality of fighting and the need to present as strong are pointed to as responsible for the tendency to crave for violence and acceptance of the gun-use-culture. Among the study communities, maturity meant the capacity to show that you’re strong and resilient in the harsh socio-ecological set-up of the sub-region; traits attainable through risky fights with humans and wild animals. In the common outlook; a good shepherd is a good executor of violence, as a necessary trait for survival. Thus, the tendency to act violently necessitated the acquisition of the most efficient tools of violence reachable - of late, the guns.

Just like rehearsal fights among ag-mates, wrestling between courting couples is said to be a test of man’s ability to protect the family, in case he becomes the husband. This explanation raises

¹⁵ He believed that it is only the Jie community, which is a small community, that had cursed or forbidden the education brought by colonialists, it could not have affected the whole area, if education had been encouraged among communities.

more questions than it resolves. I am tempted to think that it is meant to achieve something different or more than just this. The first question is: Is the performed defeat of a would-be wife enough criterion to ascertain which man (potential husband) is able to protect the family? Secondly, will the enemies of the family (potential and actual) be female, so that the defeat of a woman guarantees defeat of enemies/attackers? Thirdly, if a girl/woman is powerful enough to defeat the potential husband, why doesn't she assume the protective role of a family? I am meant to believe that if they (enemies) are likely to be men, this kind of test should have been arranged between men and fellow men or potential threats of the family. Beyond the explanations given, the courtship time was seen as a moment for adolescent girls to better their fighting skills, but with boys/men who were interested in her since they would hardly hurt her. According to the second narrative, it is important to note that life in general is seen as a battleground; the environment and climate too are harsh. And, principally, it is the responsibility of individuals to protect themselves. Moreover, it is only when you're equipped with deterrent skills as an individual that you can contribute to collective security and protection of the community. This 'courtship fight' does not guarantee man's ability to protect the family; firstly, the conditions that surround this event and real-life battle situations are different – other life-long drills are more of an explanation of the man's ability to fight.

Although some participants disassociate with 'livestock raiding' and see it as a practice of a few greedy constituents of the Karimojong fraternity, others insist that it is cultural since it existed from the far past, though with relatively low and far less violence. The narrator in this second narrative confirms that cattle raids existed and they would be planned in favorable seasons. Moreover, the targeted group would be informed of the attack, other than being surprised. To further disapprove the claim that the cattle raids were caused by scarcity of resources, like many findings show, he shows that traditionally, raids would happen when communities are satisfied; in time of plenty, when they feel strong, out of feeding well. These would happen around August, towards the end of the rainy season; when communities have plenty of food (including milk), water and pasture for the animals, when they don't need to rely on the mercy of other communities, for these resources.

Basing on the insights from the narrative above, it can be asserted that violence was not caused by scarcity of resources as often asserted, but by an amalgam of often interlinked elements of abundance, greed, expeditious adventures (warrior tradition) and sense of testing self-strength. All

of which reduced or jeopardized the need for dependence, and creating a feeling of being strong and able to challenge the other groups in a battle-like setting. This is typified by the case of the Jie (in the narrative above), who used to collaborate with the rest of the Karimojong, who later re-branded as their enemies when "...they saw there were too many cows in Bokora, too many cows in Matheniko", and not necessarily too few cattle on their side. Abundance and 'greed for more', can offer a better explanation in such a case than the scarcity discourse can.

5.4 The Experience and Insights of a Local Government Leader in Karamoja

I must say that what Karamoja has been going through is terrible! The conflict that I understand started around 1960s; 62, 63 or 61, I am myself a born of sixty-four (1964), by the time I attained the age of reason, at around 1973, 74, I found that killings were bad here. By that time the conflict was between the Turkana and the rest of the Karimojong. It happened at that time when the Turkana, Topoth and Pokot were armed while the Karimojong were not. So, I found when they had terrorized and plundered a number of settlements to the extent that in Moroto district people abandoned two of their sub-counties. The one of Loititha up there, where Kobebe dam and a game reserve are, and the one of Lotilis and this also affected part of the current Tapach. Especially where you find Nakonyen, where the police out-post was and Katikekile, where a school as big as that of Kasimeri was, and a Church. As we speak, there is only some debris and relics of signs of development of that time. So, it was so bad to the extent that in 1972, 73, I do remember somebody in my village, I do remember only one name. In the name of Lodukamoi, who concocted the first locally made gun and this gun was made out of a small water pipe that carries water to a sink and a bit of wood and a bit so dunlop, then some rod was specially cut to provide the trigger. That concoction was made in 1972 or 1973, by a man called Lodukamoi from Rupa and that technology multiplied very first; it was adapted very first and this gun was locally known as 'Amatidae'. You had to put a bullet, you shoot, just like you are using a catapult, but with this, you shoot and then you use another rod to remove the cartilage. Believe me, by 1978, about five years later, the technology had

transformed to the extent of just putting a bullet and shoot. Many people here laugh and say, if it was not for what happened in 1979, which I will tell you later, possibly the Karimojong would have made an automatic gun. But of course, they had somehow reached some level of automation. It is possible that by this time, they should have made one with a magazine. Now basically, the conflict was based on resources; natural resources, the pasture and water. It also transited from those to other resources such as livestock. And, it became like a long, long practice, whereby people who thought they were stronger than others would go and raid from others. The end of 1973, more specifically on 18th Dec., 1973. A peace accord was struck between the Matheniko of Rupa, together with a part of the Tepeth of the mountain (Moroto) and the Turkana at a place called Lokirama. That is the Peace Accord we celebrate along this horn of Africa, an example of how conflicting communities can agree to live in peace now for almost 42 years. So, this (conflict) was driven by struggle or scramble for resources as I have highlighted to you and in terms of livestock and so, with time it became almost a culture. It became a practice that even when the Matheniko and Turkana struck a Peace Accord, they did not replicate this, instead, they formed an alliance or a coalition and started raiding from other Karimojongs; from the Dodoth, the Jie, the Pian and the rest, to the extent that by 1975 it was too bad! Remember in 1975 there was crop failure, the Bokora ran away, and I think that is the time they went up to Masindi and so on. This condition went on and was compounded by the fall of Idi Amin on 11th April, 1979. This is when the Matheniko who were staying near the Barracks in Moroto, I remember the barracks of Moroto is and was one of the biggest barracks in the country, so they accessed the armory here in Moroto and got guns; the automatic rifles and abandoned the other concocted guns. That brought that technology to hold. The automatic rifle came to the hands of the Karimojong. I saw people carrying guns on their donkeys, I saw women carrying bundles of guns like they would carry firewood; people carried boxes of bullets and they sold to all other ethnic groups of the region and even outside it. That is how guns; the automatic rifles came to the hands of the Karimojong. By 1979 to around 1981, 82, there was a serious conflict in Karamoja, people were killing each other very seriously to the

extent that by 1981, somebody in the names of Marati Appa Loris, started an initiative to pacify Karamoja region. He pacified the Matheniko and the Bokora, he also pacified the Pian; with these three pacified he continued to the Pokot and the Jie and the whole Karamoja was peaceful. By 1982, we could now take this peace and reconciliation to the neighbors, since the Karimojong were not only raiding themselves, but were also exerting pressure on the neighbors. The neighbors meant here are the Acholi, the Langi, the Iteso and the Sabiny. Having pacified Karamoja, now Karamoja was moving in unison as one community. Unfortunately, in 1982, in his first expedition at the place called Bwera in the current Amuria District, Appa Lorisi with many other people including ministers were killed in a community peace meeting by the Iteso militias. I think it was a planned thing, so we lost him. And that ushered in another degree of conflict between the Karimojong and the Iteso, which went on up to recently. By 1988 or 89, that is when president Museveni deployed forces along all the borders of Karamoja and Teso to stop the Karimojong incursions. But of course, conflict being not a one button press, I will not be surprised to hear that even today, there are cases of cattle thefts in that area. Remember in the past, resources like water and pasture used to force Karimojong to settle in Acholi, in Teso and I am told that even today, the Jie are still in those places. For the case of Matheniko, Bokora and Pian however, I think the provision of water in the name of the dams like in Kobebe, Alichek and others have reduced their movements in neighboring communities therefore reducing conflicts there. But above all, because of the disarmament exercise which began in 2001 and then re-launched in 2004, I see now Karamoja peaceful. We have harvested over 33,000 guns from the Karimojong. I think conflict has gone down, the cases we have are now of two, one animal thefts like that. But in order to mitigate conflicts we have gone ahead to put some policies or ordinances in place, the most famous one which has been replicated by the northern Karamoja on 22nd April, 2012 is the Nabilatuk Resolution; where we said if someone stole cattle; he pays the number of stolen animals, multiply by two plus one (number of stolen cattle X 2+1). That is what we have, and it has gone a long way to usher in peace in the region. Of course, they say, repeated actions make a

habit and pro-longed habits become a culture. Another thing that affected us much was the absence of government. I must say first of all, although the government was here in Moroto and other few places (town centres), it never penetrated to local levels; to the village and family levels. This is another factor that made conflict thrive in Karamoja; the absence of government in the region in terms of functionality of systems was another key driver of conflict in this region. Because conflict long stayed in this region, some people think it is the culture of the Karimojong to raid. The Karimojong condemn animal thefts and raiding, but we must accept the fact that it stayed here for so long and therefore, some people may not be blamed if they called it cultural for the Karimojong to raid. But in reality, it is not part of the norms that are part of to the new generation.

What is the explanation for the discrepancy between longer gun availability in the region and the later use of gun? *That explains to you that repeated actions become a habit, and a pro-longed habit becomes a culture or may appear to be a culture. You know the first guns, I am told were brought by Asians. These Asians came to buy tusks; elephant tusks. They are called traditionally ‘Icumba’. They came with guns to enable our people to be able to poach elephants, and then they would come and buy elephant tusks from our people. That I think, I don’t know what could have happened, I am told, in the traditional Karamoja, Karimojongs respected human life. Even if somebody died in Karita (a sub-county in Kotido district) there is away information would move in the whole region, and people would take seven days mourning, no going to the garden only herding and no any social activity. I am told they came with these guns. In 50s (1950s) when the issue of fighting came about, I think the very gun era at that time is the one that introduced massive violence. (Traditionally), whenever a group clashed or two groups clashed, and there was a fight, should blood be seen on either side, that would mark the end of the battle. Because the Karimojong took human life as a very sacred thing and human blood as sacred. They seem to have understood that naturally, nobody has the power to remove another person’s life. So, the unity at that time, plus the functionality of culture, plus the sobriety that was in the land when the Karimojong were still together in a place called Nakadanya, I was told*

that people who were occupying this land were called.....when Karimojong reached Nakadanya, this is in Apule, where there is a game reserve now. I am told the people who were staying here were called Wolothum; those were the people who were occupying this land. The Karimojong speaking people, some of them moved into Lango, the current Lango and others moved; the Iteso of Tororo and of the current Kenya. So, when Karimojong dispersed, they settled in sections each section had a clan symbol, like of the Matheniko the symbol of the clan is a giraffe, the one of the Bokora is a tortoise, the one of the Pian is cough grass, the one of the Jie is a wolf and the one of the Dodoth is a yolk. Dodoth for 'edoth', which is yolk.; yes, that yolk in an egg. So, even when they were settling in that cradleland, they settled according to those sections of the Karimojong and so when they moved. I think in search for pasture and good land, they moved now in sections and they occupied where they are currently. The first agents of colonialism are the ones who over capitalized on those sections/clans, you find the Jie in Jie (land) Bokora in Bokora (land), yet in Buganda you find Bulemezi, Buddo, Bugerere, but you don't find the Baganda emphasizing those administrative sections of the kingdom. But here I think, because of divide and rule of the colonialists, they overcapitalized on those small differences and made the Karimojong clans to look at each other as being different. So, I think that set-up, that traditional set-up, as early as 1800, when the Asians came with their guns, could not allow conflicts to thrive. I think, this time round in 1970s, what made conflict thrive is the differences that had been brought by colonialists.

A Snapshot on Narrative Three

The third narrative capitalized more on the violent conflict that began in 1960s and affected Moroto District most. This was unleashed by the Turkana community from across the border of Kenya, who had acquired guns from Ethiopia before Karimojong acquired them. The Matheniko were mostly affected because, they border with the Turkana community of Loima District of Kenya, thus easily accessible by the attackers. This conflict explains why, upon being subjected to unbearable suffering at the hands of the armed Turkana, the Karimojong needed and wanted guns to revenge, reclaim their worth as a strong people, as well as replenishing what had been lost over decades of gun-aided plundering.

It is evident that the amount of violence suffered by the Matheniko made their wish to have guns for self-defense irresistible, to the extent of fabricating their own locally made guns. However, it is not prudent to associate this attempt with the culture of violence, but instead understand it in light of the true context and circumstances surrounding it. The English saying that “necessity is the mother of invention” is the best explanation for this, without guns their livelihood was at the blink of extermination. It was until the Matheniko made a peace deal with the Turkana, that they were relieved of the Turkana wrath. The Lokiriana Peace Accord, although was asked for by the desperate Matheniko, it benefited the Turkana most. Of course, the Matheniko were shielded from immediate aggression of the Turkana, but they were cornered in an alliance that was against the rest of the Karimojong. When the Matheniko allied with the Turkana, a new wave of conflict dynamic dawned; breaking the traditional obligation among the Karimojong to protect each other. In a way, after weakening them to the core, they used them against their own, since that was the only way they would replenish their lost livestock.

Although this was further aggravated by the 1979’s access to guns in the Moroto, it also helped the rest of the communities in Karamoja, especially the Pian, Pokot and Bokora to acquire guns, with which they could resist armed raiders. In fact, to most Pian, unlike the Matheniko and Pokots who frequently condemned guns as destructive, guns were viewed as having been very helpful. Some former warriors among the Pian noted that; “*we still have some animals because of the gun, they were helpful.*” Another one noted, “*we were able to stand the threats because of the gun, with spears and sticks you could not manage*”. A man in Namalu, among the Pian commented that, “*before we got guns we were like women, they would just take your animals and you would do nothing about it....*” (FGD, Nakapiripirit, April, 2016). The narrator acknowledged though, that although fighting would happen during cattle raiding in the past, sight of blood would warrant immediate cease of the fighting, a practice that ceased with proliferation of guns in the sub-region. He looks at disarmament as key in stabilizing the area, as well as by-laws that make cattle raiding costly.

5.5 A Narrative by a Bokora Youth Grew-up in Moroto

The first time I went to graze they (a group of herdsmen) sent one boy to come and attack me, when he came he worked on me thoroughly. He was using a stick, and they all joined him and beat me - beating any part they could access; the head, where, where,and my head was bleeding! When they finished I was now like their slave, I was to take instructions from them, and that is what it is supposed to be, if I do not follow them they come and hit me. Now my work was, whenever the cows are straying, to run and chase them from there. For example, if they are going to gardens. Now, the next day I came back and reported to my grandfather, he was happy, he said, that is now being a man - I got annoyed and I said, okay, the next day I also went well prepared. I reached there I said today, I don't know how to fight using sticks, but will use other means. I picked two; two sticks, because we usually pick two - I said, today I am ready. They said aahh this one knows nothings, a mere school boy. You know they just pierce you in the arm-pits when you open up (your arms) anyhow, they pierced me and I just threw the sticks, I went live, boxed, boxed, and boxed him, I hit the guy badly and he took off. Now I was promoted to their group. I would command him now. Now, another group came, they wanted to test me, one boy came forward, they told him be careful with that schoolboy, he knows how to kick. The boy hit me with the sticks, I waited when he was lifting this hand, I went for his body; I lifted him and threw him, he was finished. I was now made a general of all the boys, I would sit under a tree and command them; pick me the other fruit.

I learnt that it was very important to go through this, because immediately you reach there every one just respects you; everybody of your caliber will work with you. And back home, when a cow dies or is killed, there is a part given to men/shepherds, you know it starts with you. We sit according to our order for we sit near the meat, then those following us next, up to the last. I get the piece of meat; I bite and sent to the next, he also gives to the next, until it reaches the last person, like that. And, it commands respect, that is why you find people have allot of respect in the village.

Even among the elders, they also have their categories. Also, women, the one they have paid dowry, depending on the number of cows, commands more respect. In my primary school, I remember my mum got a gun, I also got a gun, I was still very young, I think Primary.1 or Primary .2 there, The Mathaniko, the Jie and the Turkana ganged together and they came to raid the Bokora. Now, the Pian and Matheniko knew the map of the Bokora here, the Turkana did not know. They came at night, when the Bokora realized that, usually you get to know that they are coming. When they came, they entered, you know we have a river bed; river Omaniman, when they entered there it rained, it rained heavily and the river flooded, it began carrying them. To come out you have to cross the river and the Bokora had closed the bridge. People fought, they fought the whole night. Now all the people of Bokora mobilized; people came from Iriiri, people from Lokopo, where, they all of them mobilized. There are some Turkana who went up to Matheniko, others went to Lotome, others went up to Lokopo, the guys fought, when it reached day time I don't know where these people got scattered and disappeared to. There was no outlet, now the Bokora went wherever they knew a borehole, they went and closed in and took cover nearby any water sources. These people fought for one week. Anyone who wanted to cross the river; the river takes, you want to cross the bridge, the guys are there. They killed them, especially the Turkana died most, of course, some survived but I don't know how they did it. Some of them went into deep bushes and stayed there for some good days, and then they found their ways out later. But for the Turkana died, that is when vultures increased in Napak district, you would pass anywhere and you find dead bodies, and of course for use we don't burry. When people die like that (in raids) you just leave them until vultures finish them off. That one was one of the biggest fights I have ever witnessed. Do you remember the year? That was 1996 or 1997 around there. The next morning, I was walking to school, I got a gun on the bush, I picked it I gave it to some man; I found a warrior, he was bigger than me, I was happy, I told him that I had got a gun and I gave it to him. My mum also got one when she was going to the garden, for her she mixed it with firewood and carried it home, she then gave it to the brother (her brother). People were just picking and collecting guns, when you

would go to the bush you would get because, when it reached day time they threw the guns, the Jie would throw the guns and pretended like other normal people (as a survival mechanism).

But one thing I like about the Karimojongs, they don't provoke, they are provoked. In most incidences between the Iteso and the Sebei, they are provoked. How does that happen? The other people may not have come to raid, but they might have done something. Like there was a witchdoctor in Matany, she was a Muteso (Iteso), she charmed three children and they all died, people asked which tribe is she, they said, Muteso, they said okay, we know what to do with her. They first hunted for her, killed her, the next day they went to Katakwi, raided everything, killed enemy's (Iteso) things in that village, then they came back. The next day it was a market day, the warriors went to the market, some of them were got and killed, and these were businessmen, when they heard that these were killed, warriors mobilized from here, they went to some of their villages, that is when they killed everything, anything living.....the Iteso waited for the Gateway bus, they stopped the bus and said any Karimojong in the bus come down, most of them came out but one was killed. When the warriors got to know that one other person had been killed, they went to revenge, they (Iteso) already knew that anything done there, they (Karimojong warriors) will go for revenge. They (Iteso) apologized and said we have had enough. The same happened to the other side of the Sabiny, people had guns, they raided the Pian; they raided Namalu area. The Bokora and Pian mobilized themselves, and these are not small numbers, they are by thousands, with over a thousand gun, they went and raided the place. Even the cows that had been raided were raided back. That is when I came to learn that warrior don't just go to raid that neighbors, but they are provoked.....The Pokot, and you know their terrain, it is them alone who know it. You can come and raid them, it is okay they will relax. You come again, they relax, they are okay. But the day they just say enough is enough, even though you have thousands of guns in the village, even though you have what, they will take the cows, and immediately those cows leave your place and they are in-front, forget. Just in a short time cows will have entered the Pokot land. There is a mountain, where there is like a cave, they enter and take

over the entrance, you cannot enter- you can even fight there for a full week but by the time you fight their cows are already in Pokot land. Honestly, the Pokots were not bad people, they were only provoked. It is only the Turkana who used to disturb us.

A Snapshot of Narrative Four

This is an account of the participant's first encounter in the far grazing fields. It was both a testing and a learning moment for him- as a school boy, it brought him back to the cultural expectations of the herdsman. His narrative implies that recognition and rising to positions of responsibility among pastoralists, is out of personal efforts. Winners are not only recognized and respected, but are privileged too.

As highlighted in other responses, the narrator exemplifies alliances between the Jie, Matheniko (Karimojong) and the Turkana, against another section of Karimojong, a tendency that only emerged in the post-independence Karamoja. As much as he applauds Karimojong for their restraint against provoking others; thus, sees them as only 'revengers' not 'provokers', as in many interviews, several participants noted that Karimojong (just like other pastoralists) are very good at revenge, but denied their predisposition to provoke. Nevertheless, the examples given in the first and second narratives above, portray Karimojong as initiators of cattle raids on non-suspecting parties. He also recognizes the patience of the Pokot people, something that was pointed out by other two Karimojong participants, one of whom said that "*Pokot are more patient than we are; they could even be raided four times without revenge*" (Interview, Elder, Namalu - Nakapiripirit, June, 2015). Their patience is exemplified in the first narrative, whereby even though they had arrows and spears, at a watering point where Karimojong herdsman appropriated their bull, an event that led to a three-day stand-off, they waited through the three days of pledging for their bull without injuring the unarmed Karimojong, until Karimojong threw stones at them.

CHAPTER SIX:

CULTURE AND VIOLENCE IN PASTORAL REGIONS

6.1 Introduction

The chapter begins by the conceptualization and contextualization of the concepts of ‘Culture and Conflict’, ‘Culture and Violence’ and their relationship. Findings from both primary and secondary sources are used herein to that effect. Various sections of the chapter are developed from the first objective of the study, to help decipher the possible relationship between pastoral culture, and conflict and violence in pastoral areas and Karamoja in particular. Efforts are made in this chapter to present and discuss cultural practices in pastoral areas that cause violent conflicts or create a fertile ground for the expression/manifestation of violent conflicts.

6.2 Cultural Practices which foster Violence in Pastoralist Areas

Although the literature reviewed focused on pastoralist areas in general, the field study took place in Karamoja sub-region. Before delving into discussing cultural practices associated with manifestation violent conflicts in human societies, especially pastoral ones, it is important to broaden the understanding of the concepts of culture, conflict and violence and their applicability in this study. The sections below are primarily dealing with this.

6.2.1 Culture, Conflict and Violence: Conceptualization and Contextualization

This section provides a discussion on the understanding of culture, conflict and violence, conceptually and contextually. Efforts are made to discern whether the three elements necessarily emanate from each other or whether they reinforce each other in their manifestations. Drawing from the theoretical framework and drawing from anthropological studies, attempts are made to indirectly respond to the question: is violence limited to some cultures and not others? And If so, why? The section discusses concepts of culture, culture and conflict, culture and violence and cultural violence.

6.2.1a. Culture

Culture is a term often used to denote differences in human groups shaped by nationality, ethnicity or race, and religion. These, and many other features are important indicators upon which human beings are qualified as insiders or outsiders of a given social group or society (Nana, 2005). In a more abstract outlook, Robert Rubinstein sees culture as a dynamic and symbolically-based, learnable system;

It is a learned system of meanings, communicated by natural language and symbols that allow groups of people to manage social and physical diversity and to adapt successfully to their environment. It does this by enabling members of a social group to construct a particular sense of reality. It forms the mechanism through which people construct and enact meaning. Based on this image of the world and people who; (1) base expectations about what motivates others; (2) learn the “correct” way of responding to challenges in their environment; and (3) develop emotional responses to their experiences. In brief, peoples’ representational, directive, and affective frames of reference for dealing with the world around them are based in their cultural experiences. Cultural models provide a coherent, systematic arrangement for the knowledge that characterizes each cultural group (Rubinstein, 2003:30-31).

The exposition above sends me hypothesizing that, societies whose locales are naturally friendly tend to develop cultural traits and practices that pose (or can be viewed) as generally friendly than communities whose environmental surrounding is harsh. This is likely because, harsh environment will require harsher or cleverer adaptive responses, if the adapting party must succeed. Inductively, the uniqueness in cultures, with regard to either benevolent or belligerent tendencies, will thus partly be dependent on the environment (natural, social or artificial) in which it is formed and/or manifests. This thinking is based on and aligned with the three focal elements of ‘meaning construction’ based on; expectations of what motivates others to act in a given way; and of learning ‘correct’ (not necessarily ‘right’) responses to challenges existent in their environments; and of the development of emotional responses to their experience, as proposed by Rubinstein. This interpretation is instrumental to understanding conflict situations and the current affairs of Karamoja. However, it is important to look at a culture and the behaviour it encourages through the ecological and historical lenses.

Although the term ‘culture’ is generally used to give an impression as if it is a fixed entity, culture is dynamic and changing. In daily living, cultural characteristics manifest in features like language, food, clothing, behavior and art, among others. Nana (2005:5) notes that in practice, “the gap between our conceptual understanding of culture and the behavior or actions leads to a ‘reciprocal circle’ because, ‘when something is labeled culture, it become culture and then culture reinforces the label.” By implication, when we label a practice of a community ‘a cultural aspect’, it becomes so not because it was or is in reality, but just because we have labeled it so, so we create it. We in principle force it to become ‘their culture’ because we choose to project it as a ‘cultural aspect’ by which we can judge them, even when custodians do not regard it as such.

In an attempt to share his cultural image of the Karimojong people, a participant¹⁶ begins with a caution that;

In the matters of culture and conflict, we have to go slow; we have to go very slowly to understand all the different angles of a reality; why something happened the way it happened and the mentality behind it.

He shows how one aspect, disposition or trait can be judged differently as evident below;

There is one aspect I like among the Karimojong – they are very consistent. You see you can look at it from a positive or negative side. You may say these people are very stubborn, I may say these people are very consistent; straight forward. If they think you’re deceiving, they will tell you that you’re deceiving. Nobody in Madi (among the Madi people – a Ugandan tribe in North eastern Uganda), carries such character. Karimojongs are straight forward and this character could be responsible for conflict. The Jie are said to be tougher than the Matheniko..... but, it is a matter of ‘don’t disturb them’, ‘don’t step on their toes’ because they are patient, but they will plan and they will revenge - this has been happening a number of times with the army (Interview, Moroto, November, 2015).

