

ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

PASTORALIST RESEARCHERS
ON THE UGANDA/KENYA BORDER

• OROPOI

• LAPATA

KENYA

UGANDA

• NAKAPELIMORU

• URUM

• LODWAR

• LOKIRIAMA

• KOBELE

• MOROTO

- Report about insecurity in Karamoja-Turkana borderland.
- Record of community research, analysis of the problem, and solutions.
- Community members wrote the narrative and took all the photographs.
- Communities plan to use it in dialogues with government, NGOs, and others.

This research is different from other research, as we are community members. Although many people are upset, angry or tired of the insecurity, they spoke to us willingly.

Karamoja-Turkana Community Research 2023

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INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH TEAM

MEMBERS

RESEARCH LEADERS

Over eight months we have been researching the insecurity faced by our communities. The research gave our community leaders evidence on why pastoralists continue to carry guns and what they are protecting themselves from. Our analysis shows clearly that conflicts between communities are a symptom of a deeper problem, and the solution does not lie with addressing conflicts alone. The problems we found are about crime, revenge, and failures of government. Solving crime by using harsh disarmament is not working, it is only fueling the fear and insecurity. It seems as if the government doesn't want us to be at peace. It looks like our peace will be interfering with their peace.

This document is a history of events affecting peace and security month by month between October 2022 and May 2023, and a diary of this community research. The learning we present is the property of the communities from which it came, and its use and accreditation is theirs.

Asiyo Jeremiah: Karimojong, born in Moroto 30 years ago, an educationist and action researcher.

Ayepio Elim: In his mid-30s, Ayepio resides in Lotere, where his family are agro-pastoralists. He is interested in telling stories of traditional coping mechanisms of the Turkana.

Ayoo Florence: Born of Nakapalimoru which neighbours Turkana, she and her community experience first-hand relations with that community, Ayoo partially completed formal education.

Alastair Scott-Villiers: An advisor on citizen-state relations in insecure areas of East Africa and the Horn. He has been supporting pastoralists to do participatory research since the 1990s.

Charity Amei: Born of Napak District, and resident of Moroto, Charity graduated with a BA from Makerere University. She has been involved in research since 2018.

Edukio Namoe Margaret: From Turkana East Sub-County, she used to help her grandmother to look after kid goats.

Ekaale Epakan: Kenyan journalist and human rights activist, born and raised in Kolobeyei, Turkana West.

Ewoton Lominamoe: A 57 year old pastoralist and a Loreng resident in Turkana West sub-county, kraal leader.

Ichor Imana: Elder and retired politician, former peace advisor of Turkana County Government.

Ikal Ang'elei: Leader of Friends of Lake Turkana.

Ilukol Manasseh: Born of Namalu in Nakapiripirit District where he grew up as a pastoralist. He later went to school and university.

Irine Iria Erupe: Raised in Turkana North, 28 years old. Before joining school and graduating with a diploma, she was helping her parents in taking care of lambs and kid goats.

Lodukui Francis: Born of Kapisinyang parish in Kotido District, a reformed raider, a Kraal Leader in Losilang.

Lomol Rhainer Koryang Ajie: Research and cultural enthusiast born from Kotido.

Loru Echor: Born in Rupa Sub County, in Moroto District, Echor is a pastoralist, and has been involved in cattle trade in Moroto and neighbouring areas.

Losike Emanman: A Turkana herdsman and a resident of Nakitong'o.

Michael Odhiambo: A policy researcher focusing on pro-poor policy, legal and institutional frameworks.

Patta Scott-Villiers: Participatory research leader at Institute of Development Studies.

Sagal Tioko: A pastoralist mother of 10 and a resident of Urum. She is in her late 70s.

Simon Akol Wajao: 33 years old and a Turkana youth leader.

Simon Lobur: 28 years old and is a social media enthusiast and radio broadcaster.

Simon Longoli: Executive Director of Karamoja Development Forum

Thomas Ekidor Kiyong'a: Youth leader. Born and raised in Kakuma, Thomas spent his childhood herding livestock before joining formal school.

Vicky Abura: Karimojong from Napak District and a resident of Moroto District, Vicky holds a BA and a certificate in extramural research.



We are men and women, youth and elders, from town and kraal, formally and traditionally educated. On the Turkana side we are from Loima and Turkana West Sub-counties. On the Karamoja side we are from Kotido, Nakapiripirit, Napak and Moroto. Local organisations Karamoja Development Forum and Friends of Lake Turkana supported by Institute of Development Studies invited us to form community research teams to help find solutions to insecurity.

Karamoja-Turkana
Community Research 2023

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COMMUNITY RESEARCH METHOD

RESEARCH LEADER

We are researching things that we know. We hear the story that each person tells and retell it faithfully. We add stories from our own lives. For instance, one of us speaks of when he was a young man. We use this understanding to strengthen our analysis. We bring the stories together into a single story that explains how insecurity works here.

The people trust us to raise their voice. It is our role as community researchers to be impartial and take the stories as we heard them, and not to take sides. There are stories of suffering, pain, and weakness. There are also stories of strength, struggling, managing, and sharing resources. Some of the challenges are defeated when we recognise our strengths.

