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APPLIED POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS FOR THE KARAMOJA CLUSTER

FOR THE USAID-FUNDED CROSS-BORDER COMMUNITY RESILIENCE ACTIVITY



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DISCLAIMER

This report was produced at the request of the Cross-Border Community Resilience (CBCR) Activity funded by United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The report was prepared independently by the Agency for Cross Border Pastoralist Development (APaD). The views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the views of the USAID or the United States Government.

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ACRONYMS	iv
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	v
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 METHODOLOGY	5
2.1 Applied Political Economy Analysis Framework	5
2.2 Approach, Tools, and Techniques	5
2.3 Data analysis.....	6
2.4 Ethics.....	7
2.5 Limitations	7
3 FINDINGS	8
3.1 The socio-economic and political context of the Karamoja cluster	8
3.2 Mapping key actors and institutions in the implementation of the CBCR Activity	14
3.2.1 Facilitators in the implementation of the Activity	15
3.2.2 Disruptors in the implementation of the Activity	26
3.3 Controversial Issues in decision making and implementation of planned activities.....	30
3.3.1 High level sponsorship of cattle rustling.....	30
3.3.2 Proliferation of small arms and light weapons	32
3.3.3 Strong cultural beliefs and practices.....	33
3.3.4 Prolonged and unresolved border disputes.....	35
3.4 Implications of socio-economic and political conflicts for the CBCR Activity	36
3.4.1 Challenges and opportunities for conflict-sensitive programming.	36
3.4.2 Windows of opportunity towards achieving the objectives of the activity....	40
4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	42
4.1 Conclusions.....	42
4.2 Recommendations	43
5 ANNEXES	45
ANNEX I: Terms of Reference	45
ANNEX II: Key Informant Interview Guide and Focused Group Discussion Guides.....	46
ANNEX III: List of Interview Participants.....	47
ANNEX IV. List of Documents Consulted.	48

ACRONYMS

APaD	Agency for Cross Border Pastoralist Development
APEA	Applied Political Economy Analysis
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CBCR	Cross-Border Community Resilience
DISO	District Internal Security Officer
DRM&FS	Disaster Risk Management and Food Security
EAC	East African Community
ENDF	Ethiopia National Defence Forces
ERCA	Ethiopia Revenue and Customs Authority
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GESI	Gender Equality and Social Inclusion
ICPDO	Integrated Community Peace and Development Organization
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
KII	Key Informant Interview
KRA	Kenya Revenue Authority
LDO	Local Development Organizations
MCA	Member of County Assembly
NRA	National Revenue Authority (South Sudan)
NUSAF	Northern Uganda Social Action Fund
ODR&FS	Office of Disaster Risk Management and Food Security
OPRD	Organisation for Peace Relief and Development
QA	Quality Assurance
RDC	Resident District Commissioner
SC	Sub County
SO4CM	South Omo for Christ Ministry
TW-SC	Turkana West Sub County
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
URA	Uganda Revenue Authority
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WP-SC	West Pokot Sub County

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings of the Applied Political Economy Analysis (APEA) for the Karamoja cross-border cluster that comprises Turkana and West Pokot counties in Kenya, Amudat, Moroto, Kotido and Kaabong districts in Uganda, Budi, Kapoeta East, Kapoeta North and Kapoeta South counties in South Sudan and Kangaten and Dassanech *woredas* (districts) in the South Omo Zone in Ethiopia. The overall aim of the APEA was to support the Cross-Border Community Resilience Activity (CBCR) in understanding a) the context in which it will operate (or thinking politically), and b) how to navigate risks and take advantage of the opportunities within the context to achieve Activity objectives and results (or working politically). On this note, the APEA particularly aimed to identify 1) facilitators and disruptors in the implementation of activities, 2) the most controversial issues / topics (within the scope of the project) in decision making and in the implementation of planned activities, 3) windows of opportunity for the project to have an impact on decision-making and implementation. Additionally, the APEA considers how the CBCR Activity will interact with the socio-economic and political conflicts in the Karamoja cross-border cluster, and the existing challenges and opportunities for conflict-sensitive programming.

The study was guided by the United States Agency for International Development's (USAID) Applied Political Economy Analysis (APEA) Framework, together with Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) considerations in its inception, design, and implementation. Moreover, a systematic review of secondary literature was conducted to map and understand the study context. This was followed by the collection of primary data in the study locations of West Pokot and Turkana in Kenya, Amudat, Moroto, Kotido and Kaabong districts in Uganda, Kapoeta East and Kapoeta South in South Sudan, and Nyangatom and Dasenech *woredas* in the South Omo zone in Ethiopia between 1st and 9th February 2023. Data collection was conducted concurrently in all the study locations across the four countries. Primary data was collected through key informant interviews (KIIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs) with purposively sampled stakeholders across the Karamoja cross-border cluster. A total of 160 KIIs and 24 FGDs were conducted with 240 participants.

The data collected was analyzed and triangulated to inform the findings. Following the field assessment, a stakeholder validation meeting was held on 20th of March 2023 at Ateker Hotel in Lodwar town, Turkana County, Kenya.

Key Findings and Conclusions

The analysis identified individuals, institutions and conditions that would facilitate or disrupt the implementation of the CBCR Activity. The most controversial issues as well as windows of opportunity that the project could leverage are also highlighted below.

The facilitators in the implementation of activities include:

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs): These play a critical role in providing financial and technical assistance to support development initiatives in various parts of the cluster. They also provide various services, such as in health, nutrition, water sanitation and hygiene (WASH), agriculture, peacebuilding and conflict resolution, livelihoods, and education, among others. In Turkana County, these include Acme Development Organization, Agency for Cross Border Pastoralists Development (APaD), Lotus Kenya Action for Development Organization, Diocese of Lodwar, Sustainable Approaches for Community Empowerment, and Lokichoggio Peace Organization. For West Pokot County, SIKOM Peace Network for Development and I Rep Foundation are among the prominent NGOs. In the Karamoja sub-region, the Karamoja Peace and Development Agency, the Dodoth Agro-pastoralists Development organization, Caritas Kotido, and the Karamoja Agro-pastoralists Development

Programme are some of the most active. In Kapoeta East and Kapoeta South, the Organization for Peace and Relief and Development, Ateker Foundation and Integrated Community Peace and Development Organization. Among the Nyangatom and the Daasanach communities in Ethiopia, prominent organizations included the International Committee for the Red-Cross (ICRC), Initiative for Pastoralists Communication and People in Need.

Private sector: Private institutions, such as banks and telecommunications companies, are key facilitators in implementing the CBCR Activity. They bring resources, expertise, and networks that support local communities. Banks provide funding and banking solutions, while telecom companies offer communication infrastructure and connectivity for mobile money transfers and internet access. For example, Safaricom and Airtel Kenya in Turkana and West Pokot counties, MTN in Kapoeta (South Sudan), and Ethiotelcom in Nyangatom and Dasenech areas play vital roles in providing financial services and connectivity to promote financial inclusion and communication.

Religious institutions: The Church is viewed as a dependable and trustworthy institution by communities across the cluster. For example, in Amudat district (Uganda), the Catholic church has initiated programs aimed at empowering the communities living in the region. Religious institutions in Ethiopia have been involved in an array of community-based development activities. Among these are the Ethiopian Catholic church that has been involved in climate change mitigation activities, including in the South Omo zone. In Turkana and West Pokot counties, the Catholic church, the Africa Inland Church (AIC), the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK), and the Lutheran church are involved in the provision of education, peacebuilding, healthcare, and social services to communities' in the counties.

Women organizations: They play a crucial role as peacekeepers and as champions of development in the Karamoja cluster. Women have been instrumental in the implementation of projects that are geared towards empowering their communities. For example, through the Karamoja Women Umbrella Organization (KAWUO), women in Moroto district have had access to justice, economic empowerment, among others. In the Kapoeta region of South Sudan, women are supported by the National Women of Positive Women United through gardening, handicrafts and other income generating activities. Despite facing numerous challenges such as gender-based violence, limited access to education, and cultural barriers, women have formed powerful alliances and established "women peace forums" that have played a crucial role in promoting peace and harmony within their communities.

Youth: They are promoters of social reconciliation and are agents of change and development in their respective communities. In Kaabong district of Uganda, the youth are influential and hold a lot of say on social issues especially around security. Among the Daasanach of Ethiopia, the youth play a key role in civic education. In Kapoeta South in South Sudan, the youth are similarly involved in community development projects through forums that encourage interaction and sharing of ideas. Similarly, in Turkana County, the youth are seen as the main drivers of economic activities as they run the markets and transport activities.

Media: The media has effectively acted as an agenda setter, shaping discussions, and influencing public opinion on key issues within society. The Karamoja of Uganda have a rich cultural heritage, and the *Etoil A'karamoja* radio plays an important role in preserving and promoting their traditions. Similarly, in Turkana and West Pokot counties, local vernacular radios have become an essential tool for addressing pressing social issues in the communities. Similarly, Jinka radio reaches the Daasanach and Nyangotom language speakers as some of the 16 languages in which it broadcast. Singaita and Emmanuel FM are the two most popular radio stations in the greater Kapoeta broadcasting in both

Ngatoposa and Arabic languages with programmes aimed at empowering the community in different sectors.