Generally, cultures are not only observable phenomena, so it cannot be limited to physiological behavior, but also it is a medium through which sets of shared meanings are symbolically

¹⁶ He is a European who has worked in Uganda for 40 years and in Karamoja for nearly ten years

expressed and performed by a group of people who belong to a particular community, who contribute to, understand and accept the cultural common-sense symbolism at play. The “symbolic dimension is the place where we are constantly making meaning” and performing “our identities about who we are in relation to the others”. Important to note, cultural traits are divided into ‘extrinsic’ aspects such as dress codes, housing, food etc., which are observable, and ‘intrinsic’ attributes, consisting of unobservable aspects like; values, attributes, the understanding of concepts like justice, peace, relationship, the self or others. The former is observable in behavioral patterns of group members and it is also known as ‘surface culture’, the latter is not necessarily visible in behavioral patterns, thus known as “deep culture” or ‘Ice berg model’ of understanding culture (Nana, 2005:5-6).”

Concerned with negative perception of cultures of others, Benjamin Franklin cautioned that “savages, we call them, because their manners differ from ours, which we think the perfection of civility; they think the same of theirs” (in Hiebert, 1990:13). The experience of Karamoja has been characteristic of this. In the initial encounters of the Karimojong people with other cultures, the Karimojong did not only perceive their culture as the perfection of civility, as Franklin notes but also others’ as funny. For example, in a casual interaction with a friend in Karamoja, she had this to say;

I remember in 1960s, Karimojong would look at clothed foreigners as funny. As much as foreigners looked at naked natives with contempt, the Karimojong saw them as out of order. They would gather near them, especially women, look at them and spit! People here thought that the reason why they cover their bodies (they dress-up) is because they are infested with wounds all over their covered body parts. They would wonder why a normal body should be covered! Practically, they thought foreigners were sick with body rushes or wounds, which they troubled to covered. Others would wonder why they subject their bodies to heat generated by clothes, rather than walking free! (Casual interaction, Nakapiripirit, 2014)

Hiebert (1990:13) notes that if we examined the behaviours of different nations with objectivity, “we shall find no people so rude as to be without rules of politeness; nor any so polite as not to have some remains of rudeness”. He gave an example of Indian men, who are relentless hunters and warriors as young men, but respectable counselors as old men. What was surprising for him,

the fact that most of their government affairs depended on “the counsel or advice of the sages (who had been relentless warriors); there was no force, there was not prison, no officers to compel obedience or inflict punishment” (Hiebert, 1990:13).

6.2.1b. Culture and Conflict

Picking on ‘the gap between the conceptual understanding of culture and the actions’ highlighted by Nana (2005) above, of which he talks of giving room for a ‘reciprocal circle’ in a way that when something is labeled culture it becomes culture and then culture reinforces that label. He sounds a warning that, “the inherent danger of labeling other cultures is that, the label might turn into a fixed stereotypical image of the labeled culture”. This downplays the fact that each cultural group has some sub-groups, where by each group is composed of individuals whose behaviors and beliefs may not confirm to the ideas and ideals of the existing unitary understanding of what the acceptable culture among them is. This aspect is particularly relevant to peace builders who operate in societies whose societal and cultural norms might have changed in response to conflict situations, which create new social and environmental realities.

Similarly, the Ice berg model highlights the fact that it is difficult to fully understand people and communities of different backgrounds, since even where we think we know them; we may merely be limited to the surface cultural aspects. Nana (2005:6) stresses that “we cannot straightaway understand what the foundations are and might thus overlook the complexities that determine aspects of life and living.” Understanding this is important to peace building processes, specifically where multi-national and multi-cultural situations prevail. Failure to do so can culminate in cultural shocks and culture destruction.

Maurice Line (1994:6) in Hameso (2001:30) argues that “the destruction of a community’s culture may do more to disinfect the area in the long terms than the destruction of houses and shops, which can be rebuilt.” In a way referent to the area of this study, he asserts that due to its need to install itself, “colonialism had faced the task of dissolving pre-existing systems and institutions. This meant that they had to denigrate, then to deny and refute every art, every history, every institution and any civilization that existed before it” (Hameso, 2001:4). This attitude saw cultures at crossroads of conflict. With Hameso’s submission, we are invited to examine the genuineness of

the grounds on which Karimojong cultural practices of pastoralism and cattle raiding were sought to be exterminated and were necessarily associated with primitivity and violence, respectively. In chapter nine (the synthesis chapter), a debate ensues on whether cattle raiding is a cultural practice, a traditional practice or merely a deviant behavior. This debate questions the outright calling of cattle raiding a cultural practice, without due examination of its dynamics, and the extent of the communities' participation in it.

Interestingly, research findings from Karamoja represent varied views about how people understand their cultural worldview. In an attempt to engage native participants in evaluating their culture with regard to whether it is violent or not; there are Karimojong who strongly assert that their culture is evidently violent and their explanations bear witness to this. On the contrary, some voices dissent this belief, blaming the propagation of such claims to outsiders and neglectors of Karamoja. There was a third category of participants who believed that, although violence stained the pastoral corridor of northeastern Uganda, this violence was not culturally propagated, therefore the culture is not to blame for the violence. However, they accept that after its long stay, violence became part of cattle raiding culture.

We can consider the responses below;

In the past, as I grew-up, raiding was like a tradition; it was the order of the day. Fighting was the order of the day, these people (Karimojong-the three sub-groups of Matheniko, Bokora and Pian) used to have a common enemy; the Turkana from Kenya, they also used to have the Pokot. Also, communities in neighbouring districts within Uganda and across the border; those were potential enemies. They used to have the Jie from Kotido; the Jie were brought by colonialists in the same geography, they are somehow an independent tribe. Although it is believed that we all originated from Ethiopia, with the Topoth of Sudan [South Sudan] and the Dodoth of Kaabong [a district in Uganda], and the Jie. When I was born, I found that they had conflicts, but these conflicts were rotating around cows.....they were cherishing the cows so much that they were finding all ways possible to protect them, which led them to even acquire guns.

..... so, culture promotes violence in Karamoja; that is the only way of separating people; classes of people, age-sets of people, groups of people. Because of this, people who are fighting gender-based violence in Karamoja, it will take them a while to succeed (Interview, Moroto, November, 2015).

In a different interview, submissions like these above are refuted out-rightly;

..... that is not true, people who say that our culture is violent are liars. Those people are abusing us after living us in suspense for so long! By the time we got independence, none of the Karimojong was learnt [educated]! Those who were administrators here where Iteso and Acholis. Those people left us in dilemma, they left us completely!!! That is why Karamoja remained behind, and even the British were here, this area was protected, Karamoja was like a zoo. For example, to come to Karamoja, you had to get a passport (pass). They did not want anyone to enter into Karamoja without a letter, but we were very peaceful; all people were very peaceful, we fear a human being (violating human life) like a god. In the past, to kill a person, you could be cursed, if by accident you killed a person you have to pay sixty cows. Who says killing and stealing was a sort of custom, no, that is just evil. Do you want to say now, that Baganda have been breaking banks, so that is/ was their tradition? No, not all the Baganda are thieves.....

It would be myopic to think that Karimojong culture is violent; very myopic, because as I told you, repeated actions become a habit, and prolonged habits become culture; people start to think that it is a normal thing to take on. For example, there were years when we had very many pick pocket pickers in Kampala, I understand they are still there, surely somebody in his right mind cannot stand-up and say pick pocketing is a culture of the Baganda. So that is what happened here and of course that conflict; pro-longed conflict, broke down many systems. One, the traditional governance systems that put elders; the council of elders at the pedestal was broken down. The youth took over leadership because of the gun, and recently when we withdrew guns from the youth, what has been happening now, until of recent is that Karamoja has been in a crisis of leadership (Interview, Moroto, June 2015).

The example of how repeated actions can metamorphose into culture/cultural practices, given its pro-longed existence, explains possibilities of having a 'tolerated' deviant behaviour turning into a traditional or a cultural practice. But also, it creates a possibility alluded to by Hiebert, (1990: 47) that "field investigation quickly reveals a marked difference between what people do and what they think or say they do". This explains why it is not uncommon for cultural groups to deny or dissociate with practices which are contrary to their ideals or desired public image.

The existence of two or more groups with different identities in a society is seen as a pre-condition for social conflict. Such conflicts emerge as a result of social interactions of people, who could be organized into communities, groups, organizations or dissatisfied crowds (Mueller, 2010). He further contends that, in order to engage in conflict, parties must have a sense of themselves as belonging to a group, dissimilar from others. Social conflict is likely to emerge when parties or groups believe they have competing or incomparable goals, which is very likely amidst differences in cultural values and beliefs, unequal power or resource distribution. Similarly, Michelle LeBaron asserts that conflicts emerge when people have difficulty in dealing with differences "that matter". The basis of many of these differences, she says, is 'culture'. She contends therefore, that "culture is integral to understanding conflict and it cannot be separated from conflict". She provided a set of "capacities, practices, tools and choices," with which to understand the cultural underpinnings of conflict and use this understanding to transform conflicts into positive learning environments (LeBaron, 2003).

Similar to Rubinstein (2003), LeBaron (2003) views culture as systems of shared symbols (including language) that create meaning and a sense of belonging. Each culture has its own set of "currencies" or "ways of being and acting in the world". Individuals are thought to belong to multiple cultures with various currencies, "which intermingle to make up our world view". These 'world views' are thought to be "influenced by three domains of culture: social and moral guidelines, practical knowledge, and transcendent explanations." Thus, persons' worldviews are essentially the way they see the world through their own cultural lenses. Included in their worldview is their identity, which is essentially how they see themselves in relation to the world. Identity is a construction based on both cultural influence and personal characteristics. At the base

of an individual's "identity, currencies and worldview" are what LeBaron refers to as 'starting points'.

'Starting points' are: "those places from which it seems natural to begin." These are essentially the underlying assumptions upon which culture is based. They often differ between cultures. She provides several examples of such opposing starting points, including: high versus low-context communication (whether meaning is heavily tied to the context of the communication or not), communitarianism versus individualism (whether people see themselves as first and foremost an individual or a part of a community) and specificity versus diffusiveness (whether people prefer specific concepts, or more inflated guidelines to concepts). When one encounters 'others' with different starting points and currencies from their own, massive miscommunications are likely, often resulting in conflict generation, development or conflict escalation (LeBaron, 2003).

In the same vein, Walter Isard observes that "there are striking differences among cultures and that these differences are a major factor in generating conflicts and causing wars" (Walter, 1992:7). While this assertion could be historically true in certain cases, an analysis of the violent conflict in Karamoja, in light of this claim could be truer to the conflict between Karimojong and the colonial and post-governments, than among the communities of the sub-region. For the former, the two parties hailed from cultural backgrounds of clearly differentiated social features, values, interests and survival mechanisms. Even so, these conflicts should not be blamed on communities whose cultural garments never interested visitors (intruders), who thus worked against its practices. Nevertheless, inter and intra-clan/tribal conflicts could as well, somewhat be subjected to Walter's (1992) claim, since the inhabitants of the sub-region exhibit some differences. However, it should be clarified that these social groups/ clans are not drawn into violence on grounds of their differentiated features as Walter's suggests. In fact, even the conflict between Karimojong and Uganda governments, were not triggered by cultural differences, but by either attempts to suppress interests of local communities through intentional resource deprivation or total disrespect for cultural differences.

In his study about the Pokot, a pastoral community of North Western Kenya, Nganga (2012) sees culture as the cause of conflict. He cites Jeffery in his assertion that "culture is an essential part of conflict and conflict resolution". He equates culture to an underground river that runs through our

lives and relationships, giving us messages that shape our perceptions, attributions, judgments, and ideas of “self” and “other”. Nganga believed that the conflict by Pokot emanates from and is sustained by a cultural belief that stands on the parallel concepts of “we” and “they”. Arguable, his conclusion is stamped by the fact that “the Pokot people have no word or term for visitor. Anybody who is not a Pochon- (one of them), is describes as an enemy (Nganga, 2012:53-54). Arguably, it is on this belief that cattle rustling hinges. Ideally, all cattle belong to the ‘we’, a believe graced by a Pokot myth, that God created cattle and a Pokot man to take care of it, therefore, cattle raiding is only a rightful attempt to bring back cattle where they fatedly belong.

Reflectively, what many of us would attribute to culture could as well be attributed to conflict. For example, theorists Georg Simmel and Lewis Coser saw conflict primarily as a binding and creative force in human society (in Wehr, 2010). In a detailed manner, they describe conflict as; action, behavior, movement, structure, information, belief, resource distribution and as work. All these aspects, in one way or the other are either ingredients or products of culture. Relatedly, cultures dictate over what to value and not to value, thus forming beliefs and behaviors, which could be conflictual or with which we approach and deal with conflict.

In the first place, culture in not merely an event or series of events; secondly, Le Baron (2003) warns that violence can warrant any responses, even those divergent from what is culturally acceptable; thirdly, it is questionable for example, whether all Cambodians (it could have been any other society for that matter), share the same culture, to fit a ‘label’ like Cambodian culture? Understandably, repeated violent acts or behavior can easily be attributed to the culture to which the perpetrator of this violence belongs, thus simplistically warranting condemnation on the entire culture.

Essentially though, culture is beyond mere negative actions. Hameso (2001) deliberates that culture forms a system of ideas, signs and associations and ways of behavior, which makes it extremely important in society. Cumulative human experience, its symbols, and values evolve through long period of time. By its very nature, culture is a united whole; involving people’s lives and lived experiences, history, authority, structures, norms, codes of behavior and relationships between individuals and groups (Hameso,2001). This submission brings in a realist outlook to

culture; it draws a link between the diverse ways in which humans behave (good and bad alike) to their cultural-values, ideologies and worldviews.

6.2.1c. Culture and Violence

Drawing from the foregoing, in cases where cultural differences are directly related to conflict, it is not because some cultures monopolize conflict or violence the way Karimojong culture has often been perceived, but because differences are neither understood nor respected. While in the Enlightenment Europe the term ‘culture’ served to mean the cultivation of human capacities in a positive sense (Schoenmaker, 2012), it has been a commonplace phenomenon to understand the ‘Karimojong culture’ as essentially primitive and violent predisposition, by many non-Karimojong in Uganda. Similarly, the epochs of violence and authoritarianism that engulfed Cambodia’s post-transitional landscape, inspired scholars, journalists and international donors to refer to the events in Cambodia as a ‘culture of violence’ (Springer, 2009). Such sweeping and uncritical naming of occasional occurrences as a culture, served no better than underlining the simplistic tendency common in judging reality.

Among the Karimojong, conflict and violence are seen as close companions in occurrence and manifestation. As well, violence is understood as a disorder that originates from within individuals and it can contagiously affect other members of communities. As a (growing) disorder, at its lower level, it is conflict, with potential to graduate into violence. A participant noted;

...it is English that makes a difference between conflict and violence. But if you understand them in the language, to me it is conflict that brings violence; conflict brings violence, yes. As a result of some raids, the element of violence came in; killings, destruction of other people’s property, burning of homes, kraals, and things like that. So, it was the conflict that was bringing violence. And it came out of raiding each other. What is inflicted on the other person you’re raiding is violence, that is how I understand it. In Ng’a Karimojong language, is the term used to refer to conflict different from that used to refer to violence? Yeah, for us violence is ‘eguriguri’, and conflict is ‘edinget’. So, ‘edinget’ brings ‘eguriguri’. So, once there is ‘edinget’, then violence comes in. It is a disorder within your

selves; in fact, it is disorder. You start fighting amongst yourselves, yes, that is how I understand it purely (Interview, community leader, Nakapiripirit, April, 2015).

Springer (2009) rightly observes that ‘the culture of violence notion’ has a sweeping false impression of constructed imaginaries and a problematic discourse that underwrites the process of neo-liberalization. The ‘culture of violence’ argument is considered to invoke particular imaginative geographies presumably detached from people who are being judged. And, they problematically erase the contingency, fluidity and interconnectedness of the places in which violence occurs. While violence is certainly mediated through culture and place, place is not seen as a confined and isolated unit, but as a relational medium within the wider experiences of space. This reflection allows us to recognize that any seemingly local, direct or cultural expression of violence is necessarily ingrained in the wider, structural patterns of violence. By implication, violence, at a local level, can easily be a response to violence at a macro-level. For example, by successfully selling ‘the culture of violence’ discourse, neo-liberalization was justified in the Cambodian context as a ‘civilizing’ enterprise, where Cambodians were subsequently imagined as ‘savage others’ (Springer, 2009). Any regard of a people as ‘savage’, presupposes their high potential for violence on the one hand and justifies the use of violence on them on the other hand, since it is a human-beast/savage relationship. The implication here is that, it is not morally wrong to subject the savage to violence; the savage does not know what is good for it, thus cannot be consulted or make self-befitting choices. So, in such conceptual and existential spheres, the ‘civilized’ assumes self-appointed responsibility to civilize the savage, no matter the means used.

Similarly, with the attitude above, and upon judging the Karimojong culture as primitive and conflictual, by assuming a kind of ‘a civilizing mission’ colonial interventions took their toll on social re-organization (disorganization) of the Karimojong society. By closing off Karamoja from the outside world and drawing arbitrary borders and boundaries not in line with the social reality of the time, they inevitably increased social tensions that existed in the sub-region and increased their susceptibility to natural calamities. For example, “colonialists restructured the social organizations that had existed, with a view of absorbing the area into capitalist modes of production that the colonial state represented” (Ocan, 1993:98). In brief, both colonial and post-colonial governments of Uganda sought to exterminate the lifestyle and some cultural practices of the Karimojong, on grounds of their alleged primitivity and unfriendliness. Such attitudes succeeded

in transforming prevailing misunderstandings into violent conflicts between local communities and government establishments. These did not only undermine communities' identity but also downplayed their existential worthy.

Submissions above highlight a social science theorem; that “violence bleeds violence, within and among actors, in space and over time” (Galtung, 2010:312). As earlier noted, violence affects the body, mind and spirit; for it bears and leaves wounds and trauma which are difficult to heal. While violence to the mind takes a form of distorted cognitions and emotions, violence to the spirit takes toll on the very core of humanness, by failing the meaning-producing domain, a situation that leaves a sense of hopelessness. Galtung warns that, even threats of violence are violent enough for not to be taken for granted. For example, insults go to the mind and spirit, creating distortion and hopelessness by resultant creation of fear. Arguably, “the object of violence is any carrier of life, particularly, a human being, an actor, an individual, or community.... the subject of violence can be any actor, as in intended actor of direct violence” (Galtung, 2010:312). At a structural level, institutions churn out harm in a way that causes basic human needs deficits, as an intended/indirect or structural violence. He notes that culture is capable of the same; it can be used to legitimize direct and or structural violence. Since violence bleeds violence, structural violence and cultural violence can turn out to be the subject of violence. It is evident that, the concept ‘culture’ is not synonymous to violence, though it is a common tendency to equate the concept ‘Karimojong culture’ to violence.

Johan Galtung introduced the concept of cultural violence, as “those aspects of culture, which dominate the symbolic sphere of our existence” and exemplified in human expressions and practices such as; “religion, ideology, language and art, empirical and formal sciences”, which can be used by any culture to instigate, justify or legitimize violence (Galtung, 1990: 291; Elmer Jerry, 2010:314). Taking the cultural context of the traditional Karamoja, the above is exemplified by ‘murder tattoos’¹⁷. Warriors are exalted by the symbolic expression of the tattoos emblazoned on their shoulders or arms, which are reflective of the number of men (enemies) or lions killed – glorification of violence (see a picture in Appendix V).

¹⁷The term ‘murder tattoos’ is constructed by the researcher. Traditionally, youths and or men who succeed in killing lions or their challengers in battles are engrained with symbolic tattoos.

What is mentioned above is just an aspect of a culture (a violent cultural trait, if I may say), not essentially descriptive of the whole culture to which individuals that exercise or glorify it belong. In fact, Galtung (1990) warns us to refrain from entirely classifying culture/s as violent, because hardly such a thing happens. Preferably, there is need to identify an aspect or aspects of a culture which are violent than indiscriminate, stereotypical tagging of a whole culture as violent.

This simplistic classification is rather embraced by Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) in their association of violence with blacks (black sub-culture of violence) in which they saw their referents as having pro-violence values. In their explanation though, unlike Galtung who sees cultural violence as formalized, legalized and embraced by those at the centre of power, Wolfgang and Ferracuti see sub-cultures of violence as embraced by the deviant portions of a population. In the true sense of the word though, deviance represents acting outside the allowable frames of a dominant culture. So, deviance cannot be called a culture, since it is in opposition to the culture that should be judged!

In their explanation of how sub-cultures cause violence, Wolfgang and Ferracuti argue that violence is a product of conformity to a pro-violent sub-culture that is in direct conflict with the dominant culture. Although they do not claim that sub-cultures are in total conflict with the societies to which they belong, they note that the “explicit use of force or violence in interpersonal or group interactions is generally viewed as a reflection of basic values that stand apart from the dominant, the central or parent culture” (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967: 158). Although they do not offer explanation of how sub-cultures of violence come about, they contend “that they tend to be a lower-class, racialized and masculine phenomenon” (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967: 314).

The proliferation of violence within this context is believed to result from a tendency amongst sub-cultural offenders to embrace values and norms that are more permissive of the use of violence under certain conditions. Implicit in this proposition is the concept of disputatiousness, which suggests that violence is a central means for sub-cultural affiliates to maintain and protect their status. According to Wolfgang and Ferracuti, violent reactions to perceived threats to reputation or honour are culturally prescribed, given that a failure to react defensively may result in life-threatening consequences. In this sense, violent values act as a mechanism of social control, given that they require members of a sub-culture to engage in violence for their own protection and survival. As a result, equipped with certain values to justify their violent actions, sub-cultural

offenders engage in violence frequently and guiltlessly, with little provocation (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967: 314; Rashmee Singh, 2010).

They claim that, “like all human behavior, homicide and other violent assaultive crimes must be viewed in terms of the cultural context from which they spring”, this is because “deviant behavior is not evenly distributed throughout the social structure”. They assert that “there is much empirical evidence that class position, ethnicity, occupational status, and other social variables are effective indicators for predicting rates of different kinds of deviance” (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967: 150). With a quite related perspective, Gurr and Bishop (1976) concur that people of some communities are self-evidently more aggressive and brutal in their political and social dealings with fellows than others. Moreover, even people of the same community are not equally aggressive, this is reflected in the fact that, even in Karamoja, a participant believed that the section of the population that engaged in violent raids was as low as 20 % of the Karimojong (this could not be verified though).

What is not said here, but inferable from their conceptual out-look and population portion of the study, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) were only explaining appearances at the expense of the underlying causes of these appearances. The naming of their study as ‘the black sub-culture of violence theory’ shows that the study aimed at describing violence as a cultural tendency of black-Americans. This implication does not only liken their study to the thinking that violence is genetically Karimojong, but also risks being racist and naively simplistic. This kind of simplicity is what this study seeks to overcome by a critical study of the three causative factors.

In another study about culture and violence, Gastil Raymond (1971) relates high rates of homicides in the American society of Negroes and Southerners, whom he sees as representatives of a culture of violence. In his view, it is the “predisposition to lethal violence in Southern regional culture that accounted for the greater part of the relative height of the American homicide rate.” According to his case, “this regional culture was already developed before 1850” (Gastil, 1971: 412). Unlike the ‘sub-culture of violence’ of Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967), who think that their culture stresses norms and values, those of violence too, Gastil (1971) in his ‘regional culture of violence’ sees it rather differently. In his view:

Violent people do not necessarily develop a culture that condones violence. A violent tradition may be one that in a wide range of situations condones lethal violence, or it may be a tradition that more indirectly raises the murder rate. For example, the culture may put a high value on the ready availability of guns, or it may legitimize actions that lead to hostile relations within families or between classes, and these in turn may frequently lead to lethal violence (Gastil, 1971:416)

His 'regional culture of violence' outlook suggests more persistence of violence over time, as well as the aspect of inter-generational reinforcement as criteria for judging culturally-motivated violence, unlike Wolfgang's explanation of violence. In Gastil's (1971) view, not any acts of violence by isolated individuals should be explained as culturally shaped violence.

In response to Wolfgang and Ferracuti's (1967) study, Parker (1989) disagrees that there is a subculture of violence that leads to increased rates of violence among blacks. He rather found that poverty is the most important predictor of homicide-violence, and he concluded that socio-economic theoretical models of the causes of such violence are preferred to sub-cultural ones (Parker, 1989). In his analysis, the structurally disadvantaged position of the black people in U.S. society was the root cause of black violence, and the same causal chain resulted in violence among whites as well. He maintained that "conceptually and empirically, the time has come to reject the use of demographic categories as adequate measures of a concept such as the sub-culture of violence" (Parker, 1989: 1002).

He challenges the conclusion of Wolfgang and Ferracuti's (1967) study on three grounds; firstly, on "the use of global indicators describing an entire class of people (southerners or blacks), assumes that these communities are homogeneous in values and lifestyle, an assumption that is clearly false for any group as large as these groups"; secondly, "particularly in the case of blacks, it entails an implicit pejorative indictment of urban minority residents and communities, which is unfair and racist in nature"; thirdly, "this approach ignored the role of institutionalized racism itself in producing a link between violence and racial composition" (Parker, 1989: 985). Like the fore mentioned interventions in Karamoja, to which I referred as ill-intentioned and incomprehensive, Wolfgang's model of explanation was appear biased and racial. While sometimes such discourses are intentionally pursued, in many cases they are a result of simplistically taking one-sided approach to a social reality under study.