ELDER RESEARCHER

In the research we found many people who value the lives of the people and the animals. We will tell you the things that we heard. We will also show the value of this kind of research. I have admired how we have managed to research what people have told us about the challenges they face and about how pastoralists can work on them from our strengths. We have been speaking about these things, we are now aware of our own community story, and of the stories of all the communities. We can find solutions.





An old man asked us where we are coming from, and we told him we had come from the office of herders. That is good, he said.

OCTOBER 2022 AN UNEASY PEACE

ELDER RESEARCHER

In Komio, Kenya, near the border, we found an old man at the tree of elders. There were women nearby watering the animals and some young men were driving the livestock to water. We alighted from the vehicle and joined the elders under their tree. They saw us coming, they sat up, we greeted them. I got out tobacco and took snuff. The elders asked for some, and I gave it to them. This is the traditional way. And they asked, what is happening? What has brought you here? I said we have only come to visit, and we asked them, how is the stay here? How is the peace here? He replied, we have been at peace for a short time. We are together with the Jie and the Karimojong, we are sharing water and pasture. All the Turkana have gone across and they are together there.

YOUNG RESEARCHER

When we arrived at Urum in Kenya, we met women in the riverbed and asked, how is peace here? One called Epae said, as you see we are peaceful, we are enjoying it, but it's no guarantee that our belongings are safe, we still have thieves among us. There is peace, because the boys are with the cows in the grazing fields and there is no complaining. Insecurities are manageable. We can move across the border to Karamoja and help to harvest maize and they give us maize to bring back.

But even as we enjoy this peace there is fear. Is conflict starting any time soon? Is this person trying to make us believe there is peace, and he gets away with the cows? Is there something coming in between? We live in doubt. According to us on the Turkana side, all the good things are on the other side of the border, not on the Turkana side. When there is peace, you can cross to Karamoja for as long as you can, come back with things and give to the family, but when there is conflict there is unrest, today you sleep here, today there, because you fear for your life.



In October, the Karamoja team went to Pupu, Rupa, Ated-eoi in Lotisan, Apopongi Dam, Lokithilei Dam, Kaley river, Nakapelmoru, Kalongolemuge, Kadocha and Namairei Dam. The Turkana team went to Urum, Komio, Namoru Arenan, Lopeduru and Loito.

YOUNG RESEARCHER

One elder said to me, we need our power and influence to bring justice, as we did in the past. Now you, who are herders, have come to speak and listen to us, and you will strengthen us. We share water, we share grass, and when we catch the thief we take him to the government. Soldiers come and take all the cows and take them to the barracks, the cows suffer there, the bitterness grows among all the shepherds.

YOUNG RESEARCHER

A young man explained that our main problem is theft, not conflict. A kraal leader welcomed us to drink water, saying that it's important to share water and pasture, so when it rains and there is grass on the other side, we can go there in peace. We came to a settlement of an old man who was

with many young men. To stay here is good, he said, you can see these animals are at peace. Yesterday, Turkana kraal leaders and herders visited this settlement and we agreed how to handle thieves. In this place there is peace down through the river and up to Bokora, a span of over 200 km. We are not satisfied with the peace of the government or the NGOs. It is the ordinary person who moves the peace up to Turkana because of the pain and the loss of animals. The drought there is worse than it is here, and we should be able to take care of cows together.

ELDER RESEARCHER

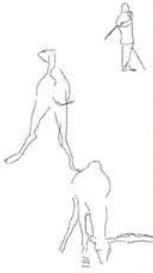
An elder said that Ikaale Akwaan, a youthful kraal leader, is responsible for the peace we currently enjoy at Kobebe. He went to Jie with other kraal leaders and pleaded with leaders to talk to their people to have

peace and trade together. They held peace meetings as pastoralists, which is how they achieved the current peace. But some parts of Jie, like Napumpum, have not welcomed peace. There has been raiding of Turkana animals despite our agreements.

YOUNG RESEARCHER

The situation in Pupu, in Karamoja, is good. The peace came when Apa Koima came from Nakapelimoru with Arukan, a Panyagara man, and we discussed. They came into our homes because we are in-laws. Bokora people have also come, and we are now grazing together.

There are people within us who have grown up badly behaved. No one can manage them. We have even tried handing them over to the government, but the thief is only arrested for a few days and then released.



We went to many different communities to speak to men and women, young and old, at their kraals and settlements.





At the beginning of November, we had news of a Consultative and Dialogue Meeting called by the Government of Uganda at Kobebe Dam.

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NOVEMBER 2022 THE EVENT AT KOBEBE

YOUNG RESEARCHER

The joint consultative meeting at Kobebe Dam was hosted by the Resident District Commissioner (RDC) Moroto, and attended by the Commander UPDF Third Division, RDC Kaabong, RDC Napak, LC5 Moroto, and the MP for Jie County. The Turkana County Governor led the Kenya delegation that

included officials and politicians including the MCA Kakuma and MCA Lokichogio. All the pastoral communities grazing at Kobebe attended, including Turkana, Jie, Bokora and Matheniko. The meeting was due to start at 10am. The pastoralists waited five hours for the government to arrive.





The Government officials from Kenya and Uganda met at Moroto in the morning. They arrived at Kobebe at 3pm to make announcements. We recorded the announcements and the Community response.