Government (National and Sub-national): Government is a key actor whose actions significantly impact the implementation of project activities. In the cluster, there exists two levels of governance; the national and devolved/decentralized units. The national governments are responsible for formulating and implementing policies, maintaining security, managing foreign affairs, overseeing economic planning, providing public services, collecting taxes, and ensuring compliance with laws. At the local level, the units implement and manage policies, provide public service, manage infrastructure, collect taxes, promote economic development, addresses local issues, and collaborate with other levels of government for effective governance. In Uganda, districts in the Karamoja region are considered marginalized and affirmative action is applied in development programs by the national government. In Kenya, the county governments play a key role in development at the devolved units. In Ethiopia, the national government actively engages with neighboring countries for cross-border activities, facilitating cooperation and coordination. In South Sudan, administrative and institutional development are seen as crucial for effective project management, law enforcement, infrastructure development, and human capital improvement.

Regional bodies: Regional bodies such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the Africa Union Border Programme (AUBP) play a significant role in implementing the CBCR Activity. With the UN system under strain, regional organizations have taken on more responsibility for conflict prevention and peacekeeping. IGAD, comprising eight Eastern African countries, has been actively involved in peacebuilding in the region. The AUBP, established in 2007, aims to promote peace and stability through border delimitation, cross-border cooperation, and capacity building. These bodies facilitate the resolution of border disputes and foster regional integration, ultimately contributing to peace, security, and unity.

Politicians: There was a broad agreement in the cluster that politicians play a crucial role in determining the social development environment either as facilitators or disruptors, and that their actions can have a big influence on both households and communities. Politicians prioritize policies and institutional changes that serve their current needs, such as negotiating with other powerful stakeholders or designing intergovernmental relations to maintain centralized control, over optimizing service delivery.

Traditional authorities: As gatekeepers in the community, traditional leaders play a major role in decision making which may positively affect project implementation. As such, the *kraal*¹ leaders among the Turkana play a key role in controlling overgrazing and encouraging peace between community members. In the Omo Zone, these authorities work in conjunction with the national government representatives at the *woreda* level in planning and execution of government plans. Traditional leaders in the Karamoja region are passionate about peace and have been instrumental in peacebuilding activities within and across the borders. Similarly, elders in Kapoeta regions of South Sudan play an important role in resolving communal issues, giving amicable solutions and verdicts over disagreements thus maintaining law and order.

In addition to examining the facilitators to the CBCR, the study identified several potential disruptors that could impact the implementation of activities in the Karamoja cluster. These disruptors

¹ *Kraal* is a rural African village consisting of several homesteads and families under the immediate rule of a headman responsible for the conduct of the members.

encompass a range of factors and actors that may pose challenges to the successful execution of the CBCR activity. These include:

Natural calamities: the increasing frequency of natural catastrophic events has raised challenges for inhabitants in the cluster. Communities bear the brunt of these disasters, including drought, flooding, and locusts. Severe weather changes damage infrastructure and vulnerable communities, exacerbating food shortages, as seen in Turkana, West Pokot, the Karamoja sub-region of Uganda and the Kapoeta of South Sudan. Locust invasions were also reported across the region.

Unfavorable government policies: The success of the CBCR Activity depends on policies set by national and subnational governments, which can be complex and uncertain. Unclear issues and interdependencies make it difficult to develop effective strategies. In the Karamoja sub-region of Uganda, pastoralist communities feel neglected, and policies have marginalized them. Corruption and government inefficiency disrupt service provision in Kapoeta, South Sudan while poor coordination and limited civil society capacity hinder development in South Omo Zone. Equally, county government cess regimes in Turkana and West Pokot counties limit opportunities for the cross-border communities.

Abuse of social media and technology: In Turkana and West Pokot, the influence of mobile phones and social media on youth involved in cattle rustling is a concern, with new dynamics of technology and collaboration among bandits across communities. Additionally, the use of technology like Google Maps has exacerbated border conflicts between ethnic groups, as territorial boundaries depicted online have been modified. Improved technology, while enhancing communication, can also contribute to criminal activities, such as coordination among raiders in Uganda's Moroto district.

Youth warriors: The perceived lack of attention to their needs by their respective governments and cultural expectations can hinder the participation of this energetic social group. In greater Kapoeta, the Toposa youth contribute to conflict through armed groups, while in Turkana, some youth collaborate with politicians to conduct cattle raids and undermine development efforts. Their objective being the obstruction of any development initiatives that do not serve their personal interests. The youth in Kangaten, Ethiopia, instigate conflicts based on cultural traditions. Similarly, in Karamoja sub-region, raiders and destructive youth hamper progress and development by damaging social infrastructure. To harness the positive potential of youth, their needs must be addressed, and their participation guided by ethical leadership.

Politicians: Politicians in the region are recognized as influential figures who can disrupt social development. It was noted that politicians often prioritize their own needs, such as securing power and economic benefits, over optimizing service delivery. In some areas, politicians are seen as controlling resources and using them to manipulate people during times of drought.

These disruptors can have significant impacts on the costs, timelines, outcomes, and sustainability of any project or initiative.

It is also critical to consider the most controversial issues and their impact on decision making and implementation of the CBCR Activity in the Karamoja cluster. The most controversial issues identified include:

High level sponsorship of cattle rustling - Cattle rustling in the Karamoja cluster is a multifaceted issue, with increased raids and the ease of acquiring weapons through political patronage posing a significant threat to the livelihoods and safety of inhabitants and visitors alike. Ultimately, the practice leads to

protracted conflicts that have taken on an economic and political perspective. The cross-border communities in the Karamoja cluster claim that powerful individuals financially back livestock theft.

Proliferation of small arms and light weapons - The civil wars in Ethiopia and unpredictable wars in South Sudan and Ethiopia have rendered the corridor a free market for small arms and light weapons. Due to access to these weapons, the intensities of violent conflicts have increased among these pastoralists year in year out. Governments' efforts to disarm these communities have failed to some extent. The region's borders with Kenya and South Sudan remain porous, resulting in a constant flow of people, livestock, and small weapons. Insecurity in the region is caused by the illegal possession of firearms, which are rumoured to be supplied by the Turkana. The porous borders aid the supply of illegal guns.

Strong cultural beliefs - Cultural beliefs have far-reaching effects on the social and economic lives of individuals and communities in many parts of the Karamoja cluster. The belief that cattle exclusively belong to specific ethnic groups is widespread, perpetuating a sense of ownership and identity. In some communities, only men of a certain age group are allowed to make development decisions, marginalizing women, and reinforcing gender inequality. The prohibition of women from engaging in any meaningful economic activity apart from watering livestock in the *kraal* set up further limits their economic opportunities and perpetuates dependency. Cultural issues such as child marriage and female genital mutilation (FGM) that are rampant in Kopolio and Nakuyen locations in West Pokot County remain major concerns.

Prolonged and unresolved border disputes - The Kenya-South Sudan border conflict appears to have grown more complex in recent times, with its roots in 1963, when Kenya laid claim to the Ilemi triangle. Additionally, Nadapal, a fertile arable land situated between Kenya and South Sudan, has become a point of contention between the Toposa and the Turkana. The dispute has drawn the involvement of politicians from both sides as well as the two national governments. Internally, nations that occupy the region have also seen border disputes between communities in their own territories.

In addition, the implementation of the CBCR Activity in the Karamoja cluster may be confronted with various challenges associated with socio-economic and political conflicts that are prevalent across the cluster. Conflict-sensitive programming encounters obstacles such as the precariousness of pastoralist livelihoods, resource scarcity leading to competition, restricted access, low levels of literacy, and trust-related concerns. The implementation of the Activity is likely to interact with natural resource conflicts including cattle raids, conflict over water and pasture and political conflicts and conflicts over contested boundaries. Communication becomes difficult due to poor road conditions and unreliable telecommunication networks, making it challenging to reach the target populations. Trust issues arise as community members rely more on traditional and informal sources of information, leading to resistance towards new initiatives.

Whereas the protracted nature of these conflicts and their increasing intensity (due to proliferation of small arms and weapons and high-level sponsorship) pose significant challenges for conflict sensitive programming, opportunities exist to these ends. Some of the opportunities are brought about by peace agreements and interventions by stakeholders have played a significant role in promoting peaceful coexistence among communities, and initiatives like alternative basic education programs have aimed to uplift marginalized children. Effective management of shared resources, such as the Kobebe dam in Uganda, has helped mitigate conflicts and provide relief during droughts. Improving road networks, accessing social services, and advocating for disadvantaged sectors are crucial for opening the region and addressing development challenges. *Strengthen conflict-sensitive programming could include addressing the vulnerability of pastoralist livelihoods, promoting resource management, and addressing*

competition for scarce resources. The CBCR should support initiatives that promote sustainable grazing practices and water resource management, and incorporate conflict resolution mechanisms, fostering dialogue among communities, and promoting peaceful coexistence.