We are cautioned to keep in mind that “violent behavior may have many different causes, some of which are inborn but most of which are learned from experiencing or witnessing violent behavior by others, particularly those who are role models” (Human Diseases Forum and Conditions, 2016). Several interview narratives viewed systematic violent conflicts in Karamoja starting from early 1960s not only as new and shocking, but also embraced it as response to aggression or counter-aggression (for revenge and/or in protection of remaining livestock). There are different outlooks however, a participant in Moroto shared a different conviction that, violence has had an instrumental role in Karamoja. In his view, as earlier noted, “*culture promotes violence in Karamoja, (because) that is the only way of separating people; classes of people, age-sets of people, groups of people.*” (Interview, Moroto, November, 2015). It is upon this background that he predicts a fruitless fight against gender-based violence ahead, since it has an instrumental role even in separation of genders. In a way of confirmation, another participant informed that, “*to have age-groups or in order to separate them; when people come together, these are young shepherds; you have to ask somebody of your age, are we age-mates? and if he says yes we are age-mates, but the rest disagree with this, you have to fight him; this is used as a way of separating them.*” (Interview, Nakapiripirit town council, April, 2015).

6.3 Cultural Practices Associated with Violence in Pastoral Areas in General

It is realizable that with respect to insecurity and conflict in Karamoja, causes and effects often interface in ways that make it hard to categorically differentiate them. Even then, there rests an agreement on some causes of the persistence of conflict and violence. However, the choice of emphasis normally depends on whether a person speaking is an insider or an outsider to the community of study. According to Odhiambo (2003);

..for Karimojong, the causes of the persistent conflict and insecurity have more to do with outsiders than Karimojong themselves. In particular, they lay blame on government for ignoring their problems and for doing nothing to address their plight and provide an environment that would encourage other income generating and livelihood enhancing activities (Odhiambo (2003:25).

On the other hand, “for a non-Karimojong, whether within or outside Karamoja, the basic problem behind conflict and insecurity is culture” (Odhiambo (2003:25). The Karimojong are seen to be obsessed with cattle, as the defining factor of wealth and status. This is suggested to encourage cattle raiding, which is centrally blamed for conflict, violence and insecurity in the sub-region and beyond. From the foregoing, broadly, practices associated with violent conflicts in pastoral areas, depend on the two forms of outlook highlighted by Odhiambo (2003) above.

Pastoralism and Transhumance – From the beginning of colonialism in East Africa, pastoralism had always been the bad egg for colonialists - it came to be known as a problematic cultural practice of communities in North Eastern Uganda and North-Western Kenya. The challenge is with having a convergence of views with regard to how much of this was genuinely responsible for conflict and violence. Needless to say, for most of the issues pertinent to Karamoja sub-region, rarely is there converging conclusions about the cause of the state of affairs from natives and foreigners to the sub-region. It will not be surprising therefore, that what literature may present as the problem, may be refuted by natives. Ocan Charles (1993) notes that from the beginning there existed;

a clear-cut conflict between the pastoralists and the government centering on differing conceptualizations of patterns of production. The pastoralists insist on mobility (transhumance) as a basic and sustainable pattern of production, while government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) see permanent settlement symbolized in agriculture as the solution to the Karamoja crisis. Others saw modern pastoralism (ranching and dairy farming as another solution. Technically, therefore, according to the state and its related agencies, the problem of Karamoja lies in the nomadic and transhumant patterns of the Karimojong (Ocan, 1993:98).

He further reports that there had been a dominant tendency in social analysis to conceive the ‘Karamoja problem’ as lying in the Karimojong social structural arrangements and cultural practices. In this conceptual paradigm, the “Karimojong society is viewed as a ‘primitive community’. Its allegedly ‘primitive’ political arrangements have been widely blamed for holding back any social changes in the area. For Ocan (1993) however, “‘the Karamoja problem’ centres around the area’s increasing inability to sustain its people economically. It is also based on violence resulting from various social factors, concretized through cattle raids”. He believed that behind scenarios of violence was “the denial of democratic options and the use of the undue force to bring the Karimojong ‘under control’ by the colonial administration and those that came after it” (Ocan,

1993:98). This outlook is a reflection of what Makau (2002) cautions against – a view that some cultures are sovereign in relation to any other cultures. He dismisses “the notion that there is a hierarchy of cultures..... that some cultures are superior to others even though they may be more technologically advanced”. Moreover, “it is the belief in the contrary that prompted military invasions to ‘civilize’, colonize, and enslave in Africa and elsewhere (Makau, 2002:109-110). The same kind of domination was subjected to Karamoja, yet this hardly counts in studying and understanding the of Karamoja crises.

In a study entitled *Pastoral Crisis and Social Change in Karamoja*, it is noted that the Karamoja problem is not the Karimojong people as is often implied in dominant social prejudices against the Karimojong pastoralists. It is neither the people nor their pastoral tendency that is to blame, although it is within their social relations that the problem originates. In his view “the gist of the matter is to underscore how these relations have been shaped by internal and external factors and how they have continued to reproduce crisis (violence) in the region” Ocan (1993:98). Since pastoralism and transhumance have always been viewed as conflictual and backward, “right from the time of colonial domination the role of the central government in augmenting social changes in Karamoja is somewhat more prominent than anywhere else in Uganda” Ocan (1993:98). This explains why the state had a hand in the historical construction of the region’s crisis, since it had been difficult for the earlier administrations to strike compromises with Karimojong agents, unlike elsewhere where social structures positively responded to official manipulation. In brief, while pastoral lifestyle is a means of survival for Karimojong communities, colonial and post-colonial set-ups worked hard to stop it, for it was associated with conflict, violence and backwardness.

Although pastoralism is/was perceived as a threat to peace, Mkutu (2004:119) notes that “pastoralism was under threat.... due to factors including; weak governance, in adequate land and resource management policies; political and economic marginalization of pastoral groups; and increasing insecurity”. Traditionally, migration of people and animals in search for water and pastures was a seasonal activity. Advanced coping mechanisms were developed over centuries to address the perennial crises of scarcity. This would be approached through diversification into other economic activities such as crafting, trade, smuggling, transporting and artisanal mining (Safeworld, 2010; Mkutu, 2004). Upon the intrusion of foreign forces and influence, the mechanisms have been incapacitated well enough to making pastoralism threatened.

Cattle/ livestock Raiding- For the pastoralist people of Northeastern Uganda, inter-ethnic/tribal cattle raiding has been a long-standing tradition (Gray et al., (2003) in Jabs (2007). “The Turkanas, Pokot, and Karimojong tribes have been raiding each other’s cattle for centuries. Until recently (around the 1960s), cattle raiding provided a useful function in the survival of these pastoralist groups” (Jabs, 2007:1499). Traditionally, when droughts or disease decimated herds of cattle, cattle raiding served as means to replenish herds and survive. Halderman et al., (2002) proposes that, livestock raiding could be seen as a quasi-legitimate sharing of resources, allowing groups on the verge of economic ruin and starvation to re-establish their capacity for food production and natural resources management. Habitually, “this type of raiding was not seen as a crime”, consequently, “successful raiders were respected. The centuries-old tradition of raiding caused reciprocal and recurrent but not intractable conflict”. In four decades, cattle raiding among the Bokora, Matheniko, Pian and other sub-tribes of the Karimojong people became an intractable conflict with ongoing violence and bloodshed (Odhiambo, 2000). The practice changed from its traditional form by incorporating of use of guns, making violence inevitable and severe.

Reportedly, in the past, raids took place either at dawn or in the evening. And, elders oversaw them to ensure they don’t fell out of control. This was seen as a ritualistic process by which the youths would graduate into manhood. Traditionally, spears, arrows and bows were used as opposed to guns. Also, the amassment of livestock did not only symbolize increasing wealth, but also amplified one’s status in a community. Relations between persons were mediated through systems of reciprocal rights and obligations with regards to livestock and their use. For example, sacrifice of cattle as part of religious ceremonies, through which communities communicated with ancestors was entrenched within all pastoral communities (Saferworld, 2010; Mkutu, 2004).

Prior to the colonial era, the pastoral communities of Karamoja were dominated by elders who were cooperatively responsible for the governance of communities. The shift of power from their control to the gun possessors rendered culturally legitimate practices like cattle raiding get violent and transgress from the established social controls. Like other African communities, Karimojong had structures for conflict resolution through councils of elders, traditional courts and peer of age-group supervisions, where each individual or group, had to meet certain social expectations. Among the Karimojong of Uganda, elders made important decisions through discussions, debates

and they solved communal conflicts, even those related cattle raiding, killing of persons and land disputes (Ocan, 1993; Mkutu, 2004).

Several sources of information (Jabs, 2007; Mkutu, 2004; Halderman et al., 2002; Odhiambo, 2000; Ocan, 1993) denote that Karimojong culture upheld livestock raiding, but as an adaptive measure for overcoming the risk of extinction of a community or households or as a survival measure. Though traditional cattle raiding involved some violence, this was on a very small-scale (of at most one human death – theoretically) and involved taking of a limited number of livestock; likely, of the number of cattle that had been lost (to a natural calamity) or the number of cattle being seen as needed by the raiding group. Deaths were few and when they happened, extra cattle from the killers' family were required to compensate the victim. Also, those who killed could not re-enter their homestead until they had been ritually cleansed, and the livestock stolen usually remained in the raiders' community, instead of being sold off (Saferworld, 2010; Mkutu, 2004). These views were shared in several interviews too.

Being a resource of ultimate importance and cultural interest, its loss could not be accepted easily, and its acquisition and protection was culturally supported through low-violence infested livestock raids. With changing dynamics though, and with other factors in play, the gun turned out to be a tool of choice in the cattle raiding practice of the modern times (post-colonial era). Even though violence was intensified by the gun to unprecedented levels, it is often asserted that the ever-growing conflict among pastoral communities was attributable to a vicious circle of cattle raid and counter raids, which led to sharp reduction in livestock numbers (Mkutu, 2004; Odhiambo, 2000; Ocan, 1993). Before the proliferation of the use of guns, however, cattle raiding was meant to help in the re-stocking for those who had lost their livestock, without creating deficits, but kept the cattle resource distributed among communities.

Also, natural calamities on environmental and climate resources, marked by prolonged drought, limited rainfall and epidemic outbreaks, reinforce the possibility of conflict/violence. They make the livestock resource vulnerable to poor feeding, disease and long-distance movements. Epidemic outbreaks, famine and droughts are historically associated with increased conflicts [though not protracted violence] (Ocan, 1993). For instance, the acute drought of 1999 into 2000s steadily reduced the amount of water and pastures in the sub-region (Mkutu (2004). Such droughts do not only provoke movements of people with their cattle, but also make clashes more likely.

Important to note too, the use of guns challenges the whole concept and practice of cattle raiding. For the groups of armed youths, the possession and use of guns meant establishing local businesses as warlords, whose economic activities cut across cattle raiding, road ambushes, small arms sales and drugs. Manipulating the void left by the collapse of the traditional governance system and the lack of government's watchful presence, cattle raiding became just one of the other many illegal businesses in the area. As Mkutu (2004:121) noted, the official government structures were absent and where interventions were made, they were "poorly coordinated and executed", and often taking a narrow understanding of insecurity, which prioritized coercive disarmament without provision of variable "economic alternatives to those whose livelihoods are dependent on the gun". This was more evident in the sub-region where the Uganda People's Defense Forces (UPDF) [a national military force] embarked on disarmament in February, 2002 which led to increased bitterness, insecurity, violence and further weaponization of communities in the subsequent years (Saferworld, 2010; Mkutu, 2004).

6.4 Cultural Practices Associated with Violence in Karamoja

This section presents and discusses culturally-generated practices, which are perceived to have a causative or contributing effect on the violence experienced in the Karamoja sub-region.

The Process of Nurturing of a Shepherd: In the first place, having cattle or livestock as the most valuable resource, presupposes the need for manpower to insure its continuity. It therefore requires nurture of promoters and defenders of this resource; this is accomplished in the nurture of shepherds. To understand the logic for the constituent parts of the nurturing process, it is necessary for us to remember that, violence is understood by some participants as having an instrumental role to their communities. The process of how a shepherd is made is well elaborated in the second narrative of chapter five. The narrator showed that; *"acts of violence are instigated right away when you're still young. You pass through, in fact subjected to various kinds of hardships."* He believed that subjection to hard life was intentional and calculated to achieve a certain end. *"When you're a boy, you're not taken good care of; you do not put on any cloths for example. The only thing your parents do is to give you shoes (sandals made of herds and skins), you work and walk naked, and in the rain, you're no sheltered."* Aware that the best time to train a person, is at their childhood stage, in Karamoja child labour was out of order, because *"when you're above five years*

of age, you begin to look after the kids for the goats, then you graduate to calves and goats and then to cows. Now, you're being guided by those who are older than you are."

In principle, "all these processes are actually preparing you for warlike life. In the first place, you become resistant to weather conditions; whether it is dry season extremely hot, or wet season and extremely chilly. You begin developing resistance in yourself when you are so young- this is done with an aim of developing resistance in preparation for your manhood, long before adulthood."

He further shows that *"in between childhood and adulthood, at the age of sixteen, eighteen, or twenty there, you're exposed to fights amongst your fellow age-mates, this is fighting in whatever ways, including wrestling and use of sticks."* As noted above, age-set fighting puts people in their rightful places, but also prepares them for their harsh environment; socially and naturally.

For emphasis, *"all these are to prepare you for future challenges of conflict, so that you don't fear - you're meant to be strong. This became like a cultural kind of procedure. A child grows from one age-set to another age-set to the real maturity, when they will now call him a man. At the age of sixteen to twenty, you have to be respected; you attain this by killing wild animals like snakes. You begin with snakes, if you succeed in killing dangerous venomous snakes, next time you go to a leopard, if you succeed in killing one, that is already a brand on you."*

Another case that exhibits the instrumentalisation of violence is presented in the fourth narrative of chapter five. Below is a section of that narrative, in which the narrator gives his own account of receiving and unleashing violence:

*The first time I went to graze they (a group of young herdsmen) sent one boy to come and attack me, when he came he worked on (beat) me thoroughly. He was using a stick, and they all joined him and beat me- beating any part they could access; the head, where, where, my head was breeding. When they finished I was now like their slave (he became their servant). Mine was to take instructions, and that is what it is supposed to be, if I do not follow them (their instructions), they come and hit me. Now my work was, when their cows are straying, to run and chase them from there; if they are going to gardens. Now the next day I came back and reported to my grandfather, he was happy. **He said, that is now being a man - I got annoyed and I said, okay.** The next day I also went well prepared. When I*

reached there I said today, I don't know how to fight using sticks, but will use other means. I picked two; two sticks, because we usually pick two - I said, today I am ready. They said aaaah this one knows nothings, a mere schoolboy. You know they just pierce you in the arm-pits when you open up your arms anyhow, they pierced me and I just threw the sticks, I went live, boxed, boxed, and boxed him, I hit the guy badly and he took off. Now I was promoted to their group (adopted into the group). I would command him now. Now, another group came, they wanted to test me, one boy came forward, they told him be careful with that schoolboy, he knows how to kick. The boy hit me with the sticks, I waited when he was lifting this hand, I went for his body; I lifted him and threw him, he was finished. I was now made a general of all the boys, I would sit under a tree and command them; pick me the other fruit.... (Interview, Moroto, November, 2015).

The two narratives above show that violence is not only appreciated by parents/guardians as a sign and measure of growth, but also taught and/ or encouraged among the young ones. To unconsciously effect the instrumentality of violence, there is a tendency among the Karimojong to never separate fighting individuals; until, as a participant said, aggression/violence (hitting and hurting) has 'separated'/categorized them (into losers and winners). By coincidence, I witnessed two fights in Moroto in 2014 and 2015, where people just gathered and cheered-up fighting women. Even attempts by non-Karimojong to separate them were failed by a group of spectators in the case of 2014 in Campswahili (a slum in Moroto municipality). Traditionally, they generally believe in letting the fight to continue until the burn-off point; where the defeated runs or attempts to run away. This is a stage where a winner and a loser are eminent, until then spectators can then come to the loser's rescue.

Such violence has benefits that accrue to the winner, as the participant noted "... I learnt that it was very important to go through this, because immediately you reach there every one just respects you; everybody of your caliber will work with you. And back home, when a cow dies or is killed, there is a part given to (successful) men/shepherds, you know it starts with you. We sit according to our order..... for we sit near the meat, then those following us next, up to the last (Interview,

Moroto, November, 2015). Physical strength and aggressiveness worked as a sure pass to respect, privilege and fast services.

Cattle/ Livestock Raiding: Upon being asked what characterize violence in Karamoja? Livestock raiding, which is believed by several authors on Karamoja (see Ocan, 1993; Mkutu, 2004) and many native participants during the field study to be a cultural practice was cited. A participant confidently and promptly said, *“For us it is just raiding, it is just raiding brother.... It was just raiding that was bringing violence, raiding amongst themselves* (in reference to resident communities of Karamoja)... *By the way, that raiding which was distant raiding, where the Karimojong were fighting the Turkana, it reached time where the Karimojong; the three ethnic tribes* (Matheniko, Bokora and Pian) *were fighting amongst themselves, just because of the cow* (Interview, Nakapiripirit, April, 2015).

In a confession of another participant, violent cattle raiding is decried as an evil, even traditionally condemned; *“...when we are young, we were told to respect life. In fact, I understood from some elder that when Karimojong went to raid, they were not supposed to kill women and children. If someone follows the raided cows, that is the man to confront* (Interview, Religious leader, Nakapiripirit, March, 2015). The forbidding of ‘the killing of women and children’ can be understood as their recognition as the source of life and embodiment of new life, respectively. Even then however, the sanction against killing of ‘women and children’ is not embracive enough to categorically stand-out as a call for ‘respect of life’ as the participant notes. However, it is a big step towards limiting violence (a social control) on the one hand, but also, it is an approval of possible murder of perceived enemies in time of antagonism, on the other hand. Noteworthy, women and children are not expected to directly participate in cattle raiding or their protection (and, they hardly did), so they are not direct enemies in that regard. Therefore, forbidding their killing is based on an understanding that, they are not enemies in the first place. So, their killing cannot be justified by the purpose of raiding, and it bringing unnecessary and for that matter avoidable curse of the offender. Conceptually, enemies are those *other* (the general social group to whom your target belongs or to whom your aggressor belongs), more practically though, situational enemies are those who intend to raid your cattle or those to whom you put resistance against their intention.

In view of the accounts of how raiding was happening in several decades of antagonism, cattle raiders could hardly subscribe to traditional caution and restraint. Given the new values and dynamics that entrenched the Karamoja society following the intrusion of the gun and the money factors, and trivialization of governance and conflict resolution roles of elders, such a defiance cannot be a total surprise. To this point, violence that ensued by the presence and use of guns is more explainable as a deviant behavior rather than a cultural behavior. In the mind of an expecting raider, the requirement of hitting or killing only the encountering men, gives a chance to potential counters to get actualized. Logically, eliminating potential encounters on spot, whenever possible, makes the raider's success a lot easier and less costly. In Karamoja, after a raid, counter-raids would surely be expected, since countering can save the raided cows while they are still near, than having to plan a whole new retaliatory counter-raid thereafter, which is more expensive in terms of time, mobilization, human resources and distance. All these considerations are part of the explanation to neglecting the 'respect for life' ideal. For he notes that "initially, they were not supposed to kill people at all" (Interview, Religious leader, Nakapiripirit, March, 2015).

In a description of a participant from Nakapiripirit, he shows that livestock raid affected him personally, and they have occurred for long in Karamoja with uncountable losses. "*...we have had raids and I lost people; real relatives through killings.... In my family, we have lost animals in the course of raids.... We lost animals which would have been a resource to our family.*" In an attempt to establish how many animals, they lost in their family, "*...Aaaa.. it is uncountable because there are many raids which have been happening even before I was born, they continued to almost now. Some family members would as well go, raid and bring, like that, ... I cannot count because those things began happening even before I grew-up, in 1960s, 1970s then up to 1990s, 2000s , up to when the government started coming in, so you cannot establish how many have been lost* (Interview, Community leader, Nakapiripirit, April, 2015).

Even with such accounts which reflect the intensity and expansiveness of livestock raiding practice, there are voices which deny that raiding is a cultural practice among the Karimojong. A participant emphatically elaborates that; "*... raiding is not a culture, that one, remove it from your mind, I know some people have been saying so. I remember they debated in Parliament one time, when one member of parliament said raiding in a culture in Karamoja, it is not. It is an economic activity; it is understood in a wrong way....It is an economic activity that gives people a way of*

living. So, the practice of raiding is just one way of insuring that you continue surviving and living. However, it is a crude way because you have to risk life. You either loss life or gain cows; by raiding and get, or going there and be killed (Interview, Male, Nakapiripirit, April, 2015).

Another participant clarified that, “in the Karimojong culture, cows are part of our culture, but not raiding..... raiding is greed..... Raiding is theft, and it started again with the young people. And then is was also being fueled by women.....This is a practice came in later on, it was after time, in the 1980s, when the deserters (of President Amin’ s regime-in 1979) came in (Karimojong the communities); they taught warriors that one way to get wealth is through raids, it was on a small scale before, it was like theft; you go, like it is now, it is time of peace but they are continuing to steal cows. Even before, it was like that, not that full-scale raiding. It began as theft from the disobedient people, then it became violent. As you may have known, the Karimojong have taken havoc to their neighbours. That is why, you know, if you have to write you are to write this, it is not culture; it has no place in society (Interview, Religious leader, Nakapiripirit, March, 2015).

A few questions arise from the submission above; if raiding was truly caused by greed (given widespread manifestation of livestock raiding), does a conclusion that greed for material possession typify the Karimojong communities stand? And, what should we make of this kind of greed which widely manifests in negative human behavior, especially when it seems to lack effective sanctions in the community of its practice? Is it exclusively explainable by greed or need (for animals) and revenge? As traceable in the narratives in chapter five, and many other accounts from various participants; the greed and need aspects have complementary factors, including frustration and search for justice (revenge). In support of this submission, a 42-year-old participant noted that the reason to why people raid is “.... *greed, but also because men want to marry with cows, they are influenced by women to raid*” (FDG, Rupa - Moroto, June, 2015).

Exorbitant Bride Wealth: Myth or Reality- Several submissions above reflect or directly cite the need for marriage or bride wealth payment as the reason for undertaking cattle raids. The need for cows with which to marry is often cited. Just like it is cited by the Center for Conflict Resolution, (2011:6) that “a prospective groom could be charged anywhere between 100 to 200 head of cattle to marry a wife”. Ocan (1993) too, reports 100 heads of cattle and above, especially

among the Jie. Some participants seemed to concur with these assertions, for example, in a Focus Group Discussion held with six girls in some grazing area in Rupa Sub-county, Moroto District, upon asking them, how many cattle they would require from their potential grooms for their marriage, for the five who were not married yet, the lowest number was 150 cows while the highest was 190 cows. Surprisingly though, the one who was married informed that her husband was required to bring 10 cows, 4 of which were yet to be given by the time of the interview. Asking them why this huge discrepancy between what they would require, and what their counterpart's family received, they explained that; *“now animals are few, that is why people now marry with ten, fifteen, or twenty. The poor families can even marry with five cows or goats.”*; *“The numbers we have told you are not so big, in the past, they used to give even two hundred or more.”* (FGD, female participants, Rupa-Moroto, April, 2015). Upon getting this information, in a casual interaction with a university graduate from the sub-region, how many cattle she would like her potential husband to offer to their family, her response was 200 heads of cattle or more, her justification for this was because, her mother is said to have fetch as much to the family.

Compared to the numbers reported above, the numbers of bride wealth cattle reported by Mkutu (2004) are far moderate, putting them at between 15 to 30 heads of cattle among the Pokot, at 30 among poor Karimojong, and 60 among the rich Karimojong, but to as high as 130 among the Jie. In fact, these numbers already reflect progressive increase in the cost of dowry due to reductions in cattle holdings of many households. These numbers seem to be more realistic and to resonate with narratives by some Pokot and Karimojong elders. When asked the amount of cattle traditionally required for dowry payment, a Suk/Pokot elder informed that;

Surely, in the Pokot setting, it is around 20 cattle, but it may ultimately depend on parents' meeting [negotiation]. In fact, in the real Pokot culture, as long as you met and interacted as parents from both sides, you came together and agree, it can be easy, but as things changed – now it can be thirty (30) to sixty (60). But with mutual understanding, you can even get her with 5 or 10 or 15 cows, with interactions and meetings, you negotiate and propose what you can (Elder, Amudat Town Council, November, 2015). The narrative reflects an increase in the number of cattle required, but also paints a fair (realistic) picture than the dominant literature do.