GOK OFFICIAL

I want to ask our Turkana: You have been hosted so that at least your animals can survive the drought, but instead you turn to be criminals while being assisted. The President of Uganda, His Excellency Yoweri Museveni, signed the MOU with Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta. It allows Kenyans to bring their animals to graze in Uganda, but they should not come with guns. The Uganda Government is clearing the guns and then you come with them. Guns create confusion and tension with raids and crime. We want to maintain good relations with our neighbours. Leave your guns behind with His Excellency the Turkana County Governor. If you are involved in crime, the law of Uganda will take care of you.

KRAAL LEADER IKAAL AKWAAN

Karamoja pastoralists have not been fully disarmed. There are still illegal guns that terrorise the Turkana people. If I

voluntarily give out my gun, all my animals will be taken because I will be defenceless. The government should look for a fair solution. You can see me as the one responsible for the peace we are enjoying in Kobebe.

ELDER RESEARCHER

Few of the pastoralists were satisfied with the meeting. Some complained that they were not given a chance to give their side of the story. Others said that time was too short to discuss amicably. Others, especially from Turkana, claimed that they were not part of the decision-making.

ELDER

How can you call this a meeting? We were supposed to hear from Karimojong and Turkana and mediate a decision.





A Karimojong woman married to a Turkana took me aside, last time you came here, I liked what you people are researching. If it can bring good change to this place, I recommend it.



DECEMBER 2022 INSECURITY RETURNS

RESEARCH LEADER

Peace is not the absence of crime, but how you deal with it. Ikaale Akwaan was raided a couple of days after the Kobebe meeting. He had asked the military and civilian leaders, if you take our weapons will you protect us? What happens if our cows are raided? Six herds were stolen – about 170 cows from his *alomar*. One kraal had 50, another 20, another 30. Ikaale Akwaan is the key person in that area for security and management of information, he is the figurehead. Not all those cows belonged to him. He takes care of the cows of many. The animals were taken to Kaabong, and the Divisional Commander there remembered his question at Kobebe. The Commander showed his power to mount a military operation. He followed the trails, found some exhibits, and rounded up a lot of herds. A few of the cows may be those lost by Ikaale

Akwaan, but most were not. Some innocent person suffers, a few stolen cows are recovered, the others which are impounded are innocent cows and the owners may lose them.

RESEARCH ELDER

I was also in Kobebe and I asked elders, do you really have peace in this place? What kind of peace?

RESEARCH ELDER

Turkana, Matheniko and Jie were still grazing and watering animals near Kobebe Dam. There is water and grass compared to other places. We stopped at a water-pump and people ran away from the car. They recognised us and came back. They said the security agencies had come the day before and killed people.





TRADER

There was peace until this meeting at Kobebe, when our government officials and a delegation from Kenya ordered us pastoralists, especially the Turkana, to surrender guns or leave them behind before crossing to Uganda. A few weeks later our peaceful co-existence began to change.

I blame the way our security officers are disarming pastoralists, especially our brothers from Kenya. When our soldiers are tipped off about possession of a firearm, they use force and violence and we Karimojong are also affected. When our soldiers cordon a homestead and drive away cows to compel the Turkana to surrender their guns, the Turkana think it is us that have tipped off the soldiers. The Turkana raid us in revenge and conflict escalates. Our government should ask the Turkana council of elders and their representatives to intervene.

YOUNG HERDER

The government has harassed us. The authorities claim that someone in this settlement has a gun, or a uniform, and they shoot and take animals to the bar-

After the Kobebe meeting, the Karamoja team headed west to Namairei and Kalngolemuge, Riki-tae, Kaileny and Kalorwakomol in November and to Nakapelimoru, Rengen, Napumpum, Losilang, Nadunget, Kobebe and Moroto in December.

racks. You are supposed to bring that gun and get back your cows. When you complain you don't have a gun, they put you in a container with bees which sting you. The army doesn't follow stolen cows far, they find any cows, and take them instead.

YOUNG TRADER

The government cannot decide who is stealing what from whom. The government always makes wrong decisions. We wish the army would leave it to us.

YOUNG WOMAN AT MORU ARENGAN

I and the other women here are living in fear, we have sleepless nights. It is the issue of Kobebe. We have received sad news about our Turkana kraals there. It has given us sorrow.

OLDER WOMEN AT NAMORU KIRIONOK

The Government of Kenya is not taking care of us. As we are speaking, Turkana in Kobebe are being tortured by soldiers, many have lost their livestock and even lives have been lost. What has the Government of Kenya done? It has all the machineries to defend us,

The Turkana team crossed back and went to Komio, Moru Arenan, Lopedur, Namor Kirionok, Loreng/Nalapatui, Nawountos (Oropoi). In December the Turkana and Karimojong sides of the team met at Moroto for analysis, and then the Turkana team went back to Kobebe, Komio, Lopedur, Namor Kirionok, Loreng and Nawountos.

but from the President down, our leaders are quiet. Why? We have village administrators and area chiefs, but they don't stay with us. They only come when there is a public meeting or when food is being distributed. They all live in towns like Kakuma and Lodwar. We feel we are orphans in our own country.