The study identified windows of opportunity that would be specific towards achieving objectives of the Activity. The issues identified and which could be explored are mindset change and involvement of government actors in promoting long-term resilience and prosperity in the Karamoja cluster. The communities in the Karamoja cluster need a mindset change to diversify livelihoods beyond livestock dependency and minimize wastage during cultural celebrations. Active inclusion of government actors at all levels is crucial for effective development activities and addressing security concerns. Resolving security issues and providing socio-economic services would reduce reliance on humanitarian aid.

Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions of the analysis, the report makes the following recommendations.

Engage Key Actors: Identify and engage key actors and organizations that can facilitate the implementation of the CBCR Activity. This includes CSOs, NGOs, religious institutions, women, youth, media, government institutions, politicians, and traditional authorities. Collaboration with these actors can help in fostering inclusive decision-making processes and building consensus.

Address Controversial Issues: Consider the controversial issues that could arise in decision-making and implementation. These include high-level sponsorship of cattle rustling, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, strong cultural beliefs, and prolonged border disputes. Develop strategies to address these issues through community engagement, awareness campaigns, and promoting alternative livelihood options.

Strengthen partnerships with NGOs and religious institutions: This is important to enhance the execution and impact of the CBCR Activity. Collaborate closely with NGOs, leveraging their expertise, networks, and resources through joint planning and capacity building initiatives. Engage and collaborate with religious institutions to promote peacebuilding, social change, and development initiatives, tapping into their networks, resources, and community outreach that at times has cross border presence. This can include joint planning, resource sharing, and capacity building initiatives.

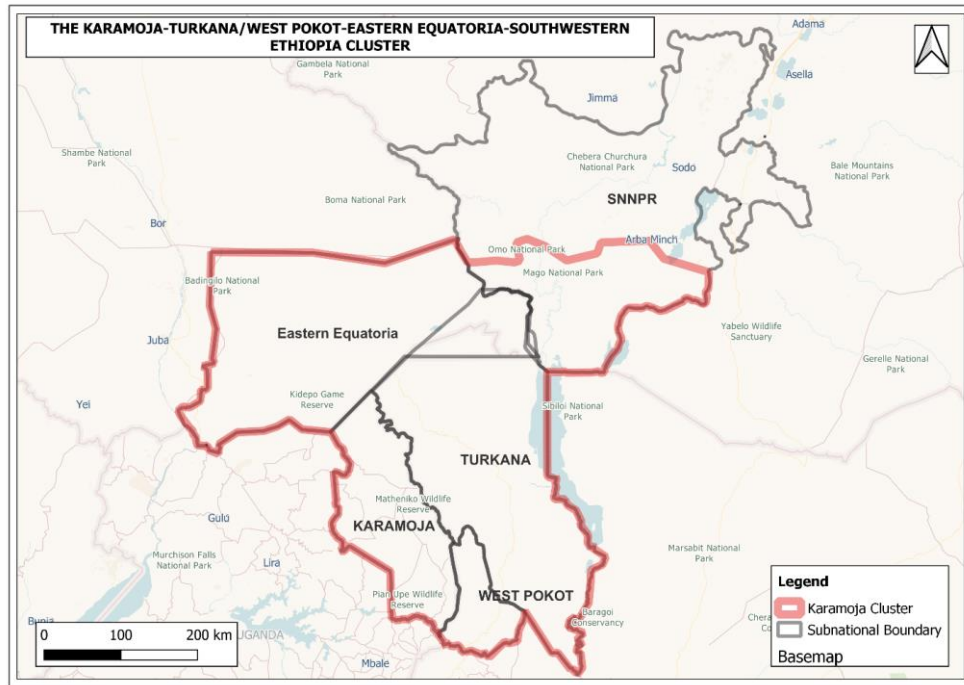
Strengthening the local governance, peace, and security systems for pursuance of human rights principles in peace and development initiatives. The CBCR Activity should focus on capacity building by providing training and support to enhance the knowledge and skills of local governance structures, including authorities and community leaders, in conflict resolution, human rights, and peacebuilding. This could involve training in mediation, negotiation, dialogue facilitation, and conflict-sensitive development.

Develop well-designed, contextualized, and focused youth and women empowerment programs for cross border communities. Provide platforms for youth engagement and participation, such as youth forums, mentorship programs, and leadership opportunities. Foster an inclusive environment where the voices and perspectives of youth are heard and valued. Provide training, resources, and opportunities for women to engage in income-generating activities, peacebuilding initiatives, and community development projects.

I INTRODUCTION

The borderlands of the East African countries of Kenya, Ethiopia, South Sudan, and Uganda form the expansive Karamoja cluster. The cluster covers approximately 8,382 kilometers that stretches from the northeast of Uganda to northwest of Kenya, southeast of South Sudan and southwest of Ethiopia.² Administratively, the Karamoja cluster includes West Pokot and Turkana counties in Kenya; Amudat, Moroto, Kotido and Kaabong districts in Uganda; Budi, Kapoeta East, Kapoeta South and Kapoeta North counties in the Eastern Equatorial state in South Sudan, and South Omo zone in Ethiopia.

Figure 1.1: Map of the Karamoja cluster-Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia borders



Source: Chilambe, et.al.³

The Karamoja cross-border cluster is inhabited by diverse ethnic groups that are ethnically related and form the larger Ateker speakers. In Uganda, they include the Matheniko, the Bokora, the Pian, the Jie, and the Dodoth. Other (non-Ateker Cluster) communities who call Karamoja home include the Tepeth, the Pokot, the Labwor, the Nyakwai, the Ik and the Mening.⁴ In Kenya we have in West Pokot and Turkana counties the Pokot and Turkana ethnic groups, respectively, while in Ethiopia's Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR), the Nyangatom and Daasanach can be found. In South Sudan's Eastern Equatorial State, the Ateker speakers closer to the border include the Toposa, the Jiye, the Buya, the Didinga, and the Nyangatom.⁵

² Intergovernmental Authority on Development, 'Mapping actors in Karamoja cluster,' December 2009, <https://resilience.igad.int/resource/mapping-of-actors-in-karamoja-cluster-july-december-2019/> (accessed 18 June 2023).

³ Pedro Chilambe, Telvin Denje, Shadrack Arum, Shalika Vyas, Dorcas Jalango, David Awola, Evan Girvetz and George Wamukoya, 'Situational Analysis of the Karamoja-Turkana/West Pokot-Easter Equatoria Cluster,' CGIAR Initiative on Climate Resilience, 2022, <https://hdl.handle.net/10568/128661> (accessed 15 June 2023).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

The cluster's ethnic groups have often been marginalized and discriminated against by their respective governments and are among the poorest.⁶ This is partly due to the fact that the areas are considered by government officials to be difficult to work in. Civil servants often call them “punishment stations” or “hardship areas”.⁷ The primary means of subsistence in the region is pastoralism, indicating that the number of cattle in the area exceeds the human population by a factor of two, and the number of goats exceeds the human population by almost fourfold.⁸ Cattle rustling has long been a practice to acquire and redistribute wealth throughout their society. It also serves as a form of insurance for the regional ecological uncertainty.⁹ Raiding is deeply embedded in the culture of the broader region and is a part of people's political identity. Poverty and illiteracy are a common feature in the cluster. This marginalization is also due to the fact that until recently, the development theory and practice were mainly designed for sedentary peoples and the same do not work in nomadic settings/lands where different approaches are needed. Prevailing development has been top-down and has therefore failed to address the real needs of the people.¹⁰ In the recent past, decentralized governance in Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, and South Sudan have shown a positive difference in the focus on the cluster's basic needs.

Moreover, the Karamoja borderlands are situated in arid and semi-arid lands that are vulnerable to climate change shocks. These are manifested in the form of desertification and deteriorating rangelands with the obvious consequences being severe droughts and famine.¹¹ The droughts occur because of prolonged dry spells and when it rains, which is rare, the consequences are flash floods.

During the drought periods, water and pasture is scarce and the communities are forced to either engage in organized sharing protocols to avoid conflict or engage in conflicts which flare up frequently.¹² In such periods, the communities out of necessity engage stakeholders especially government administrations on either side of the border or do so at the instigation of development partners to establish and enforce agreements.¹³

While the communities in the Karamoja cross-border cluster mainly practice nomadic pastoralism, some others, especially the Nyangatom, engage in agro-pastoralism. The latter is a dual subsistence strategy that attempts to balance the risks associated with livestock and agrarian activities.¹⁴

⁶ Organization of African Unity, ‘Karamojong Cluster Harmonization Meeting’, 1999, <https://fic.tufts.edu/wp-content/uploads/AU-IBAR-Lodwar-Meeting.pdf> (accessed 10 June 2023).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Planetary Security Initiative, ‘Climate Security Practice Spotlight – Cross Border Cooperation in the Greater Karamoja Cluster’, Clingendael, 2021, <https://www.planetarysecurityinitiative.org/news/climate-security-practice-spotlight-cross-border-cooperation-greater-karamoja-cluster> (accessed 10 June 2023).

⁹ Dylan Hendrickson, Jeremy Armon, and Mearns, ‘The Changing Nature of Conflict and Famine Vulnerability: The Case of Livestock Raiding in Turkana District, Kenya’, *Disasters* 22 (3) (1998): 185–99, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7717.00086>.