In an attempt to clear this inflated image of exaggerated bride wealth and misleading association of cattle raiding to too high bride wealth in Karamoja, a Karimojong participant noted that;

*“...when we marry, by marrying not everybody marries with cows. Today in Karamoja, a lady accepts the boy and the parents accept without even being given anything.... If we call the Karimojong who are talking like that (that they give a hundred heads of cattle) and we put them here; that you, have you married officially; you, have you married....It is not true that they were raiding because they had failed to marry, no - that is wrong. So, this talk about marriage with a hundred cows, with fifty, with two hundred- that is rubbish. Some people are proudly deceiving other tribes that they are marrying with hundred cows, what and what cows. Even long ago we never....I know if many men wanted my daughter, they compete by themselves; this one may like to give sixty cows or a hundred cows because they like my daughter, so it is me to judge and assess what are the behaviour of this man. A good parent cares less about the cattle, but about the good behaviour of the man taking the daughter. “So, it is me (the parent) to judge which one (to accept); is it the other one of thirty cows or the other one of sixty cows. If you’re ambitious, like people who go and ask for cows and goats.....I can make a mistake because I don’t see the life of my daughter, I am seeing the life of cows, forgetting the life of my daughter and my grandchildren. He believed that people who still carry those claims, are talking “about some history long ago, when some Karimojong would deceive some tribes. For us it depends of the way situation; you can marry with 10 cows, you can marry with 20 cows, you can marry with 30 cows, but now because of conflict, there is poverty, where do you get cows. He remembered that when “I was a councilor here in Moroto, around 1980s - All cows were finished here in Karamoja I was a councilor here from 1979, it was around 1980, I went back to the elders, I remembered in my mind that long ago there were no cows here, our grandmothers were married with ant-hills; they (men) were marrying with ropes; they were marrying with whatever they had.” **Anthills!!??** Yes. Then, I went back to elders and asked them what can we do now, do we still need to marry with cows? Now where are the cows? What is good is for you to bless your child to go to the other clan, officially. Now we started marrying with money. 100,000/=; 300,000/=; and food, we started marrying with these, and elders all accepted and everybody accepted, until again when the Kavuyo (crisis/tension) when Obote II ran away. When the Karimojong began grabbing animals from other tribes; then I saw people going back to marrying with cows, but not all (Interview, Elder, Moroto, November, 2015).*

In the first place, the response above challenges the thinking that what matters most to win a marriage partner in Karamoja is cattle. Up to now, the general understanding has been that, it is

only cattle that can marry off a woman among the Karimojong. Other crucial factors have been brought to the fore; negotiation is shown as an important aspect, one can still take money or something else as agreed. Also, the availability or absence of resources is a point to consider. This points to the fact that, the culture/community, just like any other, adjusts its behaviour and expectations according to the prevailing conditions. This cannot be better emphasized by the fact that in the past, in the absence of cattle; Karimojong would marry with ant-hills and sisal ropes (as bride wealth)!

Secondly, the commonly documented belief that culturally, men are expected or required to marry with very many cattle (normally between 100 and 200 are cited) is not existentially true as already indicated above. The elder further informed that those people who promote that claim are liars; *“.... those are lairs they just talk. It is like when we were still young in school, we were deceiving these other tribes that,.... aahh you know, for us we marry with a hundred cows, we wanted to avoid them from taking our women/girls because we were not believing (trusting) in them, but we were just deceiving them. One day again, when I was a canteen manager of a prison in Mbale (District),... we were joking in a bar, when I said you people we don't like seeing you tying a cow, you make a cow a prisoner. Now for us Karimojong, God gave us cows, cows are ours, you Bagishu you are given matooke, you Iteso you have been given cassava. Every tribe has been given something. So, if I find a cow here (tied), that is a cow that got lost, those are our cows. It was just a joke but people have taken it seriously that the Karimojong said that all cows are theirs..... for me it was a joke, but they took it serious. . But when you talk to them even if you're joking, for them they are meaning it. That is where the problem of a hundred cows was used to threaten other tribes from taking our daughters. But today they have married, we have now mixed together, as long as you come to the parents, not marrying behind the curtains (Interview, Elder, Moroto, November, 2015).*

According to the explanation above, the non-Karimojong who propagate the belief of 'very high bride wealth' as a requirement to effect marriage among the Karimojong are not intentional liars, they are misled by claims that are blindly believed, without knowledge of the motives behind it. In fact, this claim had been instrumentalized by warriors, as a justification for the maladaptive behaviour for economic gains, other than for meeting the expensive cost of marriage.

In an interface with a religious leader, he showed that in the traditional setting, by the time a boy grew into a man, who is ready to marry, enough livestock would have been raised to meet his marriage cost. Notably, *“when you grow, you find that your parents have cows and when I marry they give me cows, not only my family but my friends also, and the extended family members, so I don’t have to go and raid in order to marry.* His note has three implications, that; 1. as the elder said above, realistically, not very much livestock is required to effect a traditional marriage, as often claimed; 2. the number of livestock friends and family members give should be enough for one to marry a wife; 3. unlike now, marriage would wait until an older age, as highlighted by some participants, that patience and/or heeding to the elders, would allow for a long period of time, until when the amount of animals required is raised.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

PASTORAL RESOURCES AND VIOLENT CONFLICT

7.1 Introduction

Under this theme, the researcher attempts to identify resources (and activities related to them) that motivate violent conflicts in pastoral areas. However, the section begins with a discussion on resources which are supportive to the lives and livelihoods of pastoral communities, together with conditions that might have made them associable to conflict and or violence. It is important to recall Mueller (2010) at this point, that social conflicts are likely to emerge when parties believe they have differences and incomparable goals. He substantiates that for conflict to occur, ‘goals and needs’ much more matter than differences. Therefore, the ‘needs and goals’ of the communities in question, which are largely about and around resources, motivate them towards or constrain them from violence, as the integrative model of violence suggests.

7.2 Resources Sustaining the Lives and Livelihoods of Communities

Globally, “extensive pastoral production accounts for 10% of total meat production”, which is equivalent to one billion heads of camels, cattle and small ruminants (Inter-reseaux and FAO, 2012). These virtually support some 200 million pastoral households globally. Nevertheless, “despite the considerable benefits conferred by pastoral production systems, they are often denigrated as being ancient”. On the African continent, despite the negative attitude and treatment from elites and modern state structures, pastoral systems are showing remarkable liveliness. They “spread out from east to west, some 50 million herders and up to 200 million agro-pastoralists live in arid and semi-arid zones in Africa.” Currently, they own a third of livestock and half the small ruminants; they supply 60% of the beef, 40% of the meat from small ruminants, and 70% of the milk of this group of countries” (Inter-reseaux and FAO, 2012).

The environment/ecological setting of Karamoja (which is the first resource), poor as it may appear, offers a number of natural resources upon which communities depend for subsistence, economic and social functions. Above other resources, cattle/livestock is the most ecologically supported, culturally treasured and traditionally protected. With high ‘monetary poverty rates’,

sparse social services and limited economic opportunities, such resources play a critical role in the sustainability of local lives and their livelihoods. These are geographically spread among agro-ecological zones of the arid region, in which “regenerative resources such as pasture and water are [highly] temporal in their seasonal availability due to the region’s cyclical droughts and extreme fluctuations in rainfall.” In addition to variability of resources, more static geological resources such as mineral deposits and water infrastructure offer both actual and potential economic and subsistence resources of importance too (Stites, Fries and Akabwai, 2010: 7).

Most important though, the people of Karamoja draw **upon generations of knowledge and adaptive strategies** as important resources with which to transform natural resources at their disposal into food, items for trade, infrastructure, domestic and cultural items. At a local level, livelihoods activities such as pastoral production, economic enterprises and cultivation, cherish the importance of natural resources for the survival of communities.

Before associating resources in the sub-region to violence, it is important to ascertain how this comes about. Apart from the traditional cattle raiding, which would be overseen and regulated by elders, since it meant redistribution of livestock in the wake of scarcity; colonial policies and interventions foreign to the sub-region sought to incapacitate a full range of pastoralist communities, by constraining pastoral activities (Muhereza, 1998; Ocan, 1993, Mkutu, 2004). As Muhereza (1998) notes from the colonial period, different Ugandan governments have adopted anti-pastoralist policies, leading pastoralists to lose land vital for the survival of livestock on which they depend. For instance, “attempts to forcefully settle pastoralists have resulted in an unanticipated social crisis, setting the stage for an emerging conflict over the allocation and use of resources” (Ocan, 1993:98). All post-independence governments have pursued policies similar to those of their predecessors, with some serious attempts lately introduced the current government of Uganda, to understand and support the pastoral communities of the sub-region.

The bone of contention between the government and the communities was, during the colonial period, Karimojong communities lost the biggest portion of their land to pacification measures, and the redrawing of boundaries between Kenya and Sudan, which left much of their grazing areas outside Uganda, and to wildlife conservation (their expulsion from newly formed game parks, reserves, and protected forests). To prevent contact between the people of Karamoja and the neighbouring communities, buffer zones were created out of their dry season grazing areas, and

pastoralists were pushed to the eastern parts the sub-region which is drier (Ocan, 1993). The Karimojong were forced to sell their livestock, through the colonial government cattle buying scheme of 1941, which was followed by the confiscation of livestock to pay taxes imposed by the British colonizers or confiscation of female stock under the cover of punishment of cattle raiding (Muhereza, 1998 and Ocan, 1993). During the regime of President Idi Amin more land was lost to establish the Moroto Army barracks in the foothills and valley of Mt. Moroto. The increased concentration of cattle over smaller areas along the eastern border further depleted resources, and as early as 1940, soil erosion was identified as one of the problems facing resource use in Karamoja (Muhereza, 1998).

Because of different state policies, almost the entire land mass of Karamoja (over 90%) became either of the following; forest reserve, game reserve, controlled hunting area, national park, buffer zone, or a military zone. This was clear evidence that the Karimojong never existed in the national plans of Uganda; the area was conceived as empty of humans; thus, the region's resources were meant to benefit wild games (wild life conservation) at the expense of native and local communities. The total alienation of the local communities from the resources they once used, revered, and regulated using customary control measures made it inevitable for the Karimojong to seek short-term survival strategies, mostly driven by individual as opposed to collective benefits. As governments sought political measures to deal with ecological problems, the resulting social crises increasingly drove the Karimojong out of their area (Muhereza, 1998). Through mobile pastoralism, cattle herders resolved to cope-up by gaining access to seasonally available pastoral resources outside Karamoja, including cattle. Currently, with increased tension, when pastoral resources are physically located in an area belonging to a specific Karimojong group, user rights are restricted by one's membership in that specific Karimojong group unlike before, thus making resources not safe from motivating conflicts and violence.

7.3 Resources Associated with the Origin of Conflict and Violence

The resources identified herewith are seen as or likely to be seen as related to the occurrence of violent conflicts in pastoral communities. Important to keep in mind; social, economic and religious life of pastoral communities are conceived and exercised in relation to livestock and their environment.

Cattle/livestock -In the true sense of the word, cattle or livestock does not stand alone; it does not stand in isolation from resources like land, pastures, water and from the practice of pastoralism. Like elsewhere in pastoralist communities of the world, in Karamoja livestock is centrally definitive of the life of individuals in particular and communities in general. The tick-like attachment to cattle (assumes the term ‘cattlecentricism’ in this study) as a lifestyle culturally preferred, environmentally supported and ecologically sustainable. For it forms a pastoral identity and survival possibilities in unfriendly environments. By inference, pastoralism is not a mere economic activity, but a life-defining process. By relation, “cow is the centre of the value system of the semi-nomadic pastoralist people who live in this area [Karamoja]”, which is the reason why “cattle raiding was very common”, according to Saferworld (2010:1) and Mkutu (2004). Reportedly, in the name of the need to acquire, protect and/or replenish livestock and other resources that ensure its sustainability, “the region has for long been characterized by endemic armed violence, violent conflict, illicit small arms proliferation and insecurity” (Saferworld, 2010:1). Consequently, high levels of armed violence and insecurity have aggravated widespread poverty in area, thus suffering from “some of the worst development indicators in the world” (Saferworld, 2010:1). In confirmation of the above, Legal aid Basket Fund (n.d:4) and Odhiambo (2003) note that “in Karamoja, conflict and insecurity are but a manifestation of poverty, livelihood insecurity and underdevelopment.” The ‘poverty’ and ‘livelihood insecurity’ referred to herein, relate to decreased livestock numbers in the sub-region and insecurity of livestock from raiders, epidemics and extreme environmental conditions.

It is undeniable that over the decades, “the once-adaptive practice of ‘taking by force (cattle raiding) by pastoralist communities in North eastern Uganda has been transformed into a violent, ongoing intractable conflict...in a way that threatens to destroy the people and their way of life” (Jabs, 2007:1498). Jabs rightly recognizes that livestock raiding was not culturally perceived as a bad practice, neither was it done for fun or out of malice, but as ‘a non-violent adaptive practice’, necessary for survival in the bad times of the sub-region (2007).

However, her submission is suggestive that armed violent raids never occurred in the region until around 1978. This submission, intends to associate armed violence related to livestock raiding in Karamoja to the spill-out of guns into civilian hands towards the close of Amin’s regime in 1978 from Moroto Barracks. It also implicitly shows Karimojong as aggressors, who willfully acquired guns to terrorize communities, instead of showing them as victims who were craving for self-

defence following government's failure to protect them. Noteworthy, "from early 1960s onwards", many Karimojong communities had been raided by armed pastoral groups including the Turkana of Kenya, and the Toposa and Didinga from Sudan (current South Sudan), all of whom had acquired guns from Abyssinia - the current Ethiopia. The interest to have guns by the native communities emanated from the government's inability to protect them from the external attackers, a scenario which allowed the making local guns '*Ngamatidae*' (Mkutu, 2004:130; Saferworld, 2010). This was a local intervention meant to insure protection of selves and their property especially cattle, from external aggressors.

In their research on Karamoja, Burns, Bekele and Akabwai (2013:29) found out that in most pastoral and agro-pastoral communities, livestock are considered the primary determinant of wealth. They report of a common agreement that those who have; cattle, plough oxen or medium to large herds of small and big ruminants are considered relatively well off than those who lack them. "Livestock, particularly cattle and small ruminants as opposed to equines and poultry, were considered important wealth indicators" and "disparities in wealth are largely linked to livestock holdings". Notably, "in Karamoja, livestock are not only representative of wealth and status but have been described as 'the measure of all things' for a pastoralist community" (Dyson Hudson 1987: 28 in Burns, Bekele and Akabwai, 2013:30). They noted that though the importance of livestock cannot be overestimated in terms of financial capital, "the allegiance, identities and social fabrics that define these communities revolve around their livestock" (Burns, Bekele & Akabwai, 2013:30).

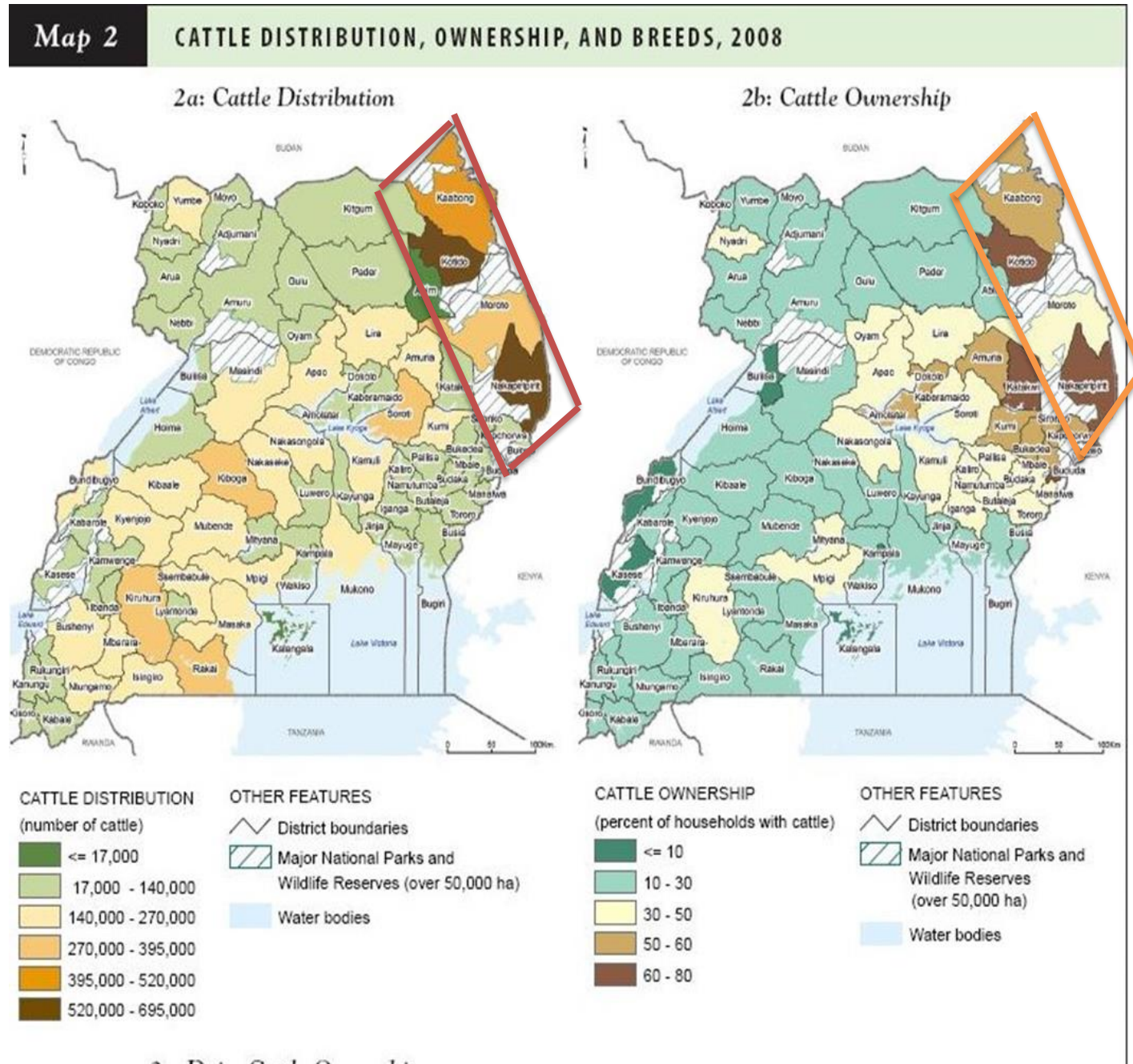
It is important to note that while the cattle resource could have been a potential source of conflict, colonial policies and manipulative interventions had significant contribution to this possibility. These increased the scarcity of the survival resources, and benefited the colonial government at the expense of the native owners of environmental and cattle resources. For example, Dyson-Hudson (1966) in Ocan (1993) described Karamoja as a 13,000-square mile ranch where the British government was making a profit of 50,000 Pound Sterling a year through sales of livestock that belonged to and were meant to sustain local communities. By 1961, the region was estimated to have had between 650, 000 -700,000 heads of cattle, and it was said to have provided "the main source of supply of the incipient export of low grade carcasses" (Ocan, 1993:137). A report by Baker (1968), shows that although Karamoja was made-up 12.3 % of Uganda's total land mass

and consisted of only 2.7 % of the total population of the country, it had 19.8% (over 700,000) of the total national population of cattle in 1963. The ratio of cattle to people 250-500+ heads of cattle to 100 persons, at a human population of around 90,000.

Surprisingly, after a host of violent conflicts, fierce raids and counter-raids, which are reported to have depopulated the region's cattle resources, and eminent increase in the number of people who don't own cattle/ livestock in Karamoja, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, puts the region's cattle population to the very same percentage (19.8%) of 1963. The FAO (2014:9) report shows that by 2008, "livestock population in Karamoja was estimated at about 6 million heads, representing about 19.8 percent of the national cattle (2.3 million head); 16.3 percent of the goats (2.0 million head) and 49.4 percent of the sheep (1.7million head)", with an estimated human population of 1.2 million people. If this is true, this represents 32% increase in cattle population, against 133% increase in the human population. This could explain the increased number of people without cattle, and the seeming decrease in cattle of livestock population.

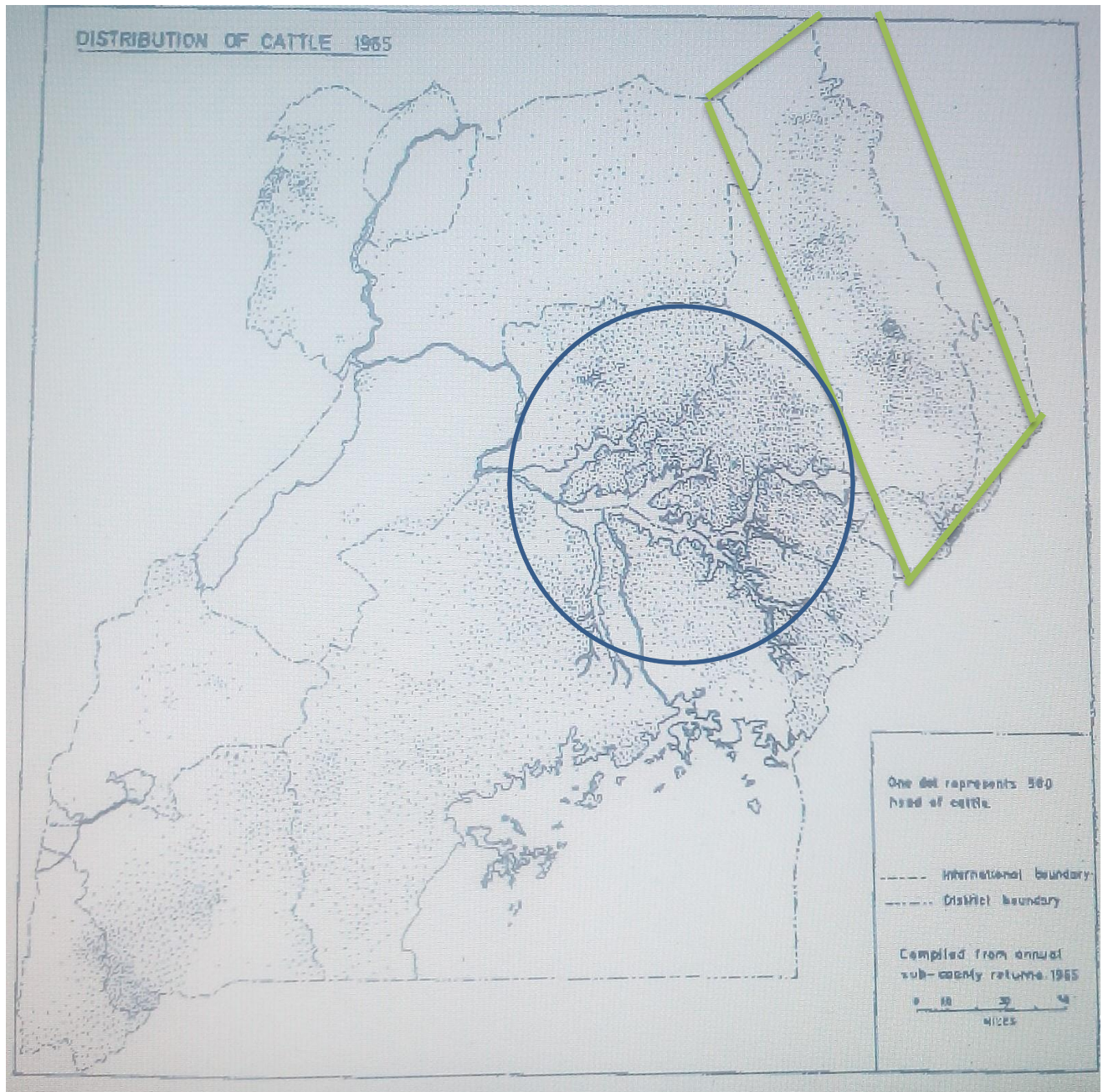
It is important to note that, although by 1965 areas around Lake Kyoga (in a blue circle – Figure II) had more cattle concentrations than Karamoja (in a green shape) as noticeable in Figure II below. Currently, Karamoja sub-region is said to have more cattle concentrations, than any other parts of Uganda (Figure I). Nevertheless, communities in Karamoja still express a sense of scarcity and insufficiencies of cattle, and there is reported increase in the number of people who lack ownership of cattle (see the second map in Figure I).

Figure I: A Map of Uganda Showing the Distribution and Ownership of Cattle



Sources: World Resources Institute. Available at: <http://www.wri.org/resources/maps/uganda-cattle-distribution-ownership-and-breeds-2008> (Accessed on: 29th November, 2017).

Figure II: A map of Uganda Showing the distribution of cattle in 1965¹⁸



Source: Baker P. Randal, 1968, The Distribution of Cattle in Uganda. *East African Geographical Review*, No. 6 :63-73.

¹⁸ In this map, the concentration of dots represents the concentration of cattle.

Environment and Climate: By 2004, 500-600 million people were living in arid and semi-arid environments/climates/areas of the world, of which 30-40 million people entirely depend on animals of livelihood; 50-60 percent of them are found in Africa, Karamoja inclusive. Social and economic aspects of pastoral communities are organized in relation to livestock and the environment in which they live (Mkutu, 2004; Saferworld, 2010). Pastoralism is a system that depends of the availability of water and pastures in an arid area, their quality and distribution. In the face of their scarcity therefore, pastoralism is under threat. Scarcity of such resources is said to be due to weak governance, inadequate land and resource management policies; political and economic marginalization of pastoral communities and increased insecurity resulting from conflict over them (Saferworld, 2010). At this point in time we realize that unlike instances where gold and diamond rank as the precious resources, among pastoralist communities, cattle, pastures and water are so valuable resources above gold and diamond since they essentially define and give meaning to their existence.

In his exploration of the impact of changing access to livelihood resources due conflict between Tuaregs and the governments of Mali, Niger and Algeria, Muna (2009) argues that the processes that influenced that conflict are deeply entrenched in history, and in the composite relations between Tuareg and the environment as well as the policies and institutional context. He noted that “these are expressed in a range of ways, including natural resource management, land tenure security, climate change and humanitarian intervention” (Muna, 2009:1). The factors that influenced the conflict between the Karimojong and various governments of Uganda are not far from what Muna cites above.

Paradoxically, harsh as it is, the arid and semi-arid environment is the richest resource, on which all other immediate and life-sustaining resources of pastoralist communities hinge. This kind of environment is the environment of choice for pastoralism because; it is the only climatic zone where pastoralists can monopolize land use with the slightest competition from agriculturists. Given its ecological set-up though, survival of people, animals and vegetation among others is fated to be through the hard way; through ‘resilience and flexibility’¹⁹. These conditions do not only teach people to adapt to this environment through countering the harshness by its mastery,

¹⁹ A statement made by Hon. A. M Musoka, the District Local Government Chairperson of Moroto, in his closing remarks to capacity building training in Moroto in October, 2013.

but also by design, survival in the region dictates it. The resources crucial to the survival of animals; pasture and water, directly depend on environmental/climatic responses. Thus, conflicts and violence are said to be highest during dry seasonal spans, with increased scarcity of water and pasture (Mkuru, 2004 and Ocan, 1993). There are narratives however, that challenge the association of conflict with scarcity, citing abundance, which brings about satisfaction and temporary independence as key to motivating conflict.