HERDERS AT LORENG

We were promised that Kenya security officers will be posted to the border, but it has not been done.

Since we voted we have not seen our politicians. We don't see good leadership in them. They go to Uganda on their own.

We have not informed the leaders of our problems because they are not interested.





In January, we all met at Lodwar to share and analyse. We told many stories from many communities until we could see a single story coming out. We worked on it for several days.

JANUARY 2023 ANALYSIS

RESEARCH LEADER

I appreciate the time to speak. This is our combined analysis. Many pastoralists have entered government, but do not solve the problems. Politicians have guns in their homes and never mention it. The army says we are all criminals. They come and beat everyone until they reveal. They say the criminal is never seen in our community until the soldiers come. Soldiers are punished if they make a mistake, but local government is like a father who says my children have not made mistakes. The locals will hide their raider children and never mention.

We asked elders everywhere, you used to make peace that lasted. What has made it fail? They replied: Two things: government policies and laws on the one side and police and army on the other. The army does its work in a very strong and harsh way. Police, all their activities are associated with money.

The law is against people. Elders cannot implement their traditional law. Police catch some thieves. They arrest them, but after three days the person is back, free, and justified. The thief pays part of what he has stolen to the police. The victim is left with nothing. It has continued happening over and over. The authorities say that community members always give excuses, but never give information. They say that they are tired of excuses, and they now will do what they need to do.

The army responded, return back our guns. But the elders asked, is it the gun that prevents peace? Many people are dying because of your activities, more than when we made peace without you. The government is not working with us. The Turkana need water, but the only water is in Kobebe. As the Turkana are not safe at Kobebe, they bring guns. The armies of Uganda and Kenya say that they must not.







The team members are diverse, and we have to take care that our different community backgrounds, and different perspectives do not blind us to the way in which a larger problem is setting one community against another and creating mistrust.

The pastoralists believe that some of the soldiers work with the criminals to raid. When 1,000, or 3,000 animals are stolen, and you go to the army, and they don't help you – what else can you think? The different communities would like to stay together in Kobebe, with the army providing real protection. But some in the government work hand-in-hand with criminals. There was a time when Panyagara from Kotido raided and then went to a nearby place. Some of the cows were recovered, but the rest were lost. The cows had been transported

by vehicles. There are government checkpoints on the way out of Karamoja, how did they not stop them? It's how the herders feel sure that raiders work with some officials. Once there was a planned raid on Dodoth, and someone was caught in the Dodoth area guiding the raiders by phone. The soldiers laid a trap. The moment the raiders came, the

soldiers started firing. Most of the raiders were killed. When they picked up the bullet casings afterwards, they found that the raiders' bullets came from the army.

The soldiers are not bad all the time, but they have not established a working relationship with the community. In a kraal where soldiers are not far, there are chances to rescue the cows. There was a raid in my home. I was in another village. I went into the barracks. The soldiers went in the wrong direction and the cows disappeared. I could excuse the soldiers. They tried. There was a raid at Rengen. I told them, you people you do not know the paths of cows when they are raided. A plane was brought, I was in the plane to track the cows. We zigzagged until we got the cows. The soldiers on the ground got them back. I have stayed for many years with soldiers. They prefer people to speak the truth. We became part of their patrols. In 2007/8 I was asked to get 10 warriors. They joined 10 soldiers on patrol. Those operations were successful.

The elders accept that part of the problem comes from them. There was a time when we didn't have these large raids. When the elders prayed, God listened to our prayers. Now it doesn't rain, and all our spears are covered in blood. The rainmaking spirits also died. Now go back to your elders and ask them what they did for rain. Whenever anyone goes to speak to them, all they want is alcohol. Those days, when an agreement was made, we were at peace. But now people say, we are at peace with so and so and we are staying with them, but there are others from the same community with whom we are not at



peace. How can you say that a part of your body is at peace when the other is not? Jie and Turkana used to be one person. When they made peace, it lasted. If they accept local ways to make peace it will work but if not, this thing will never end.

RESEARCH LEADER

Raids are usually initiated by a person from within. Even when people are at peace, people are knocking heads. If they know that the communities are at peace, the criminals pass through the place to do something wrong, they cause problems and leave the communities blaming each other.

ELDER RESEARCHER

The violence brought a lot of bad effects to a lot of people. Now because of this insecurity the military has continued to shoot and kill, and we see these boys in possession of guns.

ELDER RESEARCHER

The pain is bigger for a woman than a man. During a raid most of the women's stuff is burned by raiders,

including traditional items. There is rape and there is loss of husbands and children. This issue of raids will eventually finish us.

Prompted by so many deaths, we asked the men for help to make peace, and when they didn't escort us, we went anyway, out of desperation. We made a list of women who would go from every parish in Nakapelimoru. We had a meeting, made noise. Some women were negative. Why did we want this meeting? We said, the men are getting finished in big numbers. We are left by ourselves. The men told us that if we want to get killed, we should be going for raids. In Kotido, we moved to other places to have these conversations. A small number went to Kaabong and Dodoth. We sent a message to Loyoro in Kenya, but they refused us. We decided to move to Turkana by ourselves. The Turkana women in Nakitongo stayed for four days, asking what we must do to save our children. The men felt the women were defeating them, so they started to work on solutions too.