¹⁰ Organization of African Unity, *supra* n 6.

¹¹ Intergovernmental Authority on Development, ‘IGAD Cluster I (Karamoja Cluster)’, 2019, <https://resilience.igad.int/clusters/igad-cluster-1-karamoja-cluster/> (accessed 4 June 2023).

¹² Anne Gakuria, ‘Natural Resource Based Conflict Among Pastoralist Communities in Kenya’ (MA Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2013).

¹³ Simon Simonse, ‘Human Security in the Borderlands of Sudan, Uganda and Kenya,’ Pax Christi, 2011, <https://paxforpeace.nl/media/download/human-security-in-the-borderlands-of-sudan-uganda-and-kenya.pdf> (accessed 15 May 2023).

¹⁴ John Burns, Gezu Bekele, and Darlington Akabwai, ‘Livelihood Dynamics in Northern Karamoja: A Participatory Baseline Study for the Growth Health and Governance Program,’ Tufts University, 2013, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/257815982_LIVELIHOOD_DYNAMICS_IN_NORTHERN_KARAMOJA_A_Participatory_Baseline_Study_for_the_Growth_Health_and_Governance_Program.

Agro-pastoralism is most likely to be successful in areas with access to fertile land and better rainfall. For many, engaging in diversified livelihoods while simultaneously making heavy investments in livestock-based livelihoods has proven to be the most stable and effective livelihood strategy in the region.¹⁵ Pastoral and agro-pastoral livelihoods require mobility to access grazing lands, water, and other resources, hence, mobility is important for their survival, including the occasional crossing of international borders.¹⁶

There is a need for the understanding of key political nuances and players that influence the trajectory of the communities within the Karamoja cluster, if interventions such as the Cross-Border Community Resilience (CBCR) Activity are to have an impact. Hence, this Applied Political Economy Analysis (APEA) was designed as part of the CBCR's knowledge products that contribute to the Activity's technical evidence base and support its implementation. The overall aim of the APEA is to support the CBCR in a) understanding the context in which the Activity will operate (or thinking politically), and b) understanding how to navigate the risks and take advantage of the opportunities within the context to achieve Activity objectives and results (or working politically).

The key findings indicate that several facilitators could contribute to the successful implementation of activities, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), religious institutions, women, youth, media, government institutions, politicians, and traditional authorities. On the other hand, disruptors that could affect the CBCR Activity were identified as natural calamities, politicians, unfavourable government policies, abuse of social media and technology, and youth warriors. The report also highlights some controversial issues across the cluster, such as high-level sponsorship of cattle rustling, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, strong cultural beliefs, and prolonged border disputes. The report also discusses how the Activity is likely to interact with socio-economic and political conflicts, which present both obstacles and opportunities for conflict sensitive programming.

Based on these findings, the report provides several recommendations. The recommendations revolve around consulting with facilitators in planning and implementation, developing mitigation strategies for each disruptor, ensuring balanced community involvement, promoting inclusive development and management of shared resources, strengthening local governance and peace systems, extending gender-responsive service delivery, and designing targeted youth and women empowerment programs.

This report is structured into several sections. This introduction is followed by a methodology section that encompasses the applied political economy analysis framework, approach, tools, and techniques utilized in data collection and analysis. Next is the presentation of findings, which begins with a summary of the political and socioeconomic background of the Karamoja cluster. A mapping of the major actors—both facilitators and disruptors—who may be involved in the Activity's implementation is then presented. The controversial issues regarding decision-making in the implementation of the activity are also discussed, followed by opportunities and challenges for conflict-sensitive programming that delves into the implications of socioeconomic and political conflicts for the CBCR activities. The report also looks at the

¹⁵ Frank Ellis and Edward Allison, 'Livelihood Diversification and Natural Resource Access,' Overseas Development Group, 2004, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254669462_Livelihood_Diversification_and_Natural_Resource_Areas (accessed 17 June 2023).

¹⁶ Sebastien Lambroschini and Hassan Hulufu, 'Draft Good Practice Principles for Cross Border Programming in the Drylands of the Horn of Africa', 2011, https://www.preventionweb.net/files/21105_goodpracticeprinciplesoncrossborder.pdf (accessed 10 June 2023).

windows of opportunity that will allow for achieving the objectives of the Activity. The conclusion and recommendations are provided at the end of the report.

2 METHODOLOGY

This study is guided by the United States Agency for International Development’s (USAID) Applied Political Economy Analysis (APEA) framework.¹⁷ The study also employed Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) considerations in its inception, design, and implementation. Thus, the study identifies barriers from a gendered angle, avoids reinforcing exclusionary power relations and the analysis is differentiated by sex and ethnicity ensuring that the findings and recommendations are GESI-sensitive. The study’s approach is mainly qualitative, which includes the collection of primary data through key informative interviews (KIIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs), and a review of secondary literature.

2.1 Applied Political Economy Analysis Framework

USAID’s APEA is a structured approach that helps with examining power dynamics and economic and social forces that influence development. Through programming that seeks to respond and adapt to these realities, USAID works to improve the effectiveness and sustainability of its international development efforts more rigorously. Thus, a PEA can help to operationalize the process of thinking politically, while the USAID’s initiative on collaborating, learning and adapting (CLA), supports the operationalization of working politically. The APEA analyses foundational factors, rules of the game, “Here and Now” and Dynamics as explained below.

Structural Factors: These are the sub-national, national, and international structures deeply rooted in the long term. They tend to be fixed such as geography, borders with countries that have conflicts, endowments of natural resources and socio-economic class structures.

Rules of the Game: These are the formal and informal rules and norms that determine the quality of the governance system and influence. Legal and formal constitutional frameworks, and informal frameworks. Norms, social and cultural traditions that guide behavior in practice and to what extent the state, civil society and private sector institutions operate according to known rules.

“Here and now”: This refers to how current events and circumstances influence the objectives and behavior of key stakeholders, and how they respond to opportunities or impediments to change. This could include leadership changes, scandals, or natural disasters.

Dynamics: These are dynamics and interactions between fundamental factors, rules of the game and here and now. How do they affect each other and how do they influence or shape the prospects for change?

2.2 Approach, Tools, and Techniques

A systematic review of secondary literature was conducted to map and understand the study context. The literature reviewed included reports from governmental and non-governmental organizations, journal articles, books, media, and online sources. This was followed by the collection of primary data in the study locations of West Pokot and Turkana in Kenya, the districts of Amudat, Moroto, Kotido and Kaabong in Uganda; Kapoeta East and Kapoeta South in South Sudan and Nyangatom and Dasenech *woredas* in the

¹⁷ United States Agency for International Development, ‘Applied PEA Framework: Guidance on Questions for Analysis at the Country, Sector and Issue/Problem Levels’, 2023, https://usaidlearninglab.org/sites/default/files/resource/files/applied_pea_framework.pdf.

South Omo) zone in Ethiopia between 1st and 9th February 2023. The study conducted a total of 24 Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) and 160 key informant interviews (KIIs) across the cluster.

Prior to the start of data collection in all the study locations, the research team held introduction or entry meetings with the respective leadership in the offices of County Commissioners, Resident District Commissioners, *woreda* administrators and County Secretaries. The meetings were useful in introducing the planned research, agreeing on the scope, outlining the ethical considerations and support requirements. The country level entry meetings were held between 30th January and 1st February 2023.

Data collection was conducted concurrently in all the study locations across the four countries. The research team and the research assistants (RAs) conducted the interviews using guides and the responses from the participants were recorded in voice recorders or taken as notes which were eventually translated, transcribed, typed, and submitted as field notes and data sets. The research support team monitored and verified the incoming data to ensure a high degree of quality and undertook necessary research adaptation and modification to improve the data collection in collaboration with the RAs in the field.

Primary data was collected through KIIs and FGDs with purposively sampled stakeholders across the Karamoja cross-border cluster. The sampling strategy was purposive since the target groups had a diverse background in terms of either interest or level of marginalization. The criteria of their selection were the inclusion of the respective groups and the kind of specific information they were to contribute to the research questions. Each individual or officer(s) was contacted as a key informant or as a team (FGD) to acquire diverse information. As such, key informants and FGD participants were diverse and included political players (elected representatives), religious representatives, persons with disability (PWDs), businesspeople, youth, and women.

The primary data collected from the KIIs and FGDs was useful in obtaining firsthand information on the issues under study. The data collected was analyzed and triangulated to determine the existing relationships and differences in their presentation of findings. Following the field assessment, a stakeholder validation meeting was held on 20th March 2023 at Ateker hotel in Lodwar town in Turkana County (Kenya) to share and validate the findings. The validation meeting participants included the civil society, relevant government ministry representatives and key community leaders who participated in the research. Feedback from the participants was used to enrich the report's findings.

2.3 Data analysis

The research data was cleaned to ensure quality before being uploaded to the excel data sets for analysis. All recordings were transcribed to form texts and typed into field notes in MS word. Processing of data entailed review of transcripts to delineate aspects directly relevant to the study objectives and preparing a compilation showing the major key issues of investigation against the classification. Analysis also involved review of data for each specific issue of investigation to extract key quotations, insights, explanations, and interpretations, and using the extracted responses to draw inferences, make arguments and draw conclusions.