Extreme climatic manifestations like drought are not surprise in pastoral areas; they are normal and often predictable occurrences in the sub-region, and the mobility of people and livestock is the apt response. These have evolved over centuries precisely to deal with cyclical drought events. Nevertheless, in recent decades vulnerability to drought shocks and stresses has intensified. In 2011 for instance, “Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Uganda were hit by what has been defined as the worst drought in 60 years, prompting a severe food crisis that affected over 12 million people”. Conflict is one of several complex processes that have contributed to weakening the ability of local communities to prepare for, cope with and recover from climatic stresses like droughts. Drought-affected communities, for example, often flee to other areas in search of food, fresh pasture and water points (Pavanello and Scott-Villiers, 2013:5)

While the unreliability of rainfall, saves pastoralists of the agriculturalists’ competition, as cattle number dwindle and some households live without cattle, they have to depend on crop growing for survival, which is impossible too with unreliable rainfall. Reportedly, crop yields in Karamoja have been declining over the past 20 years (Ayoki, 2007 in Burns, Bekele and Akabwai 2013:28) because of the increasingly variable and unreliable weather patterns, there have been crop failures with five of every six past years being associated with poor or failed harvests. If this pattern continues, more people will be at a risk from production failure as increasing numbers of people in the region are becoming dependent on crop farming (Burns, Bekele and Akabwai, 2013:28). Nevertheless, in its extreme manifestation, the environmental condition of the sub-region threatens pastoralism and it is believed to increase conflicts and insecurity. Notably, in the recent years there has been an increase in academic publications on whether and how particular environmental conditions and climate characteristics increases the risk of armed conflict (Buhaug, 2015; Gleditsch, 2007 and Salehyan, 2008 in Tor et al., 2012). In these publications though, a significant majority of empirical studies suggests that environment at best has a trivial impact on the risk of

organized violence (Buhaug, 2015; Raleigh and Urdal, 2007; Theisen, 2008 in Benjaminsen et al., 2012). While this conclusion is drawn, it is realizable that even the few studies that claim a causal connection between environmental change and armed conflict, they fail to mention farmer-herder clashes which are widespread in arid areas like the Sahel. Nevertheless, high-profile cases of conflict recognized include “the border conflict between Senegal and Mauritania in 1989, the Darfur conflict, and recent clashes between ethnic groups in northern Nigeria” (Benjaminsen et al., 2012; 98; Buhaug, 2015). These are centrally resource driven and gun-supported conflicts.

Many of the inter-communal conflicts highlighted are violent, and some have generated massive casualty figures. There are several reasons for the prevalence of land-use conflicts in the pastoral regions. One important factor though, is the juxtaposition of communities with different lifestyles and economic activities. Emerging conflicts in such scenarios are an expression of ongoing agrarian changes (modernization) in Sahelian societies, forcing such changes on the Tuaregs of Mali, Turkana of Kenya and Karimojong of Uganda (Benjaminsen et al., 2012; Buhaug, 2015). In addition, across the most pastoral communities, local populations, notably herder communities, may have little confidence in the government’s ability and willingness to accept them and solve conflicts in a peaceful and just manner (Benjaminsen, Maganga and Abdallah, 2009). Apart from seeing cultures in pastoral areas as promoting conflict/violence, it is worth noting that, such perceptions of these cultures breed resentments and reasons for violent behaviour in self-assertion and defence. It is not uncommon that “in case of local conflicts in these areas, national policy narratives often put the blame on pastoralists”. And, “this seems to be part of an overall strategy of agrarian modernization and of converting mobile peoples into ‘productive’ sedentary farmers” (Hagberg, 2005 in Benjaminsen et al., 2012:98; Buhaug, 2015). Such policies; are signs of cultural intolerance -they out rightly set themselves against the blamed and castigated cultures.

Several scholars point out that, causes of conflicts in pastoral areas often have a political origin which is associated with an ongoing process of pastoral marginalization (Bassett, 1988; Benjaminsen, 2008; Turner, 2004; Moritz, 2006; Benjaminsen and Ba, 2009; Benjaminsen, Maganga and Abdallah, 2009; Bonfiglioli and Watson, 1992). This is attributed to underestimation of pastoral productivity and pastoral contribution to the national economy and overestimation of negative impacts of grazing on the ecology (Benjaminsen et al., 2012:99). In reality though,

pastoralism in a human activity that less distracts the naturalness of the environment of operation, except for the wild fires.

The Land Question: In a study conducted along Teso-Karamoja border, it was realized that the land question among pastoralists, just like other livelihood issues, have been given insufficient attention by policy makers and nation states. Pastoralists, as a sizable interest group in the country have been generally marginalized in development, a phenomenon that “resulted into an escalation of natural resource based conflicts especially revolving around the struggle to access and control of land, pasture and water resources which are the basis of their survival” (Bainomigisha, Okello and Ngoya, 2007:2). The problem of land uncertainties is not limited the Teso-Karamoja border, it transverses the whole northern Uganda region since the colonial administrators. Rugadya, Margaret and Kamusiime (2013) note that in 1960s, as much as 94.6% of the Karamoja’s land had been allocated to wildlife conservation of some kind (national parks, controlled hunting grounds, game reserves of forest reserves, among others), not until 2002 when by act of the Uganda Parliament, the status of land use and tenure of half of the said 94.6% was changed. In a related scenario, Muna Abdalla (2009:5) deliberates that “the conflict involving Tuaregs has strong roots in the control over natural resources, especially land.” As in most African countries, the pre-colonial customary system of land tenure in Mali was based more or less on collective ownership. Similar to British colonial policies in Karamoja, the colonial French state pursued a policy of land registration upon which many Tuaregs lost their right to the land they used to live on. In 1959 legislation was passed allowing Mali to use land owned through traditional tenure rights for development projects. Following this, vast bands of land were considered public property, and land was increasingly lost due to the encroachment of commercial agriculture at the expense of pastoralists. Consequently, Tuaregs became among the most marginalized and disadvantaged groups in Mali (Muna, 2009:5). Like the Karimojong, policies pursued by the successive post-colonial governments continued to marginalize the Tuareg from mainstream national development.

During the colonial era, land registration had been proposed in Karamoja though it failed, in post-colonial period, communities agitated for loss of their fertile land to wild life conservation; through the establishment of the Pian Upe game reserve, Metheniko game reserve and Kipedo national

game park (Ocan, 1993 and Mkuru, 2004). In the post-disarmament period though, Mercy Nalugo, (2012) reports that the land resource in Karamoja is at risk of ‘grabbing’. For instance, 6,130 hectares of land measuring 15,325 acres located at Kimacharin, Moruita Sub-county, in Nakapiripirit District, have been sold and leased to a company called Feronia Uganda Limited without the consent of the custodian community.

Guns and ammunitions: Having identified ‘guns’ as one of the variables to be interrogated, it may be surprising to have it herewith as a resource. Looking at it from this angle is key to understanding the resource-question dynamics in the whole affairs. Firstly, the conception of ‘guns’ as a variable of study, accords it a broader, stranger’s outlook as a cause or potential cause of violence. At this level though, I pick on it as an insider, to whom it a resource effective in protecting other resources (cattle). In the next chapter (chapter eight), several accounts by authors and research participants are presented, regarding guns as trade items, and a number of cattle/livestock that would be worth a gun, over a period of time.

This explain why, possession of cattle and guns had a close proximity is many cases. Interview narratives by a Pokot Elder, in Loroo sub-county, Amudat district, on 16th April, 2015, bring out this relationship clearly. He asserted *....because when you have livestock you have to buy a gun..... If you don’t have a cow, what will you need a gun for? And what will you use to buy it?’. I can safely argue that, guns were cattle-turned-guns, thus resources kept in a different form. So, a gun was as valued as their cattle/livestock equivalent, at their exchange value. And, using them to protect herds and adding on the herds, was equivalent to making preserving capital and making profit, just as cows would by periodic production of new calves.*

7.4 Resources Perceived to Cause to Violent Conflicts in Karamoja

This section presents and discusses the views, perceptions and understanding of study participants of how ‘survival resources’ in Karamoja may have contributed to violent conflicts that devastated the sub-region. It starts with resources that are key to survival of individuals, whose (perceived or real) scarcity has been cited as the cause of strife. In principle, material survival supporting objects or environmental state, whose scarcity is perceived to cause or fuel conflict is what I call “survival resources,” and I consider them as basics for survival.

Livestock: The most important resource identified by the participants is cattle, a participant noted that; *“the life of a Karimojong has been dependent on a cow and the cow is cherished as the source of life. Once that is established, it means for you to come and wrong a person by trying to remove the cow, you’re causing a problem”* (FGD with men, Rupa-Moroto, May, 2015).

Another participant narrates the fact that with the occurrence of violent conflict, the backbone of their economy, which is livestock, was being broken down. He remembered that;

....in the traditional Karamoja, each household had livestock; being cattle, goats, and sheep. Therefore, each household was food secure. And from that time when we went into this conflict in 1960s, that is when even the World Food Programme came with the programme of feeding of Karamoja; the Karimojong became dependents” (Interview, Male community leader, Nakapiripirit, April, 2015).

It is further said that *“a cow relates to many things in the aspects of Karimojong life.....From a cow you get milk for food, skins for sleeping, and meat to eat, you also use it for bride wealth purposes”*. With the effect of the conflict though, the trend of life is changing, *“as cattle are becoming minimal, we have resorted to farming; there is subsistence farming now, that is where we are now, that one I cannot deceive you”* (Interview, Male Participant, Nakapiripirit, April, 2015). Another participant emphasized that *“now we are in a situation where we are mainly depending on subsistence farming and on the cow”* (Interview, Female participant, Nakapiripirit Town council, May, 2015). To supplement livestock as ‘a food resource’, wild games and fruits are also important. An elder shared that *“.... another area has been hunting. This has been very key to our survival as well, may be also collecting fruits from the wilderness. Even in the past, peoples used to pick certain fruits to make life go on, it is something to eat also.”*

Another participant mentions the important of livestock; *“.... I know it is mainly for food, for skins for sleeping, for performing ceremonies, for meat and of course bride price. That is what a cow was serving ...* He continued to deny that cattle raiding as a culture, insisting that;

...it was just economic, that is how the Karimojong see it, for their survival, because the land, as you see it, like now in Turkana (another pastoralist community in Kenya), you can never plough, you can’t, nothing. In Loima there, in Lodwar, you cannot. The only thing you find there is the cow; that is how they are surviving. Likewise, with us here, you see like in Moroto, people are trying agriculture but it

is not coming; that is why this area is prone to hunger and death, they try not to live on cows alone in vain. But also without grass, the cow emaciates and dies, and it doesn't even give milk. So, the best means to live is only to follow a cow, for it can give some milk, it can give meat and you push on. Actually, those days in kraals, when you take cows to the kraal, the only survival is by taking milk and blood. They shoot in a vein and draw blood, then they get blood and mix with milk and drink. That is how a warrior would live from day one; from January to December, depending on that. That was the purpose of the cow” (Interview, Community leader, Nakapiripirit, April, 2015).

A Pokot elder associated ownership of livestock to conflicts, by viewing it as the primary reason to having guns, for their protection. In his view;

Cattle were the contributing most to conflicts in Karamoja, because, when you have livestock you have to buy a gun. That gun will be for protecting your animals and fighting the enemy. If you don't have a cow, what will you need a gun for? And what will you use to buy it?like you, you don't have cows; you cannot go to raid and you don't care about security, for I have cows and I am security conscious. Now that I have these cows, somebody may be planning to take them this evening. I have to have some weapons, yes.

So, I am telling you, it is the cow..... however, the reason we resorted to peace, is because we want everybody to have animals. When you're not running up and down, the little animals you have keep on multiplying – then you realize the benefit after sometime. That is why we resorted to peace; talking to people, appreciate the work the government has done among us (disarmament). Now we realize that our animals are multiplying (Pokot Elder, Interview, Loroo- Amudat, April, 2015).

The response above has implications; 1. That guns could hardly be owned by poor sections of the population, since you could only buy a gun when you have the required resource to buy it, on the one hand, and wealth it should protect, on the other hand. This way, guns are being perceived as tools of the relatively rich, at least with regard to livestock, in the context of the study. 2. That livestock raiding activities affected the rich most, since they were targeting their cattle resources,

yet, at the same time, they were the master-minders of the practice. 3. The blame seem to be channeled to the object (cattle), rather than the subject (raider) and the implement (gun). As much as the object (livestock) may be at the centre of the motivation equation, the value, rationality and judgement are not embedded in the object, but in the subject. Therefore, conflict as a human behaviour and as a human work, should not be rightly claimed to originate from without.

Water and Pasture: Many pieces of literature point to the scarcity of water and pasture as a major cause of violent crashes among pastoral communities of Karamoja. Such assertions were supported by some participants. For example, in the third narrative of chapter five, the participant asserts that “..*basically, the conflict was based on resources- natural resources; the pasture and water. It also transited from those to other resources such as livestock.*” (Interview, Community leader, Moroto, April, 2015). In another interview in Nakapiripirit, a participant recalled that his grandfather had told him that in the past, the conflict between the Pokot and the Karimojong began as a struggle for water at a water point. On the other hand, however, another elder had clarified that the conflict between the two communities, although associated to a watering point, it was not about water or pasture. He narrates as follows “*...we were grazing there (in a place called Acolicoli); watering our animals together with the Pokot. There was no conflict, it came after some time..... You know for the Karimojong, when you bring your cows, you first water the big, hug bull which you're proud of..... our parents at that time were doing like that, the Pokot also. One day, accidentally, the Pokot brought their bulls, they wanted them to drink first, and the Karimojong also wanted theirs to drink first. Unfortunately, a bull of the Pokot entered into the herd of the Karimojong, and some stubborn youth misappropriated the bull from there.....*” So, although the conflict in this case happened at a water point, it was not about water, but related to some pride-driven behaviour or misbehaviour.

The resource scarcity discourse in pastoral areas focus on pasture, water and livestock. Interesting though, there are voices from the sub-region that refute these discourses. In normal circumstances, it would have been expected that if conflicts are truly over scarce resources, their patterns of occurrence would have reflected dominance in the dry season, when pastures and water are really scarce in the sub-region, but it was not the case. In Mkutu's (2004) and Saferworld's (2010) reports, attacks are reported to have happened in both dry and wet seasons. For example,

Karimojong warriors are reported to undertake attacks in March, 2000, in which 19 non-pastoralist persons were killed in Kitgum District and some abducted; in September, 2001, 200 warriors overpowered 40 Local Defence Unit (LDU) in Katakwi district and took over 500 heads of cattle; in January, 2000 Karimojong warriors massacred around 60 Pokot and took around 5,000 heads of cattle. In December, 2001, and between November - December, 2002 there were several raids. January, 2003 Kenyan raiders attacked Ugandan villages. Normally, between July and December are months of plenty (during and after harvest time for human food), between June and December, time of plenty with regard to animal pastures and water. It is clear that such attacks and raids were not restricted to times of scarcity.

When asked when conflicts or raid happened? Most participants said they happened towards the end of the rainy season, which is a time of abundance! In fact, this was the traditional timing of cattle raids. In the second narrative of chapter five, the narrator explains that raids would happen around August²⁰. The reason for this, he says “... *even traditionally, raids were actually planned and seasonal. And, they were planned for specific time and reasons; if it would be done in the month of August, it is done because people are already satisfied and are strong enough; and when you go to raid, you go there to show that you’re a man. That is why you would put on (wear) a leopard skin that you killed; you put on all your traditional attires meant for fighting.*” (Interview, Elder, Matoro May, 2015). I came to learn that raids/violent clashes were rare in times of scarcity because, that is when collaboration and cooperation is required to allow survival of all beneficiaries. This is the time when adversaries make peace. However, he implies, there were other reasons for raiding than the one he explained by his assertion that “they were planned for specific time and reasons,” which included raiding for survival or revenge.

For some Karimojong participants, the scarcity discourse in Karamoja is closely related to how they are perceived as financially poor. They believed though, that they are rich enough and that concepts of scarcity and poverty are used to describe them negatively. A religious leader commented about the scarcity and poverty question;

²⁰ Normally, rain seasons in Karamoja begin in April and end anywhere from August to November.

“...I negate that one, it is a prejudice about people. If you look at people; the way they dress, the way they look dirty, especially in Moroto town, you may think these people are very poor, but they are not poor. So, other tribes thought they do this in order to distribute this or that, wealth or to help people survive here, no,... Because some, at least sixty percent (60 %) of the people I know, ignore this culture of raiding, road thuggery, violence against people on the road. And of course, 80% of the people who are well off in Karamoja, have never involved in any raids. These warriors now, you see how they are, they look miserable. The Karimojong are not poor, they only don't know how to manage their resources because of the illiteracy; because they have not gone to school, they don't know how to manage their resources” (Interview, Nakapiripirit, March, 2015).

According to this submission, the kind of scarcity and poverty suffered by the pastoral communities of Karamoja is of knowledge (lack of knowledge and skills) of managing the abundant resources, not of resources.

CHAPTER EIGHT:

THE USE OF GUNS AND VIOLENCE

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses perspectives about violence, especially gun-driven violence, by various scholars in contexts other than that of Karamoja on the one hand, and participants in the context of, the study on the other hand. Although some of the contexts discussed herein are not categorically pastoral contexts, they can ably inform this study.

8.2 Guns and their Violent Use: The Big Picture

Wilkinson and Fagan (1996:57) note that “violence researchers have come to understand dispute-related violent events as a process of social interactions with identifiable rules and contingencies.” Felson (1993) in Wilkinson and Fagan (1996) distinguishes ‘predatory’ violence from ‘dispute-related violence’ by his suggestion that there are processual factors in dispute-related violence that are not evident in ‘predatory’ attacks. “Predatory violence is defined as physical aggression committed without provocation, while dispute-related violence involves a reaction to some alleged wrong.” However, Jack Katz (1988:9-10) in Wilkinson and Fagan (1996:57) suggests that “even the most seemingly irrational violent acts have a logical and predictable sequence”. He notes that “there may be disputes involved between the aggressor and the victim, but there appears to be no interaction between the two parties preceding the violent act. In these cases, the victim may be a proxy, surrogate or symbolic target for the other disputant.” Drawing from Felson’s observation, the processual nature of violent and interpersonal transactions is oriented by rules and norms. It is through these processes and contingencies that individual characteristics such as ‘disputatiousness’ are channeled into violent events.

Wilkinson and Fagan (1996:58) and Fagan and Wilkinson (1998) help us to understand violent conflict by their suggestion that “violent behavior can be viewed as a method of communicating social meanings within contexts where such action is either expected or at least tolerated.” Therefore, the presence of firearms/guns presents a unique incidence that shapes decision-making

patterns of individuals or groups. The presence of firearms influences decisions both in social interactions with the potential for becoming conflictual and also within disputes which are already in place. Most importantly however, “the influence on decision-making is compounded by the social contexts in which firearm injuries are already intense or in areas characterized by extensive ‘resource deprivation’ (Wilkinson and Fagan, 1996:58; Fagan and Wilkinson, 1998). In the context of their 1996 study, they identified two socialization processes that work together to create a unique influence on use of guns, in a way that can inform the Karamoja context: the emergence of a ‘street code’ (equivalent to stereotypical categorization and disregard of Karimojong) that shapes perceptions of grievances and the norms of their resolution, and an ‘ecology of danger’ where social interactions are perceived as threatening or dangerous. The ‘ecology of danger’ is where “individuals are normatively seen as harbouring hostile intent and the willingness to inflict harm” (Wilkinson and Fagan, 1996:58). Historical accounts confirm that Karamoja has over time been perceived as and eventually became an ‘ecology of danger’. This was both a cause and a product of intentional colonial and post-colonial isolation, all-round marginalization, and insecurity threats to cattle by internal and external aggressors.

From the foregoing, it can be discerned that though the presence of guns influences decision-making, including their violent use; their use is mostly warranted by other causal factors. According to a survey done in 1993 (in Wilkinson and Fagan, 1996) for example, the number of events where guns were used were a small fraction of the number of events where guns are actually present. That is why “several studies attribute violence to the dynamics and contingencies” in a given context, other than the presence of guns. These contingencies are most likely to create the environment that helps the graduation of gun possession into gun use (Wilkinson and Fagan, 1996). Reportedly, by 1898, some Karimojong communities especially the Jie were heavily armed just like the Acholi in their neighbourhood; however, the presence of guns did not change much of the dynamics of traditional raiding, for example, there was no reported increase in human deaths by the gun. However, the Jie are said to have used them to raid other communities and demand for tributes from them. The Jie had acquired guns through their contact with the Belgians in Congo, the Arabs on the East African coast and from Italians in Ethiopia (Ocan, 1993).

The use or application of armed violence or violence in general can be seen as a means of communication; following the logic of social interaction, and as a response to a stimulus. The social interactionist perspective emphasizes the role of social interaction over other 'personality' explanations of aggressive behavior. It interprets all aggressive behavior as goal-oriented or instrumental; attempting to achieve what is valued by the aggressor. Examination of social interaction in terms of making rational choices; three main goals of aggressive behaviour can be identified, which are; to compel and deter others; to achieve a favorable social identity/recognition; and to obtain justice. This perspective is concerned with the actor's point of view and focuses on describing the factors that produce conflict and those that inhibit it. According to Tedeschi and Felson (in Wilkinson and Fagan, 1996), all violence is goal-oriented behavior, and such behaviour is either motivated by the desire to achieve some outcome as terminal values or as a means of achieving the terminal value (procedural values). It is the valued outcome (goal) that motivates the use of violence and not some involuntary response to aversive stimuli. They explicate that "the means of achieving the goal are also valued and play a part in fulfilling the objectives of the actor"; thus, "an actor makes a choice to engage in violent behaviour because it seems to be the best alternative available in the situation" at hand (Wilkinson and Fagan, 1996:60).

Resultantly, the use of gun violence can be seen as a maladaptive tendency of the affected individuals or groups. In the wake of long-standing political, social and economic marginalization of Karamoja, coupled with lack of alternative or complementary livelihood opportunities, the access to guns saw the youth mobilize into armed bands to engage in criminal activities for personal gains. That is why, though cattle raiding existed traditionally, the violence in the practice is said to have been exacerbated by access to modern weapons, such as machine guns (AK-47s), which drastically increased the number of people affected by gun violence, on top of destruction left behind in the wake of raids. Some statistics about the causes of death in Karamoja reveal the high magnitude of the gun contribution. According to Sandra Gray in Jabs (2007:1499), in a study conducted in 1998 and 1999 with over 300 women (Bokora and Matheniko), "virtually every one had lost either a husband or at least one male child to intra-tribal violence." it is "estimated that in 1999, the direct and indirect effects of raids accounted for more than 70% of the deaths for males, aged 30 to 39, in these sub-tribes. To a reasonable extent, violent use of firearms had made Karimojong more prejudiced and excluded. With their guns, the armed Karimojong did not only

stole cattle, but also destroyed lives and property of the unarmed neighbouring tribes, in addition to killing their own.

Notably, “although low-intensity violence, revolving around cattle-raiding, [had] been an enduring element in the region, the huge influx of automatic weaponry in the last two decades [had] transformed its nature, intensified its human cost, and transformed a range of societal relationships.” Its escalation is said to have occurred in 1999, when over 400 Karimojong were killed in large-scale attacks by the national army and Ugandan army helicopter-borne repressive operations. In its punitive mission, the force also confiscated thousands of cattle, which were being sold in markets. At the height of gun violence, once the bishop of Moroto diocese (Rt. Rev. Henry Ssentogo) condemned the reckless use of guns, “expressing the fear that the Karimojong would not survive in the next ten years, unless the violence were somehow halted” (Mirzeler and Young, 2000:408).

8.3 The Reign of Guns and Violence in Karamoja: Hearing from the Ground

Just like showed in various pieces of literature on Karamoja, guns are an external factor to Karamoja, whose initial outrageous violent use in the pastoral Karamoja is associated with the Turkana and the Toposa cattle raiders from Kenya and South Sudan, respectively. These had acquired them either from Ethiopia or from Arab traders. Notably, the initial acquisition of guns by the Turkana and Toposa communities was not out of necessity, but largely because of the desire for economic gains on the part of Arabs. Their acquisition was encouraged by the Arab traders who wanted to sell their business items including guns (Ocan, 1993). Sellers of these guns are said to have taught potential local recipients how to use them. According to a participant in Nakapiripirit:

“the first gun in Karomoja was sighted in 1940s, it was brought by two people; one man called was called Lotomonamoi and Lokolithi, they came from Topoth land (also called or spelt as Toposa) from the current Southern Sudan; they were Sudanese, they came and ended up here. And I think, because the Toposa already had a conflict with the Turkana, because the Turkana by then took an upper hand

to acquire guns, I don't know how they (Toposa) acquired guns. But I think they got them from Ethiopia or from Arabs.....the Arabs used to trade in guns, in camels and other things. They told the people, this one (in reference to guns), can help you to go and get more animals or protect your animal and they taught them how to use them, that is how Turkana acquired guns. I think the Toposa also got them from Ethiopia because they are also near. Now, before those fellows came (the Toposa), because that is when the raids started. The Turkana had taken advantage, they would come; somebody would come with a gun, shoots one bullet to scare shepherds and they grab the cows. The gun was something strange,... the British already had guns here, they would shoot, you hear a gun,... it was a very dangerous thing. The British had them earlier, even when they first came to Karamoja, but not the local people. They learnt (the local people in Karamoja) that that thing (a gun) can kill a person; you shoot at a person, it kills a person, people would run. But the Arabs wanted camels and other things; they brought guns and they were selling in exchange for camels in the communities, especially the Turkana (Interview, Elder, Nakapiripirit, April, 2015).