General Salim Saleh came to Moroto in February and approached the research teams. We worked for a week on writing background documents to inform the Resource Sharing Agreement.

FEBRUARY 2023 THE RESOURCE SHARING AGREEMENT

RESEARCH LEADER

General Salim Saleh, the President's Envoy for Wealth Creation, came to Moroto. He brought an initiative for a 'Cross-Border Resource Sharing Agreement' between the Governments of Uganda and Kenya for the benefit of the communities of Turkana, Pokot and Karamoja. The agreement draft goes beyond the sharing of resources to highlighting the problems faced by the *Ateker* community.

It aims to regulate transhumance and link pastoralist movement to security and services. It may take a long time for it to be agreed between the two governments. Those local people that heard about it received it well. Its success depends on pastoralists accepting its provisions and implementing it, in concert with the state security agencies and administrations.

In the process, the armed forces of both countries formed a joint arrangement for dealing with security. The technical and political actors in both governments began to review the proposals.



CROSS BORDER PASTORALISTS RESOURCE SHARING AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA AND THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA

AN AGREEMENT made on thisday of2023 BETWEEN the Republic of Uganda on behalf of the communities of **KARAMOJA SUB REGION** and Republic of Kenya on behalf of the communities of **TURKANA AND WEST POKOT COUNTIES**.

RECALLING that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes the inherent dignity of

1. Community Involvement as an Enabler

It is advisable that, as far as is practical, the cross-border pastoralist resources sharing agreement is discussed with communities on both sides of the border to ensure their commitment to its effective implementation. Recent participatory research facilitated by Karamoja Development Forum and Friends of Lake Turkana with communities across the border area has highlighted community appetite for operating under such an agreement between their respective governments, and has indicated their willingness to contribute to the design and implementation of such an agreement.

In the absence of a genuine process of community engagement in which community members gain clarity as to what is proposed and make contributions and engage in discussion with expert and government as to what may be amended, added, or omitted, it is likely that the agreement may remain an expression of an ideal, rather than a firm basis for long-term cross-border resource sharing.



Turkana and Karamoja leaders to develop an agreement on resource sharing
Morulinga, 21st February 2023 (Governor's Press Service)

Leaders from Turkana County and the Karamoja region have agreed to develop a joint agreement aimed at promoting peaceful sharing of cross-border resources.

In a meeting today chaired by Uganda's Senior Presidential Advisor on Defence, Gen Salim Saleh, the leaders acknowledged the need for a formal resource-sharing pact to address rising conflicts and ensure the continued grazing of livestock in Uganda by Turkana pastoralists.

The delegation of County Government officials, led by Deputy Governor Dr. John Enus, paid a visit to Gen Saleh at the Morulinga State Lodge in Napak District. The officials were joined by a host of Uganda MPs from the Karamoja region.

During the meeting, Gen Saleh, who also chaired the Joint Kenya-Uganda High-Level Security Mission held in Moroto yesterday, insisted that the agreement would address conflicts between the communities.

The after-effects of a cordon and search operation in Lokeriaut interrupted our work and set back the Resource Sharing Agreement. Many Turkana went back to Kenya for safety. Mistrust between communities intensified.

APRIL 2023

THE OPERATION AT LOKERIAUT

MOROTO DISTRICT USALAMA KWA WOTE DISARMAMENT OPERATION Joint Security Forces Recover 31 Guns.

On the wee hours of 8.4.2023, Joint Security Forces conducted simultaneous intelligence led a cordon and search Disarmament operation in the Turkana kraals located in Lokereyot village, Nadunget Subcounty, Moroto District about 50km away from Moroto Town where our intelligence had indicated to be a hide for illegal guns and stolen animals.

Present in this operation were:-
3Division commander Brig. Gen. Joseph Balikuddembe,
2nd in command 3Division Brig. Gen. Busizoori Felix, RPC
Mt. Moroto ACP Chemust Francis and regional team,
Operation ASTU commander SP. Kayongo Musa, Lt Col.
Shem Nakora Div. I.O , men and women of UPDF and Police.

These particular operation has been rated by Joint security forces as the most successful since we started the Disarmament operation where a total of 31 guns, 752 live ammunitions, 19 bow and arrows, and 3 uniform parts have been recovered in one big kraal at once in one day.

action as he tried to flee the scene with a gun and 06 cows died due to stray bullets.

This success is attributed to proper adherence to the standard operating procedures in cordon and search by men and women in uniform, timely intelligence and cooperation from the Community members.

We would like to inform the Community that, all the above guns were from Turkana Pastoralists who crossed the border of Kenya to Uganda to graze their animals. Although we have always sounded a warning to Turkana Pastoralists not to enter Uganda with guns, they have continued to defy the Directive.

As security forces we shall perform our work as expected and apply the law equally without discrimination or favour.

We thank the gallant officers who took part in this operation for the professionalism so far they have exhibited and making the operation successful and we shall continue conducting similar operations till peace is realised.

Alutia Continua.



➤ A total of 32 Turkana men were convicted by a court martial in Moroto for allegedly owning weapons. Each was slapped with a 20 years' jail term penalty. This happened three days after their arrest. The list below are names handed over by parents to the office of Sub County administrator for Loima, Turkana County.