2.4 Ethics

The research team adhered to the research protocols and the requirements of the ethical consent. Prior to conducting KIIs and FGDs, informed consent was obtained from all individuals aged 18 and above. Each FGD lasted approximately one and a half hours. All research data was anonymized to preserve the privacy of research participants.

2.5 Limitations

The Pope's visit to Juba, South Sudan between 3rd to 5th of February 2023 coincided with the research activity in Kapoeta South and Kapoeta East. This made access and interviews with the key government officials not to take place. However, most of the junior government officials were accessed, in addition to other professionals within the respective fields, making the research reach its target officials and planned numbers. Due to an internal security escalation between the communities residing in Natinga Payam, one of the designated locations for FGD sessions, the visits to the area had to be canceled. However, the research team managed to establish contact with the community members who had relocated to Narus and conducted the sessions successfully from there.

In the Ethiopian SNNPR, the Daasanach community and parts of Nyangatom community within the Dasenech and Nyangatom *woredas*, there was a regional referendum on the formation of new sub regions. Some of the national officials who were participating in the referendum could not be reached directly. The research team did manage to access their respective junior officials for interviews, thus reaching the planned targets with the SNNPR. The presence of armed youth in Dasenech posed a significant challenge in reaching certain respondents, prompting the research team to relocate the interviews to the safer environment of Turmi town.

Additionally, security forces in Kenya were undertaking a security operation in West Pokot and Turkana counties aimed at apprehending the rampant cattle rustling gangs. Considering this, the research team made necessary adjustments by relocating certain KII and FGD meetings to safer areas. In addition, they collaborated with local authorities to obtain clearance for conducting these meetings within the community.

Moreover, the research team could not meet some government officials who had confirmed appointments. Consequently, the team ensured that replacements of equivalent value and office in terms of decision-making authority were made.

3 FINDINGS

This section presents the key findings of the study, beginning with the socio-economic and political context of the Karamoja cluster. Overall, the Karamoja cluster occurs as a marginalized and conflict-prone region of diverse pastoralist groups in the four countries. Cattle rustling serves as a means of wealth redistribution and ecological insurance. Climate change effects exacerbate resource scarcity and conflicts in the region prompting engagement with different actors. The section then proceeds to map key actors and organizations in the cluster as either potential facilitators or disruptors in the implementation of the CBCR Activity and decision making. As the study identifies, the facilitators of the CBCR Activity include NGOs, religious institutions, women, youth, media, government institutions, politicians, and traditional authorities. Conversely the study identified natural calamities, politicians, unfavourable government policies, abuse of social media and technology, and youth warriors as potential disruptors. The section further explores the controversial issues that could arise in decision-making and implementation, which include high-level sponsorship of cattle rustling, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, strong cultural beliefs, and prolonged border disputes. The section also addresses the implications of socio-economic and political conflicts for the successful execution of the Activity. Indeed, this provides challenges and opportunities for conflict-sensitive programming. Some of the challenges for conflict-sensitive programming include vulnerability of pastoralist livelihoods, competition for scarce resources, limited accessibility, low literacy levels, and trust issues. However, there are opportunities including improved cultural interactions, peace agreements, and initiatives for education and resource management. Finally, the section identifies the windows of opportunity towards achieving the objectives of the CBCR Activity, which are mindset change and inclusion of government actors.

3.1 The socio-economic and political context of the Karamoja cluster

There is a broad range of interactions between structural factors, actors and institutions that characterize and define the socio-economic and political context of the Karamoja cluster. North-western Kenya, north-eastern Uganda, southeastern South Sudan, and southwestern Ethiopia that collectively form the Karamoja cluster, are regions that are geographically removed from the centre of their respective countries. The communities inhabiting the cluster (the Pokot and the Turkana in Kenya and Uganda, the Karamoja, the Jie and the Dodoth in Uganda, the Toposa in South Sudan, the Daasanach and the Nyangatom of Ethiopia) are generally linguistically intelligible. While most of the communities are of Nilotic origin, the Daasanach are Cushitic. Sometimes the Karamoja cluster communities call themselves the Ateker.

Pastoralism is the dominant source of livelihood in this border region. Although the communities keep different types of livestock, cattle are the most cherished, ultimate and a dream for every person. Cattle is primarily bred and used for social functions, social recognition, source of food, a form of social exchange, payment of bride wealth.¹⁸ Ownership of cattle is a status symbol- the more cattle one has, the higher the social status and deference one enjoys in the community, and the more lee-way one has in decision making. It is among the Karamoja cluster communities, more than anywhere else in eastern Africa, that the highest form of bride wealth is exchanged. All young men live and are expected to raise cattle for bride wealth. One without cattle cannot get a suitor. The welfare and safety of cattle is the central

¹⁸ D. M. Nyariki and D. A. Amwata, 'The Value of Pastoralism in Kenya: Application of Total Economic Value Approach', *Pastoralism* 9 (9) (2019):1-13, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13570-019-0144-x>.

preoccupation of everybody and defines the pace of life and development in the entire region. The strong attachment to cattle has been labelled “the cattle complex.”¹⁹

As a result, the Karamoja cluster is replete with cattle rustling, often accompanied by violence, maiming, destruction of property and killing.²⁰ Cattle rustling, more than any other cultural activity continues to define relations between the communities. More often, and historically all the ethnic groups rustle cattle from each other and tension is always high.²¹ Revenge and counter-revenge is a common denominator as each tries to recover and boost their stock of cattle. The exact or approximate numbers of cattle lost to rustling is difficult to determine given the dearth of formal statistics and remoteness of where it takes place. However, what is not in doubt is that the numbers range in thousands each year. For example, in Turkana County, a key informant expressed concern over the current trend, where small groups of young men plan deadly raids without the blessings and concurrence of the elders. “In particular, the period towards the end of the year and beginning of the next year is especially volatile”, said the informant.²² It is the period mainly dedicated to marrying of wives, weddings, and payment of bride wealth, thus it coincides with the most incidents of cattle raids.

There are two levels of governance across the cluster: the formal and informal. The informal structures are represented by a council of elders in the respective communities. These are the *Ekitoe Ngasikou* (Turkana and Nyangatom), the *Kokwo* (the Pokot), the *Ekokwo* (Karamoja), the *Ekiko* (Toposa), and *Nab* (Daasanach). The council of elders are made up of men only, who wield much power and make most decisions for the community. As the ultimate decision makers in all matters affecting their respective communities, their concurrence is critical in all interventions. Hence, formal governance actors frequently consult and involve the council of elders in certain instances of decision making.

Conversely, the formal system of governance comprises the national and devolved/decentralized structures (county/district/*woredas*). The national levels are responsible for the overall administration of territories and origination and implementation of government policy and are represented at the devolved units by field officials. The devolved units (counties in Kenya, *woredas* in Ethiopia, the districts in Uganda and states in South Sudan) receive financial and administrative support from their respective national governments but they largely determine development priorities of their areas.

In Kenya, elected officials such as members of parliament (MPs), senators and county woman representative represent their people and region at the national level of government. With regards to the second tier of government, the county governments have since been established following the enactment

¹⁹ Melville Herskovits, ‘The Cattle Complex in East Africa’, *American Anthropologist* 28 (1) (1923): 230–72.

²⁰ Willis Okumu, Tadesse S. Metekia, and Mohamed Daghar, ‘Illicit Arms Flows in the Karamoja Cluster: Actors, Markets, Impacts, and Alternative Responses’, 2023, <http://enact-africa.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/research-paper-35-1.pdf> (accessed 25 May 2023).

²¹ National Cohesion and Integration Commission and InterPeace, ‘Voices of the People: Impediments to Peace and Community Resilience in Kenya’s North Rift Region’, 2021, <https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/North-Rift-Regional-Note-Web.pdf> (accessed 25 May 2023).

²² Personal interview, key informant, Turkana County, Kenya, 17 February 2023.

of the constitution of 2010. Turkana and West Pokot counties are examples of this devolved system of governance. The most prominent county level officer is the Governor who is elected and runs the county government bureaucracy from the county. The Members of County Assembly (MCAs) are elected at the Ward level. MCAs legislate and oversee the affairs of the county government. In all the counties, political leaders hold immense power in decision making and distribution of resources for development. The Governor has immense power in deciding the momentum and direction of development and distribution of resources.