In another interview, a Pokot elder of Amudat District located the inception of the gun era at least among the Pokot people around 1960s:

...it was in 1960s, by then few Pokot received them from other tribes. They (guns) were very rare and people were hiring them to go for raids. By then, even one gun would be enough.... you just needed to shoot once in air, and you would scare so many! No one would want to follow you or take front position when tracking the raided cattle, if they know the raiding group has a gun. Initially, a gun was used to scare, mainly. Because, with one gun how many would you kill? You would kill one or two out of a group (Interview, Elder, Amudat, October, 2016).

Like in the responses above, the respondent equally noted that most guns entering his community were coming from Ethiopia, through Dodoth and Turkana communities of South Sudan and Kenya, respectively.

It is evident that the development of the gun culture (as some scholars called it) in the pastoral communities of the great Horn of Africa was largely out of economic manipulation infested in the capitalistic economy. We see guns being introduced without being accompanied by the dos and don'ts and general morality of restraint in its use. The participant gives more of the background the gun violence that later on swept across the pastoral corridor;

Here in Karamoja, the gun was first sighted in the hands of the locals in 1940s, before that, it used to be something of the government. Because there was an execution in 1923 after the Pian killed a chief, a British agent, a Karimojong who had been identified to become their mediator, who had introduced taxes. That government wanted people to pay tax, they would come and pick your bull, that you have not paid government tax. If you have 20 cows, you pay one as tax, and the people wondered why; why do you come to grab our animals in the name of tax?!!!. They killed that chief, some stubborn people, a gang of four went and killed the chief, but little impact was felt because they were all arrested and when they were arrested, they hanged them in 1923 in Nabilatuk. The British had established their office there to take care of the Pian, they introduced their administration in the Pian area, and the Pian used to come up to I think Amadut; all that was Pian area.

The British soldiers had guns, when they went to arrest killers, people came and they started shooting to scare them. People said aaah....., this is something dangerous, it had a very bad (strong) sound, they arrested the killers and hanged them. Of course people could never know how to get that but however, because of the keenness and creativity, the need to know and to discover, people ended up bringing these two fellows here to our land. When they came here, they used to protect the Pian, they would use the two guns to go and raid the Pokot, the Pokot were the common enemy. They would have very big wars with spears and shields in their area (the Pokot and the Pian/Karimojong). So, time went on, of course there was no way they would have got these guns, it was very difficult, in early 1970s, in my area here (Karamoja), people invented a gun, we call it 'Amatida/amaditae'. They invented a gun, because of the skills, they started making them

locally but they used a position where they put catapult, to hit the back of a bullet that it shoots. The reign of the gun in Karamoja came in 1979 after the overthrow of Amin. The Matheniko who came to control the rest of the region, the southern part here, evaded the barracks. The fleeing soldiers of Amin left the Armory and the Matheniko clustered with the Tepeth, entered into the barracks and picked over five thousand guns. Every family had a gun, they started terrorizing everywhere, they collected all the cows. They took their raids up to Kitale (in Kenya), up to the neighbouring communities of Teso and elsewhere, and they almost took all the animals and this resulted into a very bad hunger in our land in 1980s, to the extent that people started eating skins. They soak skins which they used to sleep on just to get something to survive on. There was nothing [else]; there was no agriculture, nothing, people died of hunger. People started eating these skins they had been sleeping on. You soak it for days and you boil it in water for a full day and eat. So that is how the gun came into Karamoja (Interview, Elder, Nakapiripirit, April, 2015).

The same way the Matheniko, who were victims pleaded with the Turkana (their aggressors) to make peace with them, the neighbours (and victims) of the Matheniko had to plead with the aggressors to have some peace, as noted below:

... for these neighbours to acquire guns, they had to create peace; saying you people you're finishing us, we are your women (to mean – we are weak compared to you), we don't need anything, we just need to co-exist and live in harmony. You help to farm, to go and do some agriculture. You know, these are people who are related, some of these Pian have relatives in Matheniko, and these started following-up their relatives and ancestors in Matheniko. When some harmony came, they (Matheniko) would come here to get sorghum, in exchange of maybe a cow, then we started getting cows. Also if you had some cows, you would go may be with a spear to raid Teso, they also picked some cows from there. When they picked some cows at the time of peace, a gun would go for thirty cows (30 cows), so the Matheniko had them in their granaries. You would find a family having 20 guns, some in the granaries, the boys having one each. They started also acquiring

guns, by the time these people (Matheniko) went back the Pian had also started gaining guns that they started raiding more now from neighbouring communities, as well.

What was learnt by communities which both lacked guns and were victimized with guns, was the fact that part of the problem could become part of the solution. Acquisition of guns was sought to counter the attackers and to restore the lost cattle. The Pian had lessons from both the Turkana and the Matheniko (later on), who used guns to amass wealth and subdue their neighbours (and to revenge their losses - in the case of the Matheniko). As well, the British had used guns to exercise power over Karamoja. What is said, heard and observed among the pastoralist communities of Karamoja, the spirit of revenge hardly dies away. This is symptomized in the Turkana-Matheniko and Pian-Matheniko cases above. In both, the most affected, the Matheniko and Pian, respectively, made efforts to negotiate peace with their victimizers. In the Karimojong worldview, in case of a fight, whoever asks for mercy is conceding defeat and accepting the superiority of the aggressor/winner. The indirect implication of this is that, after such a formal surrender, you're not expected to revenge, because you have pronounced yourself on the matter. Even then though, it is evident that by having two of the defeated communities making peace with their victimizers, they were buying time to organize themselves or enter into alliances that can change their state of victimhood.

As shown below, guns were used to restore the cattle economy of the Pian, after its destruction by the Matheniko from whom guns were bought. The move began with attacks on the unarmed communities, to acquire cattle with which to exchange for guns, with which they were able to revenge later. This explains why unlike the Matheniko who view the gun as very destructive, for many Pian, it was a constructive tool which helped them to restore their worth. These two conclusion point to where the two communities focus. For the Matheniko, the 'destructiveness of a gun' is evoked in relation to what they lost by the force of a gun and attacks received from their adversaries. While the Pian's conclusion is based on what they were able to achieve or resist with the help of the gun. What the Pian did;

....they went and raided those vulnerable districts (communities); Teso, Palisa, Mbale, Sironko. Also, they started collecting cows from Kapchwora, Bulambuli,

Kween, Bukedia, Kumi, Sotori, from around early 1980s to 1990s. More guns were added in 1985, when they overthrew Lutwa, Obote II, when the NRA came in. The Karimojong soldiers who ran away brought more guns and there was some kind of security build-up here; that is when they could counter now - if the Matheniko came here then, the Pian were not a joke (Namalu, Elder, October, 2015).

Although various narratives show that guns acquisition on the Ugandan part of Karamoja was triggered by the abusive treatments received from other communities from outside Uganda (the Turkana in particular), there are participants who believed that guns were mainly acquired to be used for wealth acquisition, other than for revenge.

As much as Mkutu (2004) reported as high as seventy (70) cows to be required in an exchange for a gun. A participant in Amudat noted that:

“it used to be one gun to 30 cows, but recently it has been two cows for a gun, because guns were everywhere now.” And they were mostly possessed by the youths as well as *“the able-bodied person, it could even be the father; because he has his cattle he can buy. Those guns were meant for the able bodied, people of 30, 40, 35 and below; those were the people carrying guns.”* (FGD, Loroo, Amudat, June, 2016).

In another encounter though, an interview participant noted that, in the initial stages of gun trade, a gun would fetch more than just thirty cows.*it went up to 60 cows per a gun; it would cost so many animals, and some people began coming here with guns just for trade, in exchange with cattle. One would come with three or two guns, and he goes back driving a lot of cows!* (Interview, Amudat, October, 2016).

In an attempt to find out why the guns became preferred to the rudimentary tools of the past. It was noted that; *“with a spear, you spear better when you’re near to each other. But with a gun even if somebody is far away you can aim. So, it was a modern way of fighting, you chase the enemy in the easiest way before you get in contact. But the death of a spear is so painful than that of a gun”* (FGD, Youth, Rupa - Moroto, May, 2015).

The gun became so addictive that dressing as a soldier in Karamoja was very risky. They would be looked at as sources of guns. Notably, *“it was safer travelling without a convey (military escorts) than travelling in a convey. You would easily be attacked, so some of us preferred to travel without conveyes. There are cases, when they would run after armed soldiers, to get guns from them. There are cases when they fought them in order to get guns from them.”* This links to how road ambushes began in Karamoja:

...road ambushes were begun by people (warriors) who are frustrated (by failed raids). On their way back, they got a soldier with a gun, they knew these were the source of guns, they ambushed him and picked the gun, they checked and found money, they were surprised, they said, aaaaahh these people move with money! That is how the ambushes started coming in, they go to ambush because they know people are moving with money. They were not ambushing because they wanted to kill, they were ambushing because they wanted the money. And of course, they realized that if they ambushed a car and they leave people alive, there may be somebody who knows them and they can be tracked, so they decided to start killing them (Interview, Male, Moroto May, 2015).

With guns around the place, not only cattle owners were at risk of destruction, but also road users, especially organizational and business vehicles were frequently attacked. However, the public bus which would be on the road most of the times was rarely attacked. And the big question was, why wouldn't it be attacked yet its passengers also travelled with money. It was noted that;

You see the bus is carrying very many people, there could be their relatives in the bus, and they feared attacking them. The bus could carry even warriors, all categories of people. The two incidences they did (attacked the bus), they shoot at the driver. They are very good in target; in fact, they would throw coins up and shot them! The reason why soldiers cannot beat warriors is because of their intelligence and their natural skills, yet they are not trained, when soldiers using command and instructions, for them just act. And they did not want to waste bullets, they have a principle of 'one bullet, one man' (Interview, Male-Youth, Moroto, May, 2015).

8.4 The Gun Violence and Disarmament in Karamoja

The pastoral communities of Karamoja and their counterparts in Kenya, Southern Sudan and Ethiopia have had access to guns since their first encounters with the West and the East. Guns are reported to have helped to the Jie to organize into a semblance of a modern-army and have community in its vicinity under their control. By 1910, a private army was already operational in Turkana border lands with Ethiopia and Sudan. Given the long presence of guns, Mkutu (2004) reports of their use for cattle raids from 1950s onwards, when Karimojong were raided by the Turkana, Toposa and the Didinga. The failure of the government of Uganda to protect the sub-region from foreign attackers (cattle raiders), resulted in the making of local guns, called *Ng'amatidae*, for self-protection. They soon resorted to buying modern weaponry. The Pokots of Kenya are said to have done the same, in face of the Turkana threat; for they began by buying locally-made guns from the Luhya of Kenya before catching-up with modern ones. Cattle raids intensified in the 1970s, aggravated by proliferation of small arms and their free access from the abandoned Moroto Barracks. The fragility and insecurity in Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and North Uganda made arms inflow so easy; flowing in from all directions. It was once estimated that there were as many as 150,000 – 200,000 guns in the Karamoja alone (Mkutu, 2004).

By 2001, Karamoja had experienced 6 disarmament attempts; similarly, since 1979 to 2004 there had been 12 operations by the Kenyan Army to retrieve unlicensed guns from the Pokots (Saferworld, 2010). Such attempts often met resistance and counter-resistances, which often spiralled over into violence. At the inception of 2001, the incumbent government of Uganda embarked on what was then referred to as “an ambitious exercise to disarm” its pastoral citizenry inhabiting north eastern Uganda. This was the seventh attempt after six failed attempts to induce communities lay down their hard-earned arms. The disarmament programme was visualized to take place in three phases. Firstly, it would deploy the Uganda Peoples Defence Forces (UPDF) to the sub-region to gather intelligence information and to persuade local opinion leaders to persuade the communities to disarm peacefully. In the second phase the government would form and arm a local cadre that would continue disarming their ethnic community after the departure of the military. Lastly, if these two phases failed, the UPDF would be deployed for unspecified period to conduct military sweeps and armed patrols to target specific sub-tribes and counties (Mburu, n.d). Due to the disarmament move, insecurities increased violence, and violence triggered further

arming across communities, until disarmament was concluded in 2011. In the discussions above, the theoretical traces of internal and external motivations and constraints, highlighted by the integrative model of violence are evident. The causes related to struggle for resources and the use of violence/ guns clearly pose as external motivations but the meaning and value attached to these are internal motivations. Violence had been outrageous because internal and external constraints against violence are low.

CHAPTER NINE: STUDY SYNTHESIS AND ANALYSIS

9.1 Introduction

This chapter, through interpretive lenses, synthesizes the data and information presented in the foregoing chapters of this study, for theoretical relevance and plausibility in explaining possible causes of violence in Karamoja. It is arranged according to mini-themes related to objectives and theoretical perspectives used in this study.

9.2 Conceptual and Theoretical Perspectivity on Violent Conflict

Theories intent on explaining human realities tend to be proliferated, with some advancing squarely contradictory propositions/positions. This phenomenon is equally eminent in the spheres of explaining conflict, violence and war. Kriesberg (2009: 15-16), reminds us that “there is no consensus about any comprehensive theory of social conflicts and their resolution”, a phenomenon that starts with the definition of conflict itself. Dominant definitions of conflict range from associating it with contradiction and incompatibility in the interaction of actors (Galtung, 2009); to a reciprocated hostile behaviour, existing between human parties (Ogley, (2010), to Bartos and Wehr’s (2002:13) definition of conflict as a phenomenon in which “actors use conflict behaviour against each other to attain incompatible goals and/or to express their hostility”. Paul Wehr (2010) cautions that conflict is neither synonymous to violence nor necessarily destructive. He thus invites us to realize that conflict is a social relationship, which is not always about pursuit of incompatible interests, and not a necessary product of incompatibility, but sometimes, a product of compatibility (being similar) or desiring the same as indicated by Horowitz (1985).

The definitional elasticity of the concept of ‘conflict’ manifests the elasticity inherent in the very phenomenon in reality. This serves as an invitation for a stretched outlook to the phenomenon of conflict; its causes, contributors and manifestation. Kriesberg (2010: 399) contends that “conflicts are not static; they wax and wane,.....”, if this is the case, should their understanding, and definitions thereof, be static? In a challenge of the dominant understanding of conflict as a negative phenomenon, Wehr in Nigel (2010: 403) embraces views of Georg Simmel and Lewis Coser,

which posit conflict not as “the absence of connection between social actors, but rather a positive and often powerful relationship linking them.” Whether understood as a negative or positive force - conflict can as well be understood as; action, behaviour, movement, work, structure, information, belief or resource distribution.

As action, conflict involves interaction of social actors or social units and response to actions of other actors; as behaviour, conflict involves change in behaviour of actors as it progresses from latent to manifest levels, but also, like other human behaviours, it can be learnt, stimulated or unlearned; conflict as movement, parties to it tend to develop conscious and quicker strategies to pursue their goals at the expense of their opponents - prompting escalation or deescalation; conflict as information, is based on the fact that “information influences conflict”, but also, it’s lack. For example, “lack of clear communication between actors may lead them to perceive hostile intent, goal incompatibility, and other sources of conflict that do not actually exist”. As structure, conflict can best be understood by power relations that generate it and the structure that makes parties’ interests incompatible for each other; as belief, conflict arise by way of differences in belief and convictions about “what is right, true and good”; as work, “like all social behaviour, conflict is something humans do.” This ‘doing’ can be towards conflict manifestation, escalation, neutralization or prevention. As resource distribution, conflict is most often seen and said to be a struggle for scarce resources; whereby one actor may consider what another actor has, to be rightfully theirs or may perceive their welfare being threatened by another actor/set of actors. This relates to when actors set to compete for or share a limited resource (Wehr, 2010: 403-406). These dimensions were important in understanding conflict in my area of study.

Also, Bartos and Wehr (2002) believe in a general theorization about conflict, to which the features above apply and an outlook based on an assumption that fundamental causes of conflicts are the same. For when general theories are built, they can be converted into simple causal statements, also presentable in diagrammatic forms. Arguably, when possible causes of conflict behaviour can be identified, they make it possible to explain why a particular conflict exists. In their view, conflict behaviour occurs for the six following reasons; incompatible goals (which dominates the definition of conflict), solidarity (dominant in explanation of ethnic conflict), organization, mobilization, hostility, and resources (the scarcity question). They note however, that in many

conflicts, only some of the six factors may play out. Therefore, identifying the operative causes in any conflict helps in both understanding conflict and dealing with it (Bartos and Wehr, 2002).

From the foregoing, theorization about causes and dynamics of violent conflicts is still evolving. There is no comprehensively self-contained theory about cause/s of violent conflict. Therefore, all theoretical / explanatory perspectives presented in chapter two, can safely be regarded as building blocks of a still evolving theory of violent conflict. Moreover, the theoretical accounts in the theoretical framework exhibit interconnectivity on the one hand, and insufficiency to fully account for violent conflicts, on the other hand.

When theoretical perspectives used in this study are juxtaposed upon the six causative factors proposed by Bartos and Wehr (2002) (incompatible goals, solidarity, organization, mobilization, hostility, and resources), the following observations can be generated; Firstly, most theoretical propositions associate conflict to resource scarcity and violence to deprivation associated to this scarcity. This view is eminent in conflict theory, structural conflict theory and human needs theory, all of which, are to a big part materialistic explanations of violence. The conflict theory underlines resources scarcity, competition, deprivation and exploitation as the cause of conflict. In this theoretical perspective, incompatible interests arise due to competition for scarce resources, deprivation and exploitation (which make survival extremely hard and the life of the deprived threatened) make violence most likely. This explains, according to this perspective, why society is in eternal conflict. An impression is made hereby, that conflict is socially inevitable, although its manifestation can be multifaceted.

Secondly, the structural conflict theory (also understood by Galtung as indirect conflict) focuses more on the structural causes of violence. This relates to the organizational and mobilizational causes/explanations of conflict proposed by Bartos and Wehr (2002), since societies build structures that can work as organizational frameworks for structural conflict and direct violence. But also, due to mobilization strategy and mobilizational resources whose availability is essential to determining the scale [spatial and temporal], means [tools and techniques] and duration of violence. These are easier to realize at collective levels than at individual levels. This explains why, several accounts of cattle raids (reported by Mkutu 2004, and in the second narrative of

chapter five) associate the intensity of violence to organizational and mobilizational factors in play, and the influence of mass participation, as an outcome of organization and mobilization.

Thirdly, the aspect of ‘incompatible goals’, which is also central to the very definition of conflict, is quite an ambiguous causative factor, looming so general to be tied down to limited and specific referents. It can be used in reference to tensions generated in pursuit of resource distribution or access (resource conflicts), identity-related conflicts (ethnic and patriotic/nationalistic conflicts), or belief/faith-related conflicts (religious conflicts). Also, ‘solidarity’ and ‘hostility’ factors are typically associated with ethnic or identity conflicts, although hostility can have several triggers/causes, some of which could be genuinely provoked while others could be predatory in nature.

Taking the anthropological theoretical explanations of causes violence, which put materialistic triggers and motivation in picture – an attempt in made to not only understand a human person as a rational, physical, psychological, spiritual, moral and social being but to as well understand that all these domains potentially influence humans into action or inaction. Therefore, causes of human behaviour, including violence, are understood as an outcome born by multiple spheres of persons. Therefore, plausible understanding of causes of violent conflicts can neither be limited to material realms nor to immaterial spheres of existence. This outlook is promoted by Rummel (1976) (see chapter 2) by his observation that “comprehending conflict requires intuition and insight, reason and logic, data and experience, ethics and morality, psychology, sociology, and philosophy, metaphysics and science, and thus reflection, theory hypothesis, observation, interpretation and practice.” These represent totality and underline the importance of each of the knowledge avenues for understanding human behaviour.

The biological theory of conflict, the realist conflict theory, human needs theory, materialist explanation of violence, and motivational explanation of violent conflict, can therefore be understood as belonging to the broad anthropological understanding

The biological theory of conflict projects conflicts as natural among all animals, including humans. So, human fight [hit and hurt] because it is their natural inclination; fighting even for things they treasure, just because we are instructively violent. Violence is understood as coded in the genetic make-up of humans, rather than being motivated by external factors or internal and social non-

biological values. The question is though, if we must believe the proposition of the theory, what about cases of warless/peaceful communities such as those reported by Robarchek (1990).

Similar to the biological theory, the realist theory of conflict attributes conflict and violence to apparent weakness innate for human nature or a defect of human nature (which is a theological leaning too). Due to defects, humans become individualistic, self-interested and conflictive. The human needs theory can be seen to explain conflict and violence as outcomes of the two theoretical explanations above. With conflictive, self-interested and individualistic nature of the powerful and resourced, many human needs of the poor and powerless will be frustrated.

The ethnic conflict theory is mostly presented under the primordialism and instrumentalism perspectives. The former asserts that ethnic conflicts arise from differences inherent in ethnic identities; assigned at birth, reinforced by ancient hatreds and mutual fears. This understanding does not apply to explaining violent conflicts in Karamoja on two grounds: 1. There are not cases of violent conflicts in the sub-region that can purely be aligned to ethnic identities as their cause or major contributing factor; 2. Most communities (parties to the conflict) although seen as distinct (a construct that became pronounced during the colonial period), they are actually of the same ethnic origin and share similar culture and speak the same language. The latter (instrumentalism perspective of ethnic conflict) promotes a different view. It refutes the view that ethnic conflict is inherent in human nature, but instead, it asserts that ethnic identities are politicized or manipulated to create political or socio-economic gains. Therefore, greed, is more a cause of ethnic conflict than grievance. It can be asserted that ethnic undertones by authors (who view the conflict as ethnic to some degree) and participants (who refer to their victims or aggressor communities as enemies) often cover-up the primary motivation, which is access to pastoral resources.

It is notable, that quite many explanations of causes of violent conflicts above are materialistic and deterministic. They are based on the final cause argument, which upholds human behaviour as ultimately caused and thereof explained in material ends they serve (the food, mates, land, resources) or in deterministic sense, like the biological and realist conflict perspectives.

Motivation-based perspectives however, are based on an understanding that explanation of human behaviour is incomplete without a theorization on motivation. In fact, material gains can be the motivation of conflict, but these are hardly placed in cultural and social contexts, which make their motivational basis weak. We cannot limit our understanding of causes of conflict to cattle

acquisition and protection and related resources (materially), since these are and should be informed by worldviews and value systems beyond the material part of the puzzle.

According to motivation-based perspectives, motivation fundamentally entails forces, options and constraints (intrinsic and extrinsic) that influence the choices we make. It involves the transformation of needs into wants, when persons develop mental recognition of needs. Thus, unrecognized needs cannot give direction to behaviour of humans or society. Arguably, even when recognized, a material want is still not a determinant of human behaviour since it is merely one of the factors in the complex motivation equation. This is because human actions and behaviour are largely determined by a community's framework of values and expectations, which work to encourage or discourage behaviour. To gain deeper insights into the causative roles of the three causative factors being studied, this has proved necessary and important, for identification of cultural and social motivations and controls at work in the pastoral Karamoja.

The realization above feeds well into the CONFLICT HELIX, which is an integrative explanation model of causes of conflict and violence. It embraces personal, interpersonal, institutional and structural manifestations of conflict and violence to bring out the aspects of internal and external motivation as well as internal and external constraints, synonymous to self-control and social control, respectively, for understanding causes of conflict and violence in relation to motivation and constraint (whether external or internal). This helps to screen causes in relation to normative motivations and controls (based on of human nature) or deviance (against human nature and defeating to social controls), or external motivation (resulting from exploitation and deprivation).

9.3 Culture and Violence in Pastoral Karamoja: A Synthesis

It is agreeable that no community is so rude to be without rules of politeness or so polite not to have any features of rudeness. Even fierce warriors harbour dispositions of kindness at least somewhere in their lifetime (Hiebert, 1990). This is a good starting point in evaluating a people/social community against their propensity for violence, and what may qualify as a cultural practice, traditional practice or even just deviant behaviour, especially from their perspective.

Livestock raiding has been severally viewed as a cultural practice of pastoral communities of the horn of Africa in general, and those of Karamoja sub-region in particular by authors (see chapter 6), while field data generates three perspectives/ outlooks to this effect. Respondents remained divided on this matter (see chapter 4, 5 and 6), with varied views that; 1. culture is to blame for the violence – it promotes it; 2. their culture does not promote violence - it is thus other factors, other than culture to blame – including social deviance; 3. if violence is part of culture, it became part of the culture recently (at the hands of the gun - by use of guns for raids, counter raids and revenge).

While some respondents out-rightly judged livestock raiding as a cultural practice (collectively embraced), others say it was a traditional practice (limited to, upheld and practiced by) a small section of their community. Other respondents however, viewed it merely as social deviance from the norm and value of respect for life by some members of their community, thus it would be unfair to regard it as a cultural practice. In support for the last two perspectives, it was severally reported that if one intentionally or accidentally killed a human being, he/she would be killed or had to compensate that death with 60 heads of cattle, respectively. Notably, the third perspective introduces an idea that violence can become part of culture, without being its cause or effect. This is true, when the cause is explicitly external, and the society lacks social controls to it – the same way guns (external to the pastoral community) and their use lacked cultural and social controls, following the weakening of councils and roles of elders, who used to resolve conflicts and sanction cattle raiding.

Le Baron (2003) notes that communities have ‘cultural currencies’ and ‘starting points’, and differences, which are grounds for bleeding conflict and violence. However, since the conflicts of interest to this study were among pastoral and culturally similar communities, differences in ‘cultural currencies’ and ‘starting points’ are not to blame in this matter.