Turkana people arrested and convicted by the Ugandan martial court

1. Ewaar Lowoton	17 Apa Ng'oroko Ekeno
2. Lookor Lowoton	18 Apa Losia Ekeno
3. Etabo Munyes	19 Konyoon Achong'a
4. Eng'aimu Munyes	20 Loochol Achong'a
5. Apur Namuya	21 Ekorinyang Lokwang
6. Abarait Namuya	22 Lookor Lokwang
7. Emuria Lomukuny	23 Ekipetot Ekalale
8. Lokiru Lomukuy	24 Lokwang Lokorinyang
9. Lobuin Amurmura	25 Loputein Lore
10 Lorot Amurmura	26 Ang'ol-ekaal Ng'itela
11 Moru a Ng'ikor Apa Nales	27 Lokwawi Ekoriongor
12 Logirakou Apa Nales	28 Napuyo Imoni
13 Etaaba Namode	29 Kokoi Ng'itela
14 Eroo Namode	30 Lomuroi Lokwang
15 Akiru Lotukon	31 Akure Ekawoton
16 Kairete Lotukon	32

We were preparing to invite community leaders from Karamoja and Turkana to discuss ways forward together when we received this message on social media. Later we were sent a copy of this official report from the Kenya Government.

TURKANA COUNTY GOVERNMENT



REPORT OF THE UPDF OPERATION AT LOKERIAUT, UGANDA

21/04/2023

The operation Day, 8th April 2023

The day began just like any other normal day. The friendly UPDF slept in the kraal to provide security to the locals as usual. At around 5:30 am, all men were asked to come for the morning call up (Ekokwo). This was done by use of a wind instrument (arenen) which is always blown to alert people of the planned meeting. All men complied and gathered in an empty space within the compound. None of them was carrying a gun. Women and children remained behind to milk animals. Some kraal members were still a sleep. All along, locals did not suspect they were in for a rude shock. They did not know that, more than 500 UPDF officers (Men and women) had surrounded their compound. Within the shortest time, one UPDF officer, from the old team, shot in the air. Something that shocked the men who had already sat down. The UPDF officers outside the compound shot back and there was total confusion in the village. It was well choreographed.

- All men who attempted to rise up were asked to lie down lest they risked to be shot. They did comply.
- The old and new UPDF officers joined hands in the operation and worked

The Turkana and Matheniko have common cultural ties. They have lived together and seem to understand each other better. The countries where pastoralist live have rules and regulations to be followed. Whether people are safe while following restrictions is a question that begs for answers. A long lasting solution needs to be found for peaceful coexistence as all aspire to promote their traditional livelihoods. It is true to say, some decisions may destroy the existing peace dividends achieved. There is still room to live in harmony.

Report prepared by:

Lokorikeju Titus Ekiru.
Sub County Administrator-Loima.

In the end we had many small meetings with communities in Turkana and Karamoja to validate the analysis. The people are already dealing with the events, they know that the research is true.

APRIL/MAY 2023 VALIDATION IN KARAMOJA

WHY DO HERDERS ARM THEMSELVES?

LC3, AMUDAT 12TH APRIL 2023

Until the government understands why people need to have guns, they will continue focusing on conflict, which is the wrong side to solve this insecurity. Even after the disarmament, theft did not stop. Arrows and eventually the gun re-emerged. Let us focus more on the criminal.

WOMAN ELDER, MOROTO

I was told the leaders in governments are wise, now I see it's different from what I was told. It has become so stupid that it's failing to unite people, instead it causes rifts between communities.

19TH MAY 2023

KRAAL LEADER, KALOSARICH DIALOGUE

Don't mistake me for a Turkana because of my dialect; I'm a Matheniko

11TH JULY 2023

who was practically raised in a community of Turkana, till yesterday when the government decided to send away my other family. Today I have come here to seek for peace for all including the Turkana. We are one, there is no need for divisionism.

PEACE COMMITTEE MEMBER, NAKAPIRIPIRI 2TH APRIL 2023

These governments we are talking about all the time cannot help us. Governments can't be trusted. We are not even certain about these governments, since they can be replaced or even overthrown at any time. Let us work together as communities for our common good.

LCV CHAIRMAN, MOROTO

These boundaries were brought upon us, we must have what God gave us, and these formal resource sharing agreements may further divide us.

12TH APRIL 2023

FROM WHAT ARE WE PROTECTING OURSELVES?

KRAAL LEADER, KOBEBE

Yes, we shall surrender our firearms to the government and operate in Uganda without guns, but how sure are we that this government will protect our lives and livestock from raiders?

15TH NOVEMBER 2022

YOUNG HERDSMAN, NAPAK

A gun is not the root cause of these conflicts; it's just a weapon for protecting my father's livestock, rather it's greed and quest for revenge.

11TH JULY 2023

KRAAL LEADER, KALOSARICH DIALOGUE

We had relative peace, sharing grasses and water until the soldiers attacked the kraals, throwing bombs randomly, displacing and killing everyone including livestock near Lokieriaut.

11TH JULY 2023

KRAAL LEADER, NAPUT

Men no longer sleep in homesteads for fear of being arrested by soldiers, and it's this that makes some to opt for cattle theft.