In Uganda, the President appoints national government representatives such as the Resident District Commissioner (RDC) and Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) to coordinate government services at the district level. Members of parliament (MPs) representing single-seat constituencies and women representatives elected by a simple majority from single-seat districts are elected by their constituents. The local government structure has the village as the lowest administrative unit, which is governed by a local council I (LCI) chairman. The parish, governed by a parish chief, is the next level after the village and is supported by a committee (LCII) made up of all LCIs in the parish. Several parishes form a sub-county led by a sub-county chief, who is a technical person and an elected local council III (LC3) chairman. A county is composed of several sub-counties that elect a local council IV (LC4) with limited powers to run the county except for municipalities in the counties. The district is the highest level of local governance, typically consisting of a number of counties and municipalities. The district is headed by an elected local council V (LCV) chairman and his executive.²³

Decentralization process in Ethiopia begun in 1991 and was formally established in 1995 after the promulgation of a new constitution.²⁴ The constitution provides for the establishment of nine ethno-linguistic based regions governed by a bicameral parliament. The Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS) that hosts the South Omo zone where the Nyangatom and the Daasanach communities reside, is one of the nine regions. The regions are further divided into local government which can be classified into two types: ordinary local government and ethnic local government districts, known as *woreda*, and city administration, which govern urban areas. A *woreda* is established in rural regions, while city administration governs urban areas. The two *woredas* included in this study were Nyangatom and Dasenech which are also named after the two majority communities that inhabit them. The lowest level of administration is the *Kebele*, found in both the rural and urban districts.

For administrative purposes, South Sudan is divided into 10 states that were established at independence in 2011.²⁵ The Eastern Equatoria state is one of the ten states, where Kapoeta East and Kapoeta South counties that the Toposa communities inhabit. The states are divided into counties which are further divided into *Payams*. *Bomas* are the smallest administrative units that make up a *Payam*. Since gaining independence in 2011, the Republic of South Sudan has a bicameral parliament that includes legislated quotas for the single/lower house and sub-national level, yet elections have never been conducted in the

²³ Richard Kavuma, 'Explainer: Local Government Structures in Uganda', *The Guardian*, 14 December 2009.

²⁴ Zemelak Ayele, 'Local Government in Ethiopia: Adequately Empowered?' (LLM Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2008).

²⁵ Personal interview, key informant, Kapoeta town, Kapoeta South, South Sudan, 06 February 2023.

country.²⁶ However, representatives at the national and state legislatures are appointed by their political parties.

In the Karamoja cluster, politicians wield immense power and retain great sway over the people. Hence any meaningful development must obtain the support and concurrence of political leaders. Decisions favoured by the political leaders are often the decisions that the community supports. For development to take place therefore, involvement of and buy-in by political leaders is indispensable. Development decisions that fail to obtain favour from political leaders, however noble they may be, are unlikely to succeed.

Historically, the Karamoja cluster, being relatively removed from the centres of national politics has been and remains largely marginalized. The region remains poor in terms of infrastructure. In Uganda, for example, the Karamoja sub-region is seriously marginalized with approximately only three in ten people above 10 years being able to read and write, making it one region with lowest literacy rates.²⁷ The region also suffers from high income and food poverty levels with income poverty of 66 percent and food poverty of 75 percent. There, however, have been efforts from the government to improve some situations with several infrastructural developments in place. For instance, a tarmac road from Moroto up to the Kenya border is nearing completion. Therefore, most areas of the Karamoja cluster remain inaccessible.

In Omorate (Dasenech) and Nyangatom, the situation is not any different, the tarmac road ends many kilometers from the Kenya border. The communities along the Omo River feel marginalized with the situation being exacerbated by the expected 60-70 percent reduction in Omo River volume during reservoir filling and early dam operation.²⁸ This decline threatens to remove the yearly floods that have sustained recession agriculture in most areas, aggravating the community's already severe economic condition. In the education sector, enrollment in Dasenech and Nyangatom stood at 9.1% and 4.3% respectively which is below the South Omo zone regional average.²⁹ Survival rates for primary school pupils up to grade 8 has also averaged 5.1 and 5.0 in both Dasenech and Nyangatom as compared to the regional average of 32.8.³⁰

In Toposa territory, there is no tarmac road traversing through Nadapal. It is now that rural access roads are being done while in the rest of the territories only motorable tracks exist and which become impassable during rains. In 2018, it was discovered that Kapoeta East and Kapoeta North were severely lacking in educational infrastructure. Specifically, each county only had a single secondary school, indicating a significant shortage in the provision of education.³¹ A multi-agency survey revealed that 94 percent of

²⁶ Bertelsmann Stiftung, 'BTI 2022 Country Report — South Sudan,' 2022, https://bti-project.org/fileadmin/api/content/en/downloads/reports/country_report_2022_SSD.pdf (accessed 25 May 2023).

²⁷ Ritah Mwangale, 'Enhancing Literacy in Karamoja One Early Childhood Development Centre at a Time,' UNICEF, 2022, <https://www.unicef.org/uganda/stories/enhancing-literacy-karamoja> (accessed 25 May 2023).

²⁸ Claudia Carr, *River Basin Development and Human Rights in Eastern Africa — A Policy Crossroads* (Cham: Springer, 2017), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-50469-8_8.

²⁹ Alemayehu Debebe, 'Children's Access to Primary Education in Dassanech and Nyangatom Pastoralist Communities of South Omo: Prospects, Challenges and Policy Implications,' (PhD thesis, University of Addis Ababa, 2014).

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ AVSI, 'The State of Education in Eastern Equatoria State and a Call for a Context-Specific, Integrated Intervention,' (2017),

population are not educated and 83% cannot read or write.³² During the assessment, it was observed that in 38% of settlements evaluated, reaching the nearest health facility took as long as half a day's walk. Furthermore, a shortage of healthcare workers was frequently reported throughout the area depicting the deplorable healthcare situation in the area.³³ The survey also confirmed 42% of mothers have to walk more than 1 hour for pre- and post-natal care worst in Kapoeta East.³⁴ Access to safe water is much lower compared to other parts of the countries. The low level of development is a consequence of many years of systemic national government neglect and marginalization.

Access to formal justice and police services remains a pipe dream to a majority of the population in the region. For example, in Turkana County, the court in Lodwar is physically out of reach for most of the population,³⁵ while the court station at Kakuma largely serves the refugee population. In Kapoeta South and Kapoeta East, courts are at Kapoeta and Narus which are distances apart and difficult to reach for most of the populations in vast and remote locations of the larger Kapoeta region. In the absence of accessible formal justice, informal structures, mainly traditional chiefs, councils of elders, *Kraal* leaders dispense justice in the entire region. Generally, no formal payment or other procedures are required for a party to access justice, therefore they are easily accessible. On the Karamoja sub-region in Uganda, people usually opt for traditional and informal methods to address conflicts and abuse, instead of formal structures due to inadequate resources, corruption, and lack of coordination among institutions.³⁶ A formal court is in Moroto town in Moroto district and serves the whole sub-region. The Ugandan military martial court resolves most of the criminal cases in the region³⁷. In general, formal justice services remain absent or scanty in the whole of the Karamoja cluster.

However, in recent times, the regions forming the cluster are slowly being integrated into their respective national economies. While trade between the countries or communities remain largely undeveloped across the borders in this region, there is occasional livestock markets between Kenya, Uganda and South Sudan and a few other commodities as well as illegal arms between Kenya and Ethiopia. Informal trade, such as the exchange of items for livestock and small businesses selling electronics from Kenya and food items such as maize and vegetables from Ethiopia to Kenya, lacks regulations, market support, and local or national level policies to help them grow.³⁸ Informal cross-border trade is common among the cross-border communities, besides occasional livestock markets in Kibish and Lowoengak in Turkana.

Most of the livestock is then consumed within the urban centres. Trade routes to the larger urban centers remain risky due to potential attacks, and the long distance makes the business unprofitable. In Kenya, the

https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/assessments/southsudan-avsi-state_of_education_in_ees-20171101.pdf (accessed 1 June 2023).

³² James Ochola, 'Multi-Sector Household Survey - Kapoeta Counties,' AVSI, 2021, file:///C:/Users/USER/Downloads/Multi-sector%20Household%20Survey%20-%20Kapoeta%20Counties%20(March%202021).pdf.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Refugee Consortium of Kenya, 'Promoting Access to Justice and Governance in Turkana County', Refugee Insights, no. 28, 2018, file:///C:/Users/USER/Downloads/Refugee-Insights-28.pdf (accessed 3 June 2023).

³⁶ SaferWorld, 'Peace, Security and Justice in Karamoja: Amplifying the Voices of Women and Girls,' 2020, file:///C:/Users/USER/Downloads/peace-security-and-justice-in-karamoja.pdf (accessed 3 June 2023)..

³⁷ Personal interview, key informant, Moroto, Uganda, 06 February 2023

³⁸ Personal interview, key informant, Jinka, Ethiopia, 12 February 2023

Turkana Chamber of Commerce and Industry champions regional trade but no similar associations exist in Uganda, South Sudan or Ethiopia. In addition, there are concerns in South Sudan and Uganda that the emerging traders are exposed to high taxation in Kenya.³⁹ Potential markets in the area are Lodwar, Kakuma and Lokichogio in Turkana and Alale in West Pokot, Kapoeta town in Kapoeta South and Nadapal, and Narus in Kapoeta East of South Sudan. Turkana from Kenya do livestock trade with Uganda, Sudan, Kenya where they buy maize and sorghum. They also practice barter trade around Nakitongo, Kaileny in Kotido, Kobebe in Moroto, Uganda.⁴⁰

In Lokichogio area of Turkana County, the modern abattoir collapsed in the early 2000s when the United Nations complex closed. Given its proximity to Uganda and South Sudan, it was the main market for livestock. However, it remains dilapidated with little or no hope for its revival. Politicians and businesspeople have not made it a priority.