Taking language as central at manifesting ideas and ideals of a culture, the Pokot and the Karimojong (Matheniko, Bokora and Pian) are culturally said to be very distinct from each other but they both manifest a similar limitation in language usage. Among the Pokot, you’re either a *Pochon* (another term of Pokot people) or *Punyon* (enemy); simply put, you’re either a brother or an enemy. For Karimojong too, you’re either a *Ng’akarimojong* or *emoit* (enemy); either a brother or an enemy. Linguistically, both social groupings don’t have distinct terms for a stranger or

visitor; in fact, the terms/words for enemy in both communities apply to both visitors and strangers in their contexts. This generate mixed interpretations; for some, this is a plain evidence that culturally, these pastoral communities are hostile, pro-violence or at least anti-peace. Alternatively, that linguistic condition can be linked to the understanding that, acquaintances could hardly raid each other (at least in the far past) and violence against acquaintances or community members was costly – ranging from heavy compensation to death penalty. It was therefore, the unknown, distanced communities or those seen or treated as different from a community in question that were seen as the potential target and enemy. This as well accounts for the initial resistance built by the pastoral communities in general, against foreign (colonial and post-colonial) establishments, including education.

Springer (2009) gives an important caution that ‘the culture of violence notion’, often ignores the contingencies, fluidity and interconnectedness of the places and communities in which conflicts occur by other influences. Needless to say, therefore, that guns are neither cultural nor traditional tools of Karimojong nor are they made in the same culture that is tagged as violent, upon their use. Guns are surely tools of violence, but they are internationally made, and they hit and hurt without cultural borders. Their internationality and foreignness are often under-looked in evaluating their use in local environments. Whose culture is to blame here? I can safely argue that guns, pass well as a representation of what Galtung (1990) calls cultural violence. Wherever it goes, it carries with it this label of cultural violence.

Cultural violence can be structural or symbolic, ‘murder tattoos’ among the Karimojong warriors for example, can be seen as such. These can be interpreted as a reflection of acceptance, encouragement or to the extreme as glorification of violence. Their implications are diverse – depending on the one making an evaluation, and on the circumstances in which the killing happened. In the worldview of the communities that participated in the study, such body marks/tattoos are due when the killed is understood as an enemy. So, it is seen from the perspective of defence (of cattle or group interests), it is therefore, not glorification of violence for its seek, but a display of bravery.

Walfgang and Ferracuti (1967) realized that even when violence manifests in a certain culture, there are sub-cultures (not the whole culture) which unleash violence frequently and guiltlessly,

with limited provocation. They believed however, that this to happen successfully, it should have been somehow accepted or tolerated in that culture. From field findings though, this can as well be a result of weakened social control systems resulting from abrupt economic and socio-political changes (which subsequently change power dynamics), as well as foreign influences. It is also possible that sub-culture ideologies, values or offenders are stronger than, and have overgrown the prevailing social controls of the dominant culture.

It is clear that a small section of a community/culture, referred to as a sub-culture herewith, can mastermind violence against the controls of the dominant culture, yet this violent behaviour may mistakenly be projected onto the whole culture. There were many narratives that support this view; they refute the notion that violent cattle raiding was culturally acceptable and supported among Karimojong. There were interview participants who asserted that few individuals of the sub-region actually engaged in cattle raids and the associated violence (in comparison with the area's population). In a more particular way, one interview participant asserted that as low as 20 % of their population was engaging in cattle raiding, while another one informed that at least over 60% of the people he knows never engaged in cattle raiding activities at all. Although the study could not independently verify these percentages, they give an impression that cattle raiding and violent confrontations were not cultural practices of every (male) member of pastoral communities, but can be understood as any of these; traditional practices of some, sub-cultures or as social deviances.

However, some field findings alluded to the belief that conflict (certain levels of violence) were culturally allowable or at least expected because, these were regarded as processes of separating people – a natural mechanism of social stratification (in age-sets, and age mates, gender... even as better warriors in battles). It is questionable though, whether this should be equated to fighting as a sport (just like boxing – from which winners emerge) or as purely a ploy of violence, no matter its end.

Pastoralism and transhumance are cultural and traditional practices and ways of life, but at the same time are associated with or blamed for violence. The practices are not conflictual and violent in and by themselves, but they are said to increase competition over the same pastoral resources and making antagonism likely. Ocan (1993) believes that pastoralism is not the problem, but the regions' inability to sustain its people economically is the cause of the region's problems; he is alluding to resource scarcity. Interesting to note though, some respondents believe that pastoralism

and transhumance, by design and purpose, lessens the likelihood for antagonism resulting from competition over scarce resources, by allowing communities to spread to more resourced areas and decongest resource-stressed areas, a practice that is environmentally sound too.

Under the first objective of the study, cattle/livestock raiding was proposed as a **traditional practice** (an outstanding long tradition), but also, to have been a non-violent or far least-violent endeavour (Ocan, 1993, and Mkutu, 2004). Generally speaking, traditionally it served a useful function as a survival mechanism, resource redistribution mechanism or a copying mechanism after natural calamities that would decimate cattle and threaten survival. The practice changed though; the nature of raids (from death-free raids to several deliberate murders), purpose (from subsistence survival to economic thriving), tools used (from sticks, spears, arrows to guns), procedure followed (from seeking permission from elders and their oversight role, to taking over by the guns wielding youths), timing (from being determined by necessity/need (and seasonality) to becoming as frequent as possible (business-oriented)). These changes, among other factors are blamed to the weakening of a governance system (council of elders) that would control or preside over the cattle raiding practice, with clear rules of engagement and disengagement. When this governance system was overthrown by the colonial government and the power of the gun - the cattle raiding practice was no longer guided by the traditional governance structures. Also, conflict resolution structures died – so, conflicts that ensued could not be dealt with instantly, and revenge was more sought than ever before. This explains why violence was widespread at the hands of the youths, who operated with the power of the gun and in a governance vacuum.

This leaves us with a question, is the violence that ensued to be blamed on pastoral culture, cattle raiding practice, the presence of guns or the demise of social controls and remedies? For example, under the traditional governance and conflict resolution systems; killings, whether intentional or accidental, would be compensated, and strictly limited when dealing with outsider communities. This was meant to make killing/murder expensive to offenders and to discourage it henceforth.

According to field research findings, the process of nurturing a shepherd is cited by some participants to well represent deliberate promotion of violence by the Karimojong culture. It is important to begin with an interrogation of its purpose; what is the rationale for nurturing a shepherd? Should a shepherd be a warrior (a master of violence)? If so, does this make him a better

shepherd? If yes, is it for its own seek (an end in itself) or for an instrumental cause? Alternatively, is the rationale of this process to turn him into a protector of livestock and community, and a guarantor of survival and continuity of livelihood? Could these two projections form one and the same rationale? Are the two (and should the two) be mutually exclusive or complementary? In the pastoral worldview (at least for the majority), the two are complementary. The former is instrumental to achieving the latter. Life is lived and survival is earned in a very ecologically and socially hostile environment. The hard-hitting nurturing process therefore, is viewed as necessary for making future generations fit for their environment. However, it should be noted that this process manifests with excesses; it is known to promote certain degree of both direct and structural violence, and it promotes application of violence as a conflict resolution mechanism!

There is a strong connection among being a shepherd, being a warrior and the cattle raiding practice. By their nurturing, shepherds acquire life-skills that qualify them as warriors and protectors of cattle. That is why cattle raiding can be seen a **response to scarcity** (at least traditionally - by lacking shepherd communities) OR as a manifestation of **greed** (obsession with possession and contemporary business orientation) OR as practice through which to display **pride** and **strength** (warrior tradition). The question however is, were these individually wished, culturally expected, or socially accepted? Were they motivated (encouraged, accepted, tolerated) or constrained (condemned and/or punished)? We have two areas of focus here; cattle raiding and violent behaviour, motivations and constraints of which may be different. For example, the process of 'nurturing of shepherd' can qualify as encouraging violent behaviour (whether for self-protection or for predatory aggression), but it does not qualify as encouraging cattle raiding; if it does, it is not directly. Yet, cattle raiding for subsistence purposes seem to not have been encouraged, but to have been acceptable. Although violence would be condemned; less of it would be tolerated and much of it punished. The pride and strength- oriented cattle raiding seem to have been accepted and encouraged among self-identified and emerging warriors (as a fighting ritual) and the associated violence (see section 5.3 - chapter 5).

Rubinstein (2003) reminds us that culture is a learned system of meaning making and communication (by language and symbols) that allow groups of people to manage their social and physical environments. This way, culture forms a conveyor belt by which people construct and

ratify meanings, basing on expectations of group members and what motivates them. It is understood as a learning system of the ‘correct’ way of responding to challenges in a group’s environment (much of which could be external to the biological and social objects of this environment); and, as a mechanism of developing emotional responses to their experiences (Rubinstein, 2003:30-31). In this collective outlook, personal deviances are neither explicitly included nor excluded as parts of culture.

In conclusion, the concept and phenomenon of culture should ontologically and epistemologically be understood in essentialist and non-essentialist ways. That is, looking at culture as a closed collection of customs and habits on the one hand. And, looking at it as the general dynamic human potential of meaning giving to the experienced reality, embodying both change and continuity, on the other hand. The former portrays culture as rather static while the latter characterizes culture as the process of ‘construction of reality’. Therefore, the old, the dying and the becoming, can be viewed as part of culture (Miedema and Roebben, n.d).

9.4 Pastoral Resources and Violence: A Synthesis

Understanding the violent conflict that occurred in Karamoja as a resource conflict, is categorizing it as an environmental conflict. Notably, conflicts of this nature have been part and parcel of the human adventure since time immemorial (Wolfgang, 2010). Unlike in the far past though, current environmental/resource conflicts are being associated to scarcity of natural goods, created by both local and global demands. Similarly, competition for resources no longer draw in only neighbouring communities, but as well as, nations, business corporations, business persons and consumers across a global spectrum (Wolfgang, 2010).

There are two typologies of environmental/resource conflict; the ‘livelihood conflict’ and ‘regime conflict’. While the latter is associated with resource abundance (like in DR Congo), the former is arguably induced by degradation of the renewable resources on which social groups depend. Characteristically, the former occurs in rural areas of developing countries – among communities that draw their livelihood directly from natural environments around them. The resource scarcity situation or livelihood condition may be aggravated by human propelled degradation, overexploitation, natural calamities, or capture of the resources by powerful individuals or

institutions, and the disadvantage of local beneficiaries (Wolfgang, 2010). Many accounts of causes of violent conflicts in pastoral Karamoja view them as livelihood conflicts.

However, there are several accounts that do not only refute the resource scarcity narrative, but also view the conflict as abundance-driven. They are often seen as propelled by drives of greed and personal interests, rather than grief – the view of cattle raiding as work, as a behaviour, as resource distribution, as a belief, and as deviance. Also, there is when it is revenge-driven (paying attention to the timing of raids) and, when it is about show of power/strength – as the purpose of raiding/motivations (raiding in, after or towards the end of rain seasons - in times of plenty).

Important to note, if very high bride wealth is truly expected, demanded and given, it does not in any way symbolize scarcity, but plenteousness. Traditionally, there were mechanisms of managing scarcity (even in paying bride wealth). The amount of resources available would determine the nature and amount of bride wealth to be given. There should be contextual shades of qualifying and understanding scarcity, from varied points of view. In discussions about scarcity, in the context of Karamoja; it remains unclear whether, it is measured upon: 1. The number of cattle in the region against the number of people depending on it (on average = number of livestock per a person); 2. The number of livestock available in the region, in relation to the carrying capacity of the grazing area = number of livestock per square kilometer of grazing land). 3: the number of livestock in relation to required pasture and water, minus available pastures and water = number of livestock per pasture/water required – (minus) pasture/water available 4. The ability of the households to live decent lives with the livestock and/or resources at their disposal. 5: the ideal number of livestock by a household for their satisfaction (Note: ideals are not pursued in a vacuum – a culture defines ideals and rules of the game for their pursuance – with appropriate controls). In most cases, pastoralists understand scarcity in relation to failure or lack of 5th proposition, rather than other possible determining factors of scarcity. For many, scarcity does not begin with scarce water and pasture resources, but with less than desired number of livestock. That is why, among pastoralists, poverty is generally understood as total lack of livestock, irrespective of other livelihood systems one may have.

Pastoral resources are essentially environmental/natural resources. The link between pastoral practice and resources has been already discussed in the section above, since these are viewed

through cultural lenses by the communities of the study. Livestock has been a controversial resource/issue for long; viewed as a survival resource on the one hand, and as a cause of conflict and violence on the other hand. For the colonial government too, the practice of pastoralism (which sustains livestock) was seen as primitive, hence fighting it through state policies. Colonial governance of the livestock resource was mired with manipulation and exploitation of the local people, increasing the potency for conflicts.

Environment and climate are important resources too. These provide possibilities for abundance, scarcity, competition and cooperation. According to material cause-based theoretical perspectives, scarcity and competition are good prospects for conflict and violence. The land, pasture and water questions are essentially climate-environmental issues. The land question (restraining land policies) during the colonial period affected access to pastures and water points by the local pastoral communities. Water and pasture, in addition to livestock, are widely documented as a cause of conflict and violence in Karamoja, although interview responses revealed that pastoralist communities tended to seek cooperation in times of scarcity rather than conflict. Some narratives showed that confrontations were more common in times of plenty.

Traditionally, guns and ammunitions were neither tools nor resources of pastoralists. There are two reasons however, why they became or can be viewed as useful tools and resources for some members of pastoral communities. Firstly, over time, they became important tools with which to either protect livestock or acquire it, among sections of the pastoral population. Secondly, since the major medium of exchange for their acquisition were cattle – guns and ammunitions were livestock's equivalent. In nutshell, livestock is associated to conflict and violence for any of the following reasons; survival, subsistence, economic resource, greed, revenge, social status or pride

9.5 The Use of Guns and Violence: A Synthesis

Violence is understood as a social interaction behaviour with identifiable rules and contingencies (Wilkinson and Fagan, 1996). It can be categorized as predatory violence and dispute-related violence; the former involves physical aggression committed without provocation, while the latter involves reaction to some aggression or alleged wrong doing. Understandably, in all its forms, even the most seemingly irrational, violent acts have a logical and predictable sequence. For

example, violent incidences that may appear irrational, the victim may be proxy, surrogate or symbolic of other disputants. This explanation reflects a motivational theoretical perspective, which is founded on rational choice-making, and influences of motivation-constraint dynamics.

Whether predatory or dispute-related violence, guns are sophisticated tools that have changed the intensity of human violence in human history. Wilkinson and Fagan (1996) note that the presence of firearms reasonably influence decision-making in social interaction, especially in situations of potential conflict and within existing conflicts. However, their influence on decision-making is compounded by situations in which gun injuries are already high or extensively affected by resource deprivation. The willingness and promptness to use guns are high in socialization processes that generate stereotypical categorizations and ecologies of danger. The latter is whereby people are normatively seen as harbouring hostile intent and willingness to inflict harm.

From the foregoing, it is clear that conflicts and violent use of guns are more influenced by other confounding factors rather than the presence of guns itself. This is reflected in the fact that gun use among the local communities of Karamoja was influenced by raids mounted by Turkana and Toposa on the Karimojong communities. Presence of guns is not a first cause of their violent use in many situations, so it wasn't the case in pastoral Karamoja either. Also, the reported presence of guns among the Jie as early as 1890s does not have corresponding reported increase in raiding related death rates.

Therefore, gun violence cannot be understood in isolation or independently. Views that possession and use of guns and participation in cattle raiding were cultural and collectively done by all Karimojong are widespread. For example, Gray et al., (2003:3) implies that gun-aided livestock raiding was responsible for collective cattle wealth and ensured cultural survival of Karimojong pastoralists. It should be noted though, that their widespread usage came in play far later. The social interactionist perspective asserts that all aggressive human behaviour (conflict/violence) is goal-oriented, rational choice-based, and instrumental for that matter (attempting to achieve what is valued by the aggressor). According to this perspective, the main goals of aggressive behaviour are; 1. To compel and deter others; 2. To achieve a favourable social identity/recognition; 3. To

obtain justice. In case of Karamoja, gun violence was a maladaptive tendency that can be said to have wanted to achieve the three goals above, the gun was just means not the cause of violence.

While exploring and explaining the emergence of violence in Pastoral Karamoja on the causal pathways of culture, pastoral resources and presence of guns, Bartos and Wehr (2002) majorly associate the general increase in social conflicts and violence since the beginning of the 19th Century to three revolutionary phenomena: 1. “the growth of science and technology and its application to weaponry; 2. the growth of the nation-state and its capacity to mobilize resources for control and violence” and; 3. the expansion of global population (Bartos and Wehr, 2002: 2). The first phenomenon relates directly to the gun question in the context of the study, although it falls short of being associated to general growth in science and technology in the area of study. Population increase, which is the third factor highlighted by Bartos and Wehr, might be viewed as the leading cause of conflict and violence, especially if human needs theory, biological and realist’s theories, deprivation theory and resource scarcity related theories are taken into perspective. Noteworthy, through their lenses, each new human-born can be any, or all of the following; additional human need, additional jealous competitor, additional selfish aggressor, or additional self-interested oppressor, all of which are avenues for or reflections of conflict and/or violence. Alternatively, in the event that additional population growth does not correspond with increase in resources that constitute human needs, according to the theoretical perspectives above, conflict is inevitable.

9.6 A Note on Motivation for and Constraint of Violent Conflict

Drawing from various sources of information used in the study, material causes (resource scarcity or abundance related causes) are mostly highlighted. Motivational causes of violent conflicts have ranged from material survival needs (cattle raiding for subsistence and food security -traditionally), to economic gains (during the modern/era of guns), bride wealth requirements (a view claimed by some and refuted by others), display of strength and pride (warrior tradition), greed (obsession with cattle acquisition), revenge (in response to past attacks/injustices).

It is undoubtedly clear that factors that motivated cattle raiding and violence over a period of time were varied and dynamic. And, causes of cattle raiding are not necessarily causes of violent conflicts. Traditionally, cattle raiding is reported to have been majorly driven by necessity (for subsistence use, following livestock losses to calamities) and not to have involved massive killings. Massive killings/violence were most associated with revenge-driven raids, warrior tradition engagements, and economically-driven raids (by use of guns). However, descriptions of how a shepherd would be nurtured suggests that their formation process progressively built and approved of violent behaviour from childhood, making it hard to deny a proposition that violence was culturally encouraged or at least accepted. Whether the purpose of the latter was the protection of livestock against wild animals and potential raiders, since shepherds doubled as warriors, this implies that violence had a certain level of approval and acceptance among the Karimojong. Even traditionally, the purposes for cattle raiding were many and these would determine the amount of violence that would go into it. Raids for replenishing lost livestock resources would be limited in scale (to the amount of cattle needed and violence applied); often approved, monitored and sanctioned by elders of the interested community – these would be mounted as surprise expeditions. On the contrary, raiding encounters for show of strength and claim of pride, required information, approval and planning on both sides of the antagonizing parties. Warriors would go fully dressed in their fighting regalia (collected over time of formation as a shepherd/warrior). Gaining spoils of war was of secondary important than securing victory over the approaching warrior. These are the kinds, to which a participant said, they would be organized when in time of plenty; when people are satisfied and feel strong.

Greed and economic motivation of violent conflict can be seen through similar lenses. The former is reflected in persistent raids for accumulation of livestock, while the latter in frequent cattle raiding for sale. These motivations made cattle raiding more frequent and intensive, than they would have been traditionally. Ordinarily, these two reflect deviance from the traditional expectations of cattle raiding in Karamoja. These changes are blamed on the influence of modernity; capitalistic drives for individualistic possession of wealth. These account for unprecedented application of violence, compounded by breakdown in governance and social control systems of the pastoral communities in the sub-region. One participant emphatically persisted that greed was more responsible for violent conflicts in Karamoja than scarcity.

Worth-noting too, abundancy and plenteousness were contributing/causative factors too. Often, in both literature and field responses, high bride wealth is mentioned as a cause for raids. In the few cases where the high amount of cattle are actually offered, it is only because of the abundancy on the side bridegroom, rather than a strict requirement by the side of bride. There is no pre-set golden number of cattle, required to effect marriage agreements, it upon one's capacity and a negotiated agreement. It is interesting to note too, that whereas crashes over pastureland and water sources could arise, in most cases, times of resources scarcity (of water and pasture) yielded cooperation to allow for the sharing of the limited resources. Paradoxically, since during resource abundancy community survival would be possible without relying on cooperation with other communities, raids would occur more during these times. This would increase aggression, as a show of strength but also because self-reliance is possible, at least temporarily. I would like to make it clear, that the number of cattle often cited for bride wealth payment are far way exaggerated; the over 100 heads of cattle narrative is a myth to most Karimojong and a convenient excuse or lie for covering-up their bad practice by cattle raiders.

Generally speaking, the mandatory requirement (constraints/social control of violent conflict) is related to *Lapai* (murder compensation) of 60 heads of cattle in case of murder of a community member, and the associated cleansing rituals (which make their recipients suffer temporary isolation). Moreover, this kind of compensation only applies when it is one's community member involved, not to the enemy community.

CHAPTER TEN: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the summary, conclusions and recommendations of this study. These are drawn from the data presented and discussed in the previous chapters of the study. Attention is given to research findings generated from discussions of authors and research participants.

10.2 Summary

The study revealed that historically, the sub-region has had hardships by virtual of its environmental and ecological making as a semi-arid area. First and foremost, the ecological make-up of the area limits survival and livelihood to pastoral nomadism, defined by survival amidst seasonal scarcity. This harsh environment had its influence on shaping the nomadic- pastoralist culture. Pastoral culture therefore, is an outcome of environmental dictates and human resilience and flexibility around these dictates. Understandably, the harshness of the living environment generates and propagates harsh and aggressive copying strategies, which become central aspects of culture, traditions and behaviour. This was the case in pastoral communities of north eastern Uganda, and it was reflected in the way of nurturing shepherds and herdsmen.

Varied views have been generated with regard to the role of pastoral culture in engendering violent conflicts in pastoral Karamoja. Many authors regard cultural values and ideals as the primary causes of violence by virtue of the high value it attaches to livestock and high amounts of livestock required for bride wealth, to the extent that cattle raiding is either allowed or tolerated, and for that matter normal, irrespective of the violence that came with it. Some Karimojong too, believe that their pastoral culture deliberately engenders violence by the way children (male and female) are socialized into their adulthood roles. For some Karimojong though, the nature and rate of cattle raiding, more so the violence that accompanied it during the era of the gun, were not only unprecedented, but were fundamentally deviant from the Karimojong culture and value for life. From this perspective, the practice of cattle raiding and hunger for violence should be understood as traditions of small sections of the population or deviant behaviour that can be compared to thefts

in other societies. Findings show that traditionally cattle raiding happened, but under social control systems of the council of elders and conflict resolution mechanism which died at the on slaughter of the colonial governance system.

The resource question too, had polarized outlooks. While water and pastures were and can be important resources, their scarcity generated more cooperation than antagonism in most cases, although is rarely reported! In fact, the need/want/greed for livestock caused a far higher number of fights than fights over water and pastures. This does not mean by any means, that fights over water and pastures were totally absent. The alliances that would be built by pastoral communities of the region, were not only about making raiding possible, but also for sharing water and pasture resources in times of need and scarcity. The study revealed that resource related challenges of the pastoral region were more influenced by natural calamities in the pre-colonial times, and by the colonial policies thereafter. Colonial government policies on land use rights (which made over 90% of the region's land restricted from access by local communities), restriction of movement of people and livestock (which had been the traditional way of accessing more water and pasture, and fleeing disease infested areas), government livestock buying schemes, confiscation of female stocks and forced tax payment (all of which targeted cattle, and depopulated the area of cattle), had serious impacts on the intensity of conflicts. The damage and impacts engraved by such interventions are hardly in the picture when seeking understanding and address of the area's violent conflict, marginalization and insecurity challenges. Also, the fact that some guns were acquired by exchange with cattle – guns were a resource (equivalent to a number of animal for which it was exchanged). During disarmament though, they were only perceived as tools, but not as a resource at the same time. Generally, resources engender conflict and violence more, when they are viewed from individualistic perspectives as opposed to communal/ collective perspectives.

By and large, the gun question in the violent conflict equation of Karamoja reflects how foreign influences can have such a strong influence on local affairs, in both negative and positive ways. It was rather easy for some Karimojong to accept that cattle raiding was an old traditional practice across pastoral communities of the region, but not the violence. The unprecedented violence was blamed on the use of guns, which are neither their cultural article nor manufactured in their area or by them. It became clear that the presence of and access to guns were fundamentally responsible

for increasing the degree of aggression and the frequency of attacks. The gun overthrew the authority of the elders, and assumed the symbolism of power and invincibility. It gave false confidence to their possessors and reduced the sense of emotional and social connection, since one would shoot from far, unlike with spears or arrows. However, the presence of guns in itself is not the cause of their use, but other intervening factors, such as socio-economic marginalization, exploitation and isolation, weakening of local governance systems, manipulative cattle sales and confiscations by the colonial government, massive cattle raids amounting by the Turkana and Toposa for nearly two decades, the demands and influences of the market economy, reduced livestock resources and increasing human population, all made the use of guns redemptive to their recipients.

10. 3 Conclusions

Causes of conflicts and violence in pastoral Karamoja are not necessarily the same. These played out with varying degrees of influence on the timing, duration, scale and intensity of raids and violence. Historically, pastoral communities of Karamoja experienced intervals of conflict and calm, over the 300 hundred years of their stay in the area. Whereas some generations lived through total calm (at most with non-violent or less violent conflicts), some generations lived in turbulent times of conflicts. Traditionally, conflicts are reported to have related mostly to the use of environmental resources, important for the survival of livestock (water and pasture) and later to livestock. There was a warrior phenomenon too, where interested warriors or their communities would seek, arrange and engage in battle encounters, where the winning side raids the cattle of the defeated party. Later on though, conflicts and violence manifested as fights over pasture and water points, cattle acquisition and protection (raids and counter raids), reiterative attacks (for revenge), road ambushes and confrontations with government security forces, especially the military. Causes of violent conflict are on a continuum of material and immaterial factors, with aggravating factors in between.