25TH APRIL 2023





Karamoja Development Forum hosted a dialogue at Moroto for political leaders. The LCV Chairperson and the Resident District Commissioner of Moroto welcomed leaders to the district. It was a frank meeting which considered realistic solutions. Here are some extracts from the meeting report.

MAY 2023 POLITICAL LEADERS MEETING

3RD DIVISION COMMANDER MAJOR GENERAL NAVASA

Karamoja is full of resources, and we have failed to harness them because we have failed to work together. Until we resolve our differences, the communities will still suffer. The security forces will work with both leaders and communities.

HON. PETER LOKERIS



Disarmament has not restored security. Disarmed communities are not

able to defend themselves. Politicians from Kenya should have a look at the policies, legal frameworks and justice systems surrounding firearms.

We must create peace for our people, and the ones who are stubborn shall be held accountable by the security forces.

ELDER RESEARCHER IMANA

Raids today have been commercialized. There were traditional systems of recovery in the past, but now the security agencies must be responsible for recovery. Traditional systems cannot deal with commercial raiding.

ELDER RESEARCHER SAGAL

Livestock theft is made worse by poor governance, inadequate security on both sides of the border and political interference. It's the women and young children who suffer the most.

YOUNG RESEARCHER CHARITY

Disarmament has driven a wedge between the security forces and herders. We feel unprotected. Each incident sets communities against each other. Peace meetings can't deal with the big crimes, it is for government to do that.

RESEARCH LEADER

It was a surprisingly frank conversation. It was agreed that security, weapons, traders and raiders are killing us, and it is only teamwork that will end it.

- Causes/Drivers of conflict**
1. Commercialized cattle rustling by the help of mobile technology, motorbikes, alliances and collaborations.
 2. Limited/irregular recovery of stolen animals and limited protection of lives and properties.
 3. Conflicting policies, legal frameworks and justice systems. Formal and informal

- Solutions to the drivers of conflict**
1. Strengthen security intelligence, market control, checkpoints and come up with livestock movement permits
 2. Establish livestock recovery and compensation mechanisms
 3. Harmonize and review policies and legal frameworks like branding of livestock and adherence of the penal codes.
 4. Provide alternative livelihood options
 5. Development of infrastructures like roads

A few days after the political leaders' meeting, we received copies of the President's Executive Order no.3. We realised it would stall the Resource Sharing Agreement - the pastoralists had taken one step forward and two steps back.

EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 3 OF 2023

WOMAN, LOTISAN KARAMOJA

The Executive Order is guided by one-sided information given to the President. In the spirit of the East African Community, we are one people, the *Ateker*, and the only devil spoiling us is the raiding and killing. For us, even before going to government, we should really be able to do something at our level. It should be the Karimojong saying, no, no, no, do not chase our brothers and sisters! And likewise, for the people of Turkana. Our leaders of *Ateker* should say, Mr President, this is too much. They should de-escalate the situation. The Executive Order gives powerful mandates to security forces. They have powers to do anything. But they should know that in law you are innocent until proven guilty.

EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 3 OF 2023

19th May, 2023

This Executive Order, issued under the powers given to the President by Article 99 (2) of the 1995 Constitution, will cover the Anti-cattle Rustling efforts in North and North-Eastern Uganda, the damage to the Environment by the charcoal business, the damage caused by the indisciplined nomads known as Balaalo, recasting the Uganda Police Force into a Uganda-wide Police instead of being a Kampala Police and the problem of the Turkana nomads.

UPDF COMMANDER

The dry spell is around the corner... It will not be possible for Turkana to access resources here if the Executive Order's conditions have not been met. We need to work around the clock to safeguard the community. This is what I took from the EO, and I will pursue it to the end. If there is no further executive communication, I will implement the Order. Unless the Ministries fast-track the Resource Sharing Agreement and agree it with the President, the EO will be implemented and the Turkana will be expelled.

- i. The Turkana must never come to Uganda with guns. Anybody who does so, must be arrested and charged with terrorism by a Court Martial.
- ii. The killers of the Geologists, must be handed over for trial for murder. The guns were handed back to the Government of Uganda, but not the killers. The alternative, the killers, with the co-ordination of the Governments of Kenya and Uganda, shall be *kukaraba* (blood-settlement — *mato-puf*), to families of the deceased. The price of the *kukaraba* cannot be the traditional one, of a few cows. It must be adjusted to the full value of what the deceased would have contributed in his/her life, which life was cut-short by those criminals.

RESEARCH LEADER

The Executive Order supersedes the Resource Sharing Agreement. It has higher statutory power. It is more powerful even than the 2019 MOU. A political process to rescind it would need to be escalated up to President Ruto and President Museveni. Meanwhile, the EO will not solve our problems. We need a framework within which pastoralists can have access to resources, security, and justice. The EO points to problems within military institutions, police, and justice, but it does not give clear directives on these problems.

- iv. I give the Turkana population, 6 months to implement my directives. If, however, the issue of the guns illegally entering Uganda, the hand-over of the criminals who killed our Geologists or the use of traditional justice and return of the stolen cattle, are not resolved, I will have no alternative but to expel all the Kenyan Turkanas and their cattle and they will never be allowed to re-enter Uganda with their cattle.