Kakuma refugee camp and the growing Kalobeyei refugee settlement in Kenya are homes to over 237,080 thousand refugees and asylum seekers from Uganda, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Rwanda, and Somalia.⁴¹ The refugee camps therefore are a convergence of several nationalities, ethnicities, religious and linguistic groups. The camps are an attraction point for many people in the Karamoja region given the superior services provided compared to the surrounding communities. Additionally, refugees provide a huge livestock market in the Karamoja cluster, while the presence of international charitable organizations and the United Nations offers employment to thousands of local people. Moreover, certain decisions made in the region are influenced by the presence of refugees. For instance, the county government of Turkana allocated more land for the establishment of the Kalobeyei integrated settlement scheme in 2015 to accommodate both the host community and refugees due to a population increase in the Kakuma refugee camp.⁴² To a considerable extent, they drive the economy of the region.

According to a key informant in Kapoeta, South Sudan, in most parts of the Karamoja cluster, there are designated border crossings, with no restrictions if one abides by the law.⁴³ Even so, communities in the cluster have historically freely moved across the borders. Currently, this movement is largely organized and controlled by *Kraal* committees.⁴⁴ Today *Kraal* members are the fulcrum for peace building, conflict resolution and spearhead negotiation for pasture and water. *Kraals* have been of particular importance to the Pokot and the Turkana who frequently rely on locations in Uganda, South Sudan, and Ethiopia for dry season pastures. In Eastern Uganda, the presence of the army has considerably contributed to peace among pastoralists unlike in South Sudan, Kenya, and Ethiopia **Error! Bookmark not defined.** where armed warriors frequently steal livestock thereby undermining peaceful co-existence.

³⁹ Personal interview, key informant, Kapoeta East, South Sudan, 12 February 2023.

⁴⁰ Personal interview, key informant, Kotido, Uganda, 18 February 2023.

⁴¹ United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 'Kakuma Camp & Kalobeyei Settlement, Kenya,' UNHCR, 2022, https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2022/09/UNHCR_Kenya_Kakuma_July_2022_Monthly_Operational_Updates.pdf (accessed 15 June 2023).

⁴² Personal interview, key informant, Kakuma, Turkana County, Kenya, 09 February 2023

⁴³ Personal interview, key informant, Kapoeta, South Sudan, 12 February 2023.

⁴⁴ FGD participant, Narus, Kapoeta South, South Sudan, 11 February.2023.

Borders in the Karamoja region remain largely porous. It is a vibrant gun market.⁴⁵ The area is known for transit and markets for small arms which help to exacerbate cattle rustling.⁴⁶ Easy access to guns has exacerbated conflict and made cattle rustling more violent.

Moreover, there is fierce competition for natural resources (water and pasture) which often leads to inter-communal conflict. For example, the Toposa often resort to forcefully occupying areas in Karamoja and Turkana where they can access water and pastures for their animals, resulting in conflicts. Despite cultural similarities between the Nyangatom and the Turkana, there exists a lack of trust between the Turkana and the Nyangatom, as well as between Turkana and Daasanach, along the Kenya-Ethiopia border. There has been an ongoing cross-border conflict between the Daasanach and Nyangatom and Toposa along the South Sudan-Ethiopia border. The needs and mobility of the communities make them encounter each other leading to conflict in the border region.

Border and boundary disputes are a common phenomenon and remain largely unresolved in the Karamoja cluster. There are accusations and counter accusations of border shifting, and the generally acceptable border points remain scanty.⁴⁷ For instance, the Turkana, the Daasanach and the Nyangatom (Kenya-Ethiopia), the Turkana and the Toposa (Kenya-South Sudan), the Turkana and the Karamojong (Kenya-Uganda) and internally the Turkana and the Pokot have very divergent views of borders and boundaries that separate them. Border disputes are often a source of open conflict among the communities, with limited redress by the respective governments while the communities are very fervent about them.

3.2 Mapping key actors and institutions in the implementation of the CBCR Activity

This section analyzes the roles and interests of different actors in the implementation of the CBCR Activity. It distinguishes between facilitators and disruptors who may either influence the outcome positively or negatively depending on the context. Facilitators are those actors who are likely to support and promote the successful execution of the Activity, while disruptors are those who may hinder or impede progress.

By recognizing and categorizing potential actors, the CBCR Activity can better understand the potential challenges and opportunities that may arise during the implementation process. This can help inform strategies for engaging with different actors and mitigating potential obstacles to successful implementation. Ultimately, this approach can lead to more effective and efficient implementation of the Activity.

⁴⁵ Mohamed Daghar, Willis Okumu and Tadesse Metekia, 'Illicit Arms Flows in the Karamoja Cluster Actors, Markets, Impacts, and Alternative Responses,' ENACT Africa, March 2023, <https://enactafrica.org/research/research-papers/illicit-arms-flows-in-the-karamoja-cluster-actors-markets-impacts-and-alternative-responses> (accessed 17 June 2023).

⁴⁶ Republic of Kenya, 'Kenya National Focal Point on Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons.' Office of the President Provincial Administration and Internal Security, 2006, <https://gsdrc.org/document-library/kenya-national-focal-point-on-illicit-small-arms-and-light-weapons/> (accessed 16 May 2023).

⁴⁷ John Galaty, 'Boundary-Making and Pastoral Conflict along the Kenyan–Ethiopian Borderlands', *African Studies Review* 59 (1) (2016): 97–122, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24805944>.

3.2.1 Facilitators in the implementation of the Activity

Some of the likely facilitators in the implementation of the CBCR Activity include non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), government institutions (national and sub-national), regional bodies, religious institutions, traditional authorities, and the private sector.

Non-governmental Organizations

NGOs are considered to be among the most important actors in facilitating the implementation of the CBCR Activity. The findings indicate that the region is enriched with a wide range of community based, national and international non-governmental organizations that provide various services, such as in health, nutrition, water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH), agriculture, peacebuilding and conflict resolution, livelihoods, and education, among others.

In Turkana and West Pokot Counties in Kenya, some of the prominent NGOs mentioned by the respondents include the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), the Kenya Red Cross Society, the Catholic Diocese of Lodwar (Caritas), Acme Development Organization (ACME), Agency for Cross-Border Pastoralist Development (APaD), Mercy Corps, Partners Collaborating and Acting Together (PACT Kenya), Lotus Kenya Action for Development Organization (LOKADO), Friends of Lake Turkana (FoLT), Turkana Pastoralist Development Organization (TUPADO), I Rep Foundation, SIKOM, ACF, Komesi Women's Network, LOPEO, GIZ, World Food Programme (WFP), United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) and Danish Refugee Council (DRC).

For the Karamoja sub-region in Uganda, the most prominent NGOs are Save the Children, MSF, WFP, Mercy Corps, Dynamic Agro-Pastoralist Development Organization (DADO), Karamoja Peace and Development Agency (KAPDA), Kotido Peace Initiative (KOPEIN), Andre Foods International (AFI), Caritas Kotido, and Karamoja Development Forum (KDF). These organizations have various activities ranging from livelihoods, WASH, education, health, animal welfare among others.

In the South Omo regions of Ethiopia that the Nyangatom and the Dasenech inhabit, the most mentioned NGOs were World Vision, Mercy Corps, VSF Germany, IGAD, UKAID, USAID, Action for Development (AFD), UNICEF, Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), People in Need, Medicines Sans Frontiers (MSF), Peace and Development Center (PDC) and PACT Ethiopia. There exist several local or national NGOs which also operate in the region offering different types of services. Some of this include Initiative for Pastoralist Communication (IPC), the International Development Enterprises (IDE), the Women Support Association (WSA) and Action for Development (AFD).

In the Kapoeta East and Kapoeta South counties of South Sudan, several organizations conduct their activities with the most prominent being the UN agencies which include WFP, UNICEF, FAO, World Health Organization (WHO), and UNHCR. Other agencies in the areas are Mercy Corps, Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), Islamic Relief, ACTED, DRC. National (local) organizations include the Catholic Diocese of Torit (DoT), South Sudan Red Cross, Organization for Peace, Relief and Development (OPRD), Ateker Foundation, Integrated Community for Peace and Development Organization (ICPDO), The Root of Generations (ROG), and Innovative Development Initiative (IDI).

The role of NGOs in the humanitarian and development sector cannot be overstated. They play a critical role in providing financial and technical assistance to support development initiatives in various parts of the cluster. Donors provide funding for development programs and projects, while NGOs implement these programs on the ground, working closely with local communities to ensure that the interventions are effective and sustainable.

Private Institutions

Private institutions such as banks and telecommunications companies can certainly play a role as facilitators in the implementation of the CBCR Activity. These institutions often have resources, expertise, and networks that can support and enhance the work of local communities. Banks contribute by providing financial services, such as offering funding or grants for projects, facilitating transactions, or providing banking solutions for financial management. Telecommunications companies on the other hand provide communication infrastructure, such as internet connectivity, mobile networks, and telecommunications equipment which are a daily necessity in most parts of the cluster today.