It can be noted that violence that was brought about by the use guns in Karamoja propelled a transformation and transition process that had been envisioned by the colonial government; of detaching the Karimojong people from their pastoral culture and tradition, which they saw as

unfitting for modern statehood. The gun accomplished the colonial and post-colonial desires (reflected in policies and interventions) of detaching communities and individuals from reliance of livestock. At the peak of gun violence, it became too risky to own or keep livestock, since one who did, became the target for raiders. For safety and security reasons, people began distancing themselves from livestock, yet on the other hand, lacking livestock meant risking on the side of food security and livelihood. In return, during disarmament, having a gun became so risky, since it made its possessor the target for disarming military forces of the government.

The level at which violence graduated, it cannot fairly be blamed on culture for several reasons. By the time conflicts became wild, social control systems and traditional governance structures had been undermined and dissolved by foreign forces (colonial policies and interventions) and replaced with foreign structures (central government structures). The violence that ensued, can as well be seen as an all-round rebellion against; the local culture, the foreign systems/structures, past injustices (marginalization and exploitation), and as a process of re-discovery and re-creation of meaning. Along the way, economic interests and influences, which can be understood to be far stronger than what a local cultural system could quench, took advantage of Karamoja situation. Business warlords are said to have financed several such activities for their benefits too. Therefore, dominant narratives which attribute violent conflicts in Karamoja to culture and struggle for resources fall short of the interplay between primary and secondary causes, and they often fail to put the whole equation in the historical perspective.

Of the three phenomenon/variables of interest to this study; culture, resources and the gun. There are cross –causal influences. However, limited resources (seasonal scarcity) and cultural influence are responsible for introducing and legitimizing the practice of cattle raiding, which is a traditional, long-term practice. Since this was a response to scarcity and show of power, strength and pride (between consenting communities), the practice was **not** ‘a cultural practice’, but ‘a traditional practice’. It was not a practice of the whole culture or even majority of the culture, but by a faction or minority of a culture, population-wise. Even then however, – it has to be noted that, although not comprehensive and restrictive enough, social controls had been developed before the gun era, to this effect, to limit the violence. The loss of livestock, human life and other developmental

resources and chances have had a strong effect on Karamoja, and they make the effects of conflict on communities and vulnerability intense.

10.4 Recommendation of the Study

Understanding what Karamoja communities went/ go through is important for working towards peace, welfare, security and development. Karamoja deserves peace, security, education, welfare, opportunities, dignity and participation in the development endeavours of their communities and country. For this to happen however, bold steps need to be taken; 1. To acknowledge historical (cultural, social and environmental) injustices on the sub-region, which are all too often swept under the carpet, while blaming the sub-region for all that there is to blame; 2. To reconcile communities, families and people who fell victims of cattle raiding, road ambushes and other forms of violence that sowed seeds of pain, loss and suffering; 3. To investment in fundamental life-changing empowerment programmes; school education for the young generation and skills training for the youth and adults; 4. To establish mechanisms of resource management, accountability, and collective social empowerment. Most of the troubles of the Karamoja have been amplified by lack of the last two action points above – that is, the lack of locally originating human resources to stir the sub-region towards a certain vision. After decades of insecurity, violence and uncertainty, compounded by tons of stereotypes and prejudices on the people of Karamoja, the sub-region now habitats people who have lost value for living and hope for a future. Here lays a grant need to redeem the youth of the sub-region from hopelessness and helplessness, to support them defeat the stereotypes that fight them from within, and help them to discover the potency that subsists. These aspirations/tasks can be undertaken at all levels; at personal, family, community, regional and at a national level. However, effectiveness will demand for serious inputs at the last three levels, while personal and family levels are central for restoration of hope, reclaiming of self-worth, re-shaping of values, and provision of role models.

The revelation that what may simplistically be referred to as a cultural practice, can actually be a traditional or a deviant practice is monumental for defusing stereotypical references to Karimojong culture and people. This revelation is an invitation to reconsider that violent traits and drives associated to cattle raiding in Karamoja do not necessarily qualify cattle raiding and violence as

cultural practice and value, respectively. Research evidence suggests categorizing them as either traditional or deviant practice/ values. Logically, you cannot blame a traditional or deviant practice/behaviour on the whole culture, since the two are in principle limited to a small section of the culture/society in question. And, for deviant behaviours, what makes them deviant in the first place is the fact that they stand squarely against existing social controls or expectations. This study generated views and explanations, upon which it can be asserted that cattle raiding and violence were not cultural practices/values, because they were not embraced and practiced by the majority of the communities under study. To expand the academic rigour of the conclusion however, it may be interesting to investigate this conclusion by use of quantitative research methodologies to calibrate this finding of the study. This could be done by correlating the sub-region's population (of the time), with collected number of guns, and establish the percentage of participation in raids over the total population of the sub-region, the frequency of participation by the same person, and the nature of motivation and constraint in play.

Researches/ studies about Karamoja have for long been pre-occupied with violence and conflict and their relation to culture and scarcity, to the disadvantage of efforts being galvanized around their resolution and promotion of peace. Many of such efforts go unnoticed and lack the academic understanding, support and popularisation. These include the Lokirama Peace Accord and its possible replication; the Nabilatuk Resolution and its impact on reducing cattle raids; efforts of the late Appa Loris, and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms that could still inform conflict resolution in the contemporary Karamoja. There is need for scholarly engagement with such efforts, and other possible avenues and local resources to that can be useful for conflict resolution and transformation. Important too, communities of Karamoja should take a lead in reclaiming the value and importance of councils of elders and conflict resolution mechanisms, as custodians and potential beneficiaries.

Given the current state of Karamoja, the increasing levels of desperation, loss of land, dwindling livelihood potentials and increasing population, there is need for strategic planning and soul searching to for addressing underlying causes of conflicts and violence. Disarmament was a strategy for addressing insecurity not conflict causes. There is need therefore, for conflict resolution and transformation work. There are fears in the sub-region that conflicts are not solved

and they will re-emerge, soon or later. A participant noted, “*we have not solved the conflict, we are just sleeping on it, and the next conflict will be on land.*” It is incumbent upon the government of Uganda, the local governments and NGOs in Karamoja, to commit efforts towards redress of policy errors and application of local resources such as; livelihood strategies, conflict resolution initiatives and systems, and use of natural resources locally available for socio-economic empowerment of the area.

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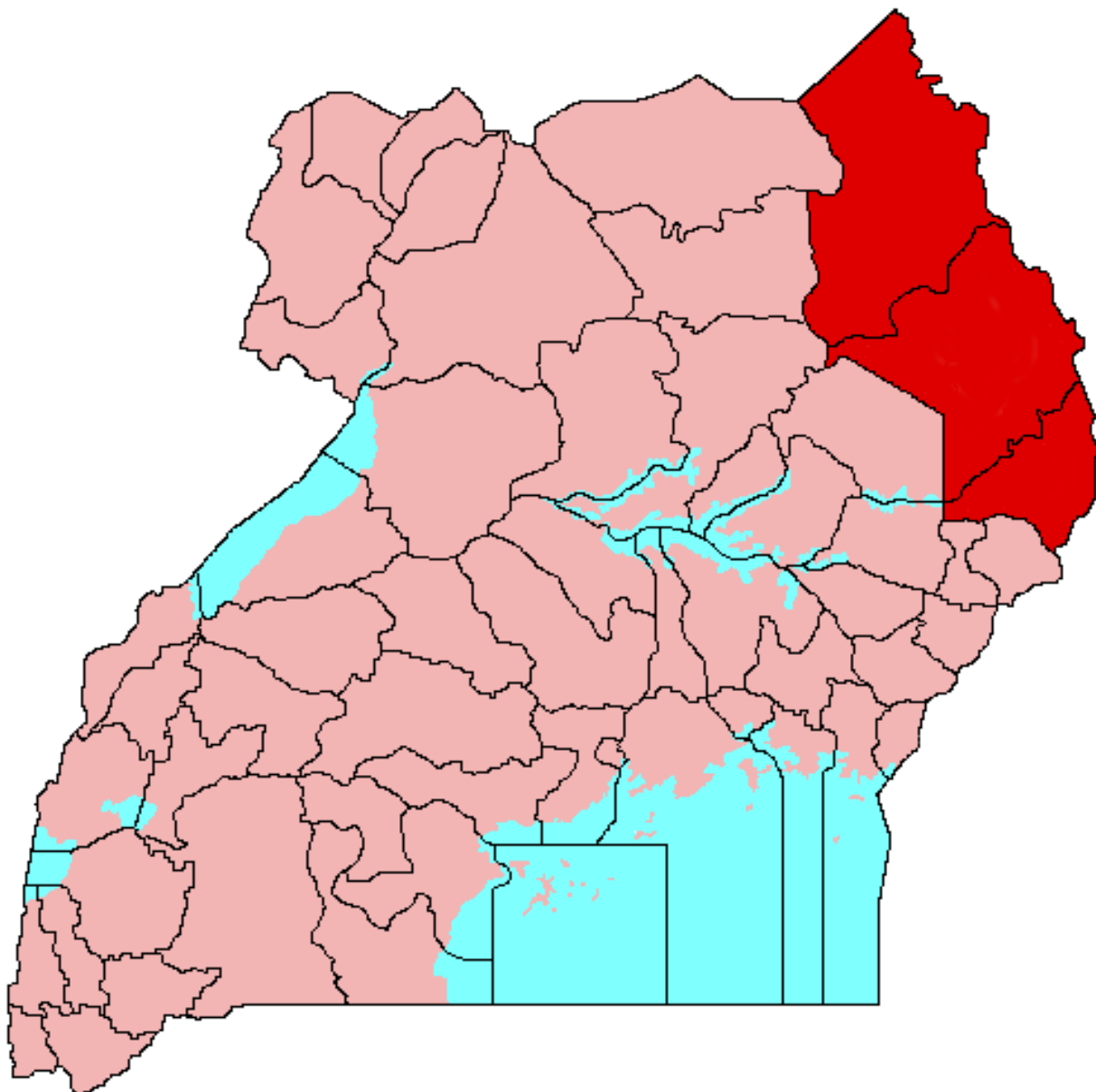
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Appendix I: The map of Uganda showing Karamoja Sub-region, located in North Eastern part of the country (in red colour)²¹



The map was adopted from: <http://mapsof.net/uganda/karamoja>

²¹ The map used herewith is an old one, which shows three districts that made-up the sub-region, but they are currently seven districts.

Appendix II: Picture of grass, locally called *Emulia*, which is a totem for the Pian social group of the Karimojong people



Appendix III: A typical traditional mad-roofed house of the Pokot people



Appendix IV: A picture of mountain Moroto (often) mentioned by participants



Appendix V: Typical body marks/decorations that symbolize great warriors, who killed many enemies.



Appendix VI: FGD Guide for Karimojong Participants

I am called Kabiito Bendicto, a Doctoral student of the University for Peace of Costa Rica, and.....my research assistant. We conducting a study entitled ‘Culture, Resources and the Gun in the Violent-Conflict Causation: Understanding the Karamoja Conflict’, aimed at establishing how culture (cultural beliefs, interests and practices), resources and firearms/guns or their interplay contributed to violent conflicts in Karamoja sub-region. The study will be conducted in some communities of Moroto, Amudat and Nakapiripirit Districts, and it is interested in the knowledge, opinions and experiences of native citizens of Karamoja, with regard to three areas of concern above.

Please be informed that all the information shared herewith will exclusively be used for academic purposes. I therefore ask for your permission to allow me to audio record our discussions for easy retrieval of information, and to allow me to use some of the information given directly in the research report. I would like to inform you that, ethical considerations will be made in the way of storage and usage of this information; for example, your name and other details will not be used in the thesis, in respect of the principles of confidentiality and anonymity.

Thank you for accepting to be a participant in this study, allow me to inform you that your participation is highly valued, but you still have a right to withdraw from the study at any time, if you so wish.

Please if you have any questions, or anything you need us clarity, feel free to raise them.

Self-Introduction

I beg that we introduce our selves one by one, mentioning our names, age, where we live and what we do.

THEME ONE: Culture and Violence in Karamoja

1. What are the key aspects of the Karimojong identity?
2. What is the origin of Karimojong?
3. How do you understand conflict and violence? How are the two different?
4. What characterizes/indicators of violence in the Karimojong worldview?
5. Which incidences of violence have you experienced or heard of?
6. For the incidences of violence you have experienced or heard about, do you think it is culture to blame?
7. Culturally, how are conflict and violence viewed?
8. What can you say about other pastoralist communities you’re familiar with in regard to their propensity to violence
9. How does the Karimojong culture teach against violence? How does it the teach about peace?
10. Traditionally, what would cause a man and a woman to be feared and/or respected?
11. What do the body marks and decorations symbolize?

12. Some people view raiding as a aspect of Karimojong culture, what is your comment about this?
13. Why would people raid cattle?
14. What is the traditionally value of cattle raiding?
15. How would cattle raiding be conducted in the past? What is the difference between traditional raiding and the recent cattle raiding operations? Why this difference?
16. How did colonialism affect the Karimojong culture?
17. Which Karimojong proverbs/folktales talk about conflict and violence? What do the proverbs above say about violence?
18. Which Karimojong proverbs talk about peace and how?
19. In your view, which social activities and/ or cultural practices that promoted violent conflicts in Karamoja?
20. In the Karimojong worldview, when is violence approved and condemned? When are conflict and violence are punishable? And how?

THEME TWO: Resource and Violent Conflict in Karamoja

21. What is the understanding of resource/s the Karimojong context?
22. Which resource/s is/are central to the existence of Karimojong? What are the resources have symbolic attachment/ meaning to the identity of Karimojong?
23. In your view, was scarcity of resources responsible for conflicts in the Karamoja region?
24. When did fighting over resources begin in this Karamoja?
When (which seasons- dry or wet) did fighting over the mentioned resources occur most? And why?

THEME THREE: Guns and Violent Conflict in Karamoja

25. Where there fight before the use of guns? What was being used?
26. When did guns first appear in Karamoja region? Where did they come from? By whom?
27. What was the primary use of guns in Karamoja then?
28. What would it take to buy a gun? Who were the chief custodians of guns?
29. Which community/ies possessed guns first in the Karamoja cluster/region?
30. Which community/ies possessed gun most in the Karamoja cluster/region?
31. How do you relate guns to the cattle economy/ pastoralism?
32. Why did Karimojong begin Using guns?
33. What was the nature of conflict in Karamoja before the gun?
34. What is to blame for the violence that ravaged this sub-region?
35. How useful are/were guns in Karamoja? How destructive have guns been to the region?
36. Which difference did guns bring in Karamoja?
37. Which gender and age group uses guns?
38. Who benefited from the use of guns? And how

Thank you very much

Appendix VII: FGD Guide for Pokot Participants

I am called Kabiito Benedicto, a Doctoral student of the University for Peace of Costa Rica, together with....., my research assistant. We are conducting a study entitled ‘Culture, Resources and the Gun in the Violent-Conflict Causation: Understanding the Karamoja Conflict’, aimed at establishing how culture (cultural beliefs, interests and practices), resources and firearms/guns or their interplay contributed to violent conflicts in Karamoja sub-region. The study will be conducted in some communities of Moroto, Amudat and Nakapiripirit Districts, and it is interested in the knowledge, opinions and experiences of native citizens of Karamoja, with regard to three areas of concern above.

Please be informed that all the information shared herewith will exclusively be used for academic purposes. I therefore ask for your permission to allow me to audio record our discussions for easy retrieval of information, and to allow me to use some of the information given directly in the research report. I would like to inform you that, ethical considerations will be made in the way of storage and usage of this information; for example, your name and other details will not be used in the thesis, in respect of the principles of confidentiality and anonymity.

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Please if you have any questions, or anything you need clarity on, feel free to raise them.

Self-Introduction

I beg that we introduce our selves one by one, mentioning our names, age, where we live and what we do.

THEME ONE: Culture and Violence in Karamoja

1. What are the key aspects of the Pokot identity?
2. How do you understand conflict and violence? How are the two different?
3. What characterize (indicators) of violence in the Karimojong worldview?
4. Which incidences of violence have experienced or heard of?
5. For the incidences of violence you have experienced or heard about, do you think it is culture to blame or other factors?
6. Culturally, how are conflict and violence viewed?
7. What can you say about other pastoralist communities you're familiar with in regard to their propensity to violence
8. How does the Pokot culture teach against violence? How does the Pokot culture teach about peace?
9. Traditionally, what would cause a man and a woman to be feared and/or respected?
10. What do the body marks and decorations symbolize?
11. Some people view raiding as a Pokot culture, what is your comment about this?

12. Why would people raid cattle?
13. What is the traditionally value of cattle raiding?
14. How would cattle raiding be conducted in the past? What is the difference between traditional raiding and the recent cattle raiding operations? Why this difference?
15. How did colonialism affect the Pokot culture?
16. Which Pokot proverbs/folktales talk about conflict and violence? What do the proverbs above say about violence?
17. Which Pokot proverbs talk about peace and how?
18. In your view, which social activities and/ or cultural practices that promoted violent conflicts among the Pokot and in Karamoja?
19. In the Pokot worldview, when is violence approved and condemned? When are conflict and violence are punishable? And how?

THEME TWO: Resource and Violent Conflict in Karamoja

20. What is the understanding of resource/s the Pokot context?
21. Which resource/s is/are central to the existence of Pokot? What are the resources have symbolic attachment/ meaning to the identity of Pokot?
22. In your view, was scarcity of resources responsible for conflicts in the Karamoja region?
23. When did fighting over resources begin in this area?
When (which seasons- dry or wet) did fighting over the mentioned resources occur most? And why?
24. In your view, were conflict genuinely caused by resource scarcity, personal preference or the cultural attitude towards aggression?

THEME THREE: Guns and Violent Conflict in Karamoja

25. Where there fight before the use of guns? What was being used?
26. When did guns first appear in Karamoja region? Where did they come from? By whom?
27. What was the primary use of guns in Karamoja then?
28. What would it take to buy a gun? Who were the chief custodians of guns?
29. Which community/ies possessed guns first in the Karamoja cluster/region?
30. Which community/ies possessed gun most in the Karamoja cluster/region?
31. How do you relate guns to the cattle economy/ pastoralism?
32. Why did Karimojong begin Using guns?
33. What was the nature of conflict in Karamoja before the gun?
34. What is to blame for the violence that ravaged this sub-region?
35. How useful are/were guns in Karamoja? How destructive have guns been to the region?
36. Which difference did guns bring in Karamoja?
37. Which gender and age group uses guns?
38. Who benefited from the use of guns? And how

Thank you for your precious time

Appendix VIII: In-depth Interview Guide

Karimojong Participant

I am called Kabiito Bendicto, a Doctoral student of the University for Peace of Costa Rica. I am conducting a study entitled ‘Culture, Resources and the Gun in the Violent-Conflict Causation: Understanding the Karamoja Conflict’, aimed at establishing how culture (cultural beliefs, interests and practices), resources and firearms/guns or their interplay contributed to violent conflicts in Karamoja sub-region. The study will be conducted in some communities of Moroto, Amudat and Nakapiripirit Districts, and it is interested in the knowledge, opinions and experiences of native citizens of Karamoja, with regard to three areas of concern above.

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Thank you for accepting to be a participant in this study, allow me to inform you that your participation is highly valued, but you still have a right to withdraw from the study at any time, if you so wish.

Please if you have any questions, or anything you need clarity on, feel free to raise them.

Background Information

Age:.....

Village/town....., Parish..... District.....

Occupation/ community responsibility:

Social group:.....

Opening Question

What are you pride of as e’karimojongayit?

THEME ONE: Culture and Violence in Karamoja

1. What are the key aspects of the Karimojong identity?
 2. What is the origin of Karimojong?
 3. How do you understand conflict and violence? How are the two different?
 4. What characterizes/indicators of violence in the Karimojong worldview?
 5. Which incidences of violence have experienced or heard of?
 6. For the incidences of violence you have experienced or heard about, do you think it is culture to blame?
 7. Culturally, how are conflict and violence viewed?
 8. What can you say about other pastoralist communities you're familiar with in regard to their propensity to violence
 9. How does the Karimojong culture teach against violence? How does the Karimojong culture teach about peace?
 10. Traditionally, what would cause a man and a woman to be feared and/or respected?
 11. What do the body marks and decorations symbolize?
- Some people view raiding as a Karimojong culture, what is your comment about this?
12. Why would people raid cattle?
 13. What is the traditionally value of cattle raiding?
 14. How would cattle raiding be conducted in the past? What is the difference between traditional raiding and the recent cattle raiding operations? Why this difference?
 15. How did colonialism affect the Karimojong culture?
 16. Which Karimojong proverbs/folktales talk about conflict and violence? What do the proverbs above say about violence?
 17. Which Karimojong proverbs talk about peace and how?
 18. In your view, which social activities and/ or cultural practices that promoted violent conflicts in Karamoja?
 19. In the Karimojong worldview, when is violence approved and condemned? When is violence punishable? When is it encouraged?

THEME TWO: Resource and Violent Conflict in Karamoja

20. What is the understanding of resource/s the Karimojong context?

21. Which resource/s is/are central to the existence of Karimojong? What are the resources have symbolic attachment/ meaning to the identity of Karimojong?

22. In your view, was scarcity of resources responsible for conflicts in the Karamoja region?

23. When did fighting over resources begin in this Karamoja?

When (which seasons- dry or wet) did fighting over the mentioned resources occur most? And why?

24. In your view, were conflict genuinely caused by resource scarcity, personal attitude or the cultural attitude towards bravery?

THEME THREE: Guns and Violent Conflict in Karamoja

25. Where there fight before the use of guns? What was being used?

26. When did guns first appear in Karamoja region? Where did they come from? By whom?

27. What was the primary use of guns in Karamoja then?

28. What would it take to buy a gun? Who were the chief custodians of guns?

29. Which community/ies possessed guns first in the Karamoja cluster/region?

30. Which community/ies possessed gun most in the Karamoja cluster/region?

31. How do you relate guns to the cattle economy/ pastoralism?

32. Why did Karimojong begin Using guns?

33. What was the nature of conflict in Karamoja before the gun?

34. What is to blame for the violence that ravaged this sub-region?

35. How useful are/were guns in Karamoja? How destructive have guns been to the region?

36. Which difference did guns bring in Karamoja?

37. Which gender and age group uses guns?

38. Who benefited from the use of guns? And how

Thank you for your precious time given

Appendix IX: In-depth Interview Guide

Pokot Participants

I am called Kabiito Bendicto, a Doctoral student of the University for Peace of Costa Rica. I am conducting a study entitled ‘Culture, Resources and the Gun in the Violent-Conflict Causation: Understanding the Karamoja Conflict’, aimed at establishing how culture (cultural beliefs, interests and practices), resources and firearms/guns or their interplay contributed to violent conflicts in Karamoja sub-region. The study will be conducted in some communities of Moroto, Amudat and Nakapiripirit Districts, and it is interested in the knowledge, opinions and experiences of native citizens of Karamoja, with regard to three areas of concern above.

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Please if you have any questions, or anything you need clarity on, feel free to raise them.

Background Information

Age:.....

Village/town....., Parish..... District.....

Occupation/ community responsibility:

Social group:.....

Opening Question

What are you pride of as a Pokot?

THEME ONE: Culture and Violence in Karamoja

1. What are the key aspects of the Pokot identity?
2. How do you understand conflict and violence? How are the two different?
3. What characterize (indicators) of violence in the Karimojong worldview?
4. Which incidences of violence have experienced or heard of?
5. For the incidences of violence you have experienced or heard about, do you think it is culture to blame or other factors?
6. Culturally, how are conflict and violence viewed?
7. What can you say about other pastoralist communities you're familiar with in regard to their propensity to violence?
8. How does the Pokot culture teach against violence? How does the Pokot culture teach about peace?
9. Traditionally, what would cause a man and a woman to be feared and/or respected?
10. What do the body marks and decorations symbolize?
11. Some people view raiding as a Pokot culture, what is your comment about this?
12. Why would people raid cattle?
13. What is the traditional value of cattle raiding?
14. How would cattle raiding be conducted in the past? What is the difference between traditional raiding and the recent cattle raiding operations? Why this difference?
15. How did colonialism affect the Pokot culture?
16. Which Pokot proverbs/folktales talk about conflict and violence? What do the proverbs above say about violence?
17. Which Pokot proverbs talk about peace and how?
18. In your view, which social activities and/ or cultural practices that promoted violent conflicts among the Pokot and in Karamoja?
19. In the Pokot worldview, when is violence approved and condemned? When are conflict and violence are punishable? And how?

THEME TWO: Resource and Violent Conflict in Karamoja

20. What is the understanding of resource/s the Pokot context?

21. Which resource/s is/are central to the existence of Pokot? What are the resources have symbolic attachment/ meaning to the identity of Pokot?

22. In your view, was scarcity of resources responsible for conflicts in the Karamoja region?

23. When did fighting over resources begin in this area?

When (which seasons- dry or wet) did fighting over the mentioned resources occur most? And why?

24. In your view, were conflict genuinely caused by resource scarcity, personal preference or the cultural attitude towards aggression?

THEME THREE: Guns and Violent Conflict in Karamoja

25. Where there fight before the use of guns? What was being used?

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27. What was the primary use of guns in Karamoja then?

28. What would it take to buy a gun? Who were the chief custodians of guns?

29. Which community/ies possessed guns first in the Karamoja cluster/region?

30. Which community/ies possessed gun most in the Karamoja cluster/region?

31. How do you relate guns to the cattle economy/ pastoralism?

32. Why did Karimojong begin Using guns?

33. What was the nature of conflict in Karamoja before the gun?

34. What is to blame for the violence that ravaged this sub-region?

35. How useful are/were guns in Karamoja? How destructive have guns been to the region?

36. Which difference did guns bring in Karamoja?

37. Which gender and age group uses guns?

38. Who benefited from the use of guns? And how

Thank you for your precious time