Yoweri R. Museveni
PRESIDENT



29 Turkana kraal leaders met at Lokiriama in Kenya on 6 & 7 May. They resolved to move their herds to other parts of Turkana, rather than going back to Uganda. Later the Turkana County Governor became involved in promoting the idea.



MAY 2023 REACTION IN TURKANA

We are terrified with what has been happening in Uganda since the issue of disarmament started. Many of our people have been injured, their properties destroyed, arrested, and even killed. When 32 young men were arrested and jailed for twenty years each by a Ugandan military court, the situation became worse in us. Elders, women, youth and even children are crying. It is a sad moment for Turkana people.

What mistake did Turkana commit that they were punished in this way? Turkana is dry. We have been chased from Uganda where we have depended for long. People are suffering from hunger, and residents of Urum are not able to help as there has been no rain.

Our government is slow in acting towards sensitive things and that is why our problems keep on growing. We are told the south and east of Turkana County has grass at places



like Aro, Lochakula, Nadome, Kailonkol, Napeitom, and Kapedo. If Pokot are grazing there, we will go and share with them. Many police reservists will have to be employed and given guns to protect us.

Why is Uganda mistreating us and our government is quiet? The researchers read us the Executive Order from Museveni. The letter tells us we

are no longer required in that country. If we are not going to take our animals to Uganda where they have been grazing for years, better you leave us to die. The Government of Kenya, especially the current one, has failed us terribly. We are in deep fear in our hearts, we have sleepless nights because of what has happened to our people in Uganda.



WHAT CAN PASTORALISTS DO?

Now it is good if all the community can take care of animals together, so when there is news of raids, all people can ask, why are you doing this? Those who disturb others are the ones who disturb everything. They don't have anything, so they disturb. They are making the land this way with their raids.

The stories we have heard from women, men, and young people, have affected all of us. We will call for policies that everyone knows and follows. We're thinking of an office run by pastoralists, with people from each community — Bokora, Jie, Turkana, Matheniko, Dodoth etc. When there are issues,

the people from that place know how the issues are arising. Issues of the pastoralists could be handled in that way.

We had this before! We had pastoralist leaders who came together for the animals. But then the leaders stopped listening to one another. They got diverted by running after the raided animals. They didn't focus on the institution that we need.

Pastoralist leaders have become older and weaker. They are not followed. The weakness comes from politics. The leaders are involved.

The office should deal with any issues related to pastoralists, not only raids. The representatives would be like

teachers, organising meetings, bringing awareness to people what they should be doing. Giving information to the government and NGOs.

The kraal leaders should form a network. The first to know about drought and animal disease is the herder. The herder reports to kraal leaders. Kraal leaders negotiate resource sharing with other kraal leaders. If they agree, they act. If they need further permissions, they go to the broader pastoralist association. If they need further help, they then can reach to government. Success will come if we all believe that any problem that comes has a solution within us.



We have not stopped our research, we cannot stop as it is our lives and our people. The kraal leaders on the research teams have been active in organising community meetings and meetings with government and the security agencies. The team members are all still engaged, and we will find resources to continue.

Karamoja-Turkana
Community Research 2023

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WHAT NEXT FOR THE COMMUNITY RESEARCH?

Pastoralists face serious insecurity and climate change. Even though we have known these things, our knowledge is now much deeper. If possible, we should go on to learn more and extend the learning to other pastoralists.

We are grateful. People were sleeping. We are grateful because we have learned and we will use the knowledge to speak to the rest of the pastoralists.

The work is good, we must continue. Our stomachs tell us we need peace.

We have learnt a lot of things, challenged ourselves and got to know that

it is us who can solve problems. If we continue, we can even solve the raids.

The way we did this research is good. We have been sleeping on our knowledge. Every challenge has a human being that causes it. Now we must take it up and let everyone know. There is the potential to solve our own problems. Labelling communities - this one raids, this one doesn't - such talk is useless. All we should say is what is right and true.

We know there is a lot to be done. We have not finished. People do not know their rights. People will be able to make sure their rights are kept to them, and they can follow the right

way to get the help they need. People asked us – you took this information from us, what are you going to bring us? Researchers take information and disappear. What makes us different is taking the learning back to our communities, being near them, not being like the others.

This research cannot work unless there is friendship and connection between us. The community-led methodology has been under way for less than a year. It has helped to lay the foundations of collaboration between communities, policy and security actors. It is clear-eyed, collaborative and it leads to action.



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Designer: Sylwia Pecio, Editors: Patta Scott-Villiers and Sarah Wilson, Photos: Researchers

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- A man is seen from behind, sitting on a wooden stool. He is wearing a black hat with red, orange, and green stripes, a tan jacket, and a green and black striped wrap around his waist. He is wearing sandals. In the background, there is a herd of cattle grazing in a field under a cloudy sky. A yellow sticky note is overlaid on the right side of the image.
- Report about insecurity in Karamoja-Turkana borderland.
 - Record of community research, analysis of the problem, and solutions.
 - Community members wrote the narrative and took all the photographs.
 - Communities plan to use it in dialogues with government, NGOs, and others.