The improved area coverage of local telecommunication companies, Safaricom and Airtel Kenya, in Turkana and West Pokot counties has created a favourable environment for the provision of essential services such as mobile money transfers through platforms like *Mpesa*⁴⁸ and Airtel Money⁴⁹. These companies also offer reliable internet data services, empowering local residents to communicate, access information, and stay up to date with global events. Additionally, the presence of banks and agents providing banking services plays a crucial role in the development and financial growth of the community. These services enable convenient money transfers to various locations within the counties.

In the greater Kapoeta region, the telecommunication company MTN-South Sudan facilitates communication and offers the *MGurush*⁵⁰ mobile money transfer services, ensuring seamless financial transactions. Moreover, local bank agents contribute to the community's financial well-being by enabling money transfers. These agents also support NGOs in the area by providing voucher services⁵¹.

In the Karamoja sub-region of Uganda, both MTN and Airtel Uganda provide telecommunication services and mobile money transfer facilities, fostering connectivity and financial inclusion. For banking services, residents can access them in Kotido, Moroto, and Kaabong, promoting financial accessibility and convenience.

In the Nyangatom and Dassanech areas, Ethiotelcom offers reliable communication services, bridging the connectivity gap in these regions. Furthermore, banking services can be accessed in Turmi town, ensuring that locals have convenient access to financial services⁵².

⁴⁸ Mpesa is a mobile phone-based money transfer service, payments and micro-financing service, launched in 2007 and operated by Safaricom, the largest mobile network operator in Kenya.

⁴⁹ Personal interview, key informant, Lodwar, Turkana, Kenya, 08 February 2023

⁵⁰ MGrush is a mobile phone-based money transfer service in South Sudan

⁵¹ Personal interview, key informant, Narus, Kapoeta South, South Sudan, 11 February 2023

⁵² Personal Interview, key informant, Turmi, 14 February 2023

Religious institutions

Faith-based organizations are well known for playing a significant role in advancing social change and development. In many parts of the world, particularly in areas that have seen conflict and instability, the religious institutions have played a significant role in these initiatives. The ability of faith-based organizations to foster trust and goodwill among local communities is one of their major benefits in aiding development. The importance of the religious institutions' presence and impact in the Karamoja cross-border cluster was highlighted by most of the respondents involved in the research. Through missions and other institutions that have been built over many years, the Catholic church has a significant presence in many places. People believe that discussions about peace and development cannot take place without the involvement of the Catholic church.⁵³ Its presence has forged a connection with the populace, who frequently view the church as a dependable and trustworthy institution.

In Amudat district of Uganda, the church has initiated programs aimed at empowering the communities living in the region. The engagement of the clergy in some activities can help to ease tensions and foster understanding by providing a safe, neutral, and trusted environment for these activities. As a key informant in Amudat in Uganda observed:

There is a policy that each parish must have a primary school which I think many parishes have schools now compared to the past, there is a policy on roads that states that each parish should have a security road.⁵⁴

Similarly, in the South Omo Zone in Ethiopia, the church has been actively engaged in a diverse range of community-based development initiatives. From expanding educational and health institutions to providing access to potable water and humanitarian aid, as well as encouraging volunteer work, the institutions have been supporting the country's development and thus lowering poverty levels.⁵⁵ In Particular, the Ethiopian Evangelical church of *Mekana Yesus*, the Ethiopian Orthodox church and the Catholic church in Dasenech have been vital in providing services focussed on water, agriculture, and livestock breeding.

In Turkana and West Pokot counties, the church is involved in the provision of education, peacebuilding, healthcare, and social services to communities in need. Specifically, the Catholic church, the Africa Inland Church (AIC), the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK), and the Lutheran Church, are the most active in the two counties. In Turkana County, the churches are seen as supporting moral uprightness among community members.⁵⁶ In Turkana, the Catholic church provides education, health and food for the vulnerable community members. Churches conduct religious gatherings, and this enhances spiritual and moral uprightness. The church also plays an important role in hosting peace meetings whereby people interact and establish cordial relations.⁵⁷ In West Pokot County, an initiative by the Pokot Outreach

⁵³ Intergovernmental Authority on Development, 'Kenya, Uganda Sign Pact to End Cross-Border Conflicts between Turkana, Pokot and Karamoja', 2019, <https://resilience.igad.int/kenya-uganda-sign-pact-to-end-cross-border-conflicts-between-turkana-pokot-and-karamoja/> (accessed 15 May 2023).

⁵⁴ Personal interview, key informant, Amudat, Uganda, 07 February 2023.

⁵⁵ Samira Amos, Sileshi Mengistu, and Fritz Kleinschroth, 'Three Decades of Pastoralist Settlement Dynamics in the Ethiopian Omo Delta Based on Remote Sensing Data', *Human Ecology*, 29 (2021): 525–37, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10745-021-00257-6>.

⁵⁶ Personal interview, key informant, Lodwar, Turkana County, Kenya. 17 February 2023

⁵⁷ Personal interview, key informant, Lokirama, Turkana County, Kenya. 14 February 2023

Ministries (POM) church has played a major role in helping former warriors, who were the main instigators of cattle rustling, to reform and become part of the ministry in the church⁵⁸.

The Catholic Diocese of Torit (CDoT) and charitable cops were mentioned on numerous occasions by the respondents in Kapoeta East and Kapoeta South counties of South Sudan as important development partners. The CDoT is instrumental at maintaining access to basic health care package for returnees and vulnerable communities of Eastern Equatoria State. The diocese also runs 2 secondary, 13 primary and one vocational school in the greater Kapoeta region.⁵⁹ As such, the church has come in to fill the gaping hole in service provision left by the South Sudanese government. The church also plays a vital role in facilitating peace meetings, fostering meaningful interactions among individuals.⁶⁰

In disaster management, religious institutions play a crucial role by providing valuable response and recovery services. However, their potential should also be utilized in the preparedness and mitigation phases of the disaster cycle, emphasizing the need for coordination and collaboration among all stakeholders.

Women organizations

Women play a crucial role in championing development in the Karamoja cluster. Creating a conducive environment for development activities in their communities is one of the crucial roles that women play. Their importance cannot be overstated as they bring unique qualities that are instrumental in achieving sustainable development.

One of the main contributions of women in society is their role as peacekeepers. Women's preference for peaceful solutions stems from the fact that they often bear the brunt of disputes.⁶¹ In many communities, women are responsible for providing care and support for their families, and they are often the ones who suffer the most in times of conflict.

As such, women are more motivated to find peaceful solutions to conflicts and work towards building a more stable and peaceful environment for themselves and their families. As one of an FGD participants in West Pokot County intimated, women share information in the village on peace and FGM and advises our kins on how peace is helpful to our development. The community dialogues have proven helpful as they empower communities to provide solutions, take charge, and be willing to change their attitude towards FGM, addressing the previous limitation of solely involving women in discussions and leading to limited progress⁶². One notable woman-led peace initiatives in the county are the Tegla Lorupe Peace run that has been instrumental at peacebuilding along the Kenya-Uganda border. The primary focus of the event has been the engagement of youth and encourage the development of friendly networks between the

⁵⁸ Personal interview, key informant, Kacheliba, West Pokot, Kenya. 09 February 2023

⁵⁹ Development Aid, 'Roman Catholic Diocese of Torit', 2023, <https://www.developmentaid.org/organizations/view/164813/roman-catholic-diocese-of-torit> (accessed 18 May 2023).

⁶⁰ FGD participant, Nadapal, Kapoeta East, South Sudan, 11 February 2023

⁶¹ Anne Marie Goetz, 'Identifying Women's Peace and Security Priorities,' UN Women, 2012, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IdentifyingWomensPeaceAndSecurityPriorities_UNIFEM2010.pdf (accessed 19 May 2023).

⁶² FGD participant, Kacheliba, West Pokot, Kenya. 14 February 2023

conflicting communities along the border of Kenya, South Sudan and Uganda and locally, youth warriors from Samburu, Marakwet and Pokot counties and beyond.⁶³

In Turkana County, women's representation in leadership positions has grown over the past few years, and this has had great impact on women empowerment at the policy formulation and implementation levels. Accordingly, one of the women interviewed in this study noted that,

“When I was appointed the local chief in this area, I was the only woman but today we have several other women government officials. Today even women are elected in positions where they compete with men.”⁶⁴

Women have been instrumental in the implementation of projects that are geared towards empowering their communities, such as Village Savings and Loan Associations (VSLA) as was observed in the Nyangatom *woreda* in Ethiopia. One study respondent revealed that “women form associations to work on issues related to small scale business selling of items in the village and are involved in farming when it rains”.⁶⁵ These projects are designed to provide communities with the resources and tools they need to generate income and become more self-sufficient. Women, in particular, have been successful in implementing such initiatives because they are often the ones responsible for managing household finances in most communities.

In the Karamoja sub-region of Uganda, the vital role of women in peacebuilding activities cannot be overstated. Despite facing numerous challenges such as gender-based violence, limited access to education, and cultural barriers, women in this region have formed powerful alliances and established "women peace forums" that have played a crucial role in promoting peace and harmony within their communities. The Nakere Rural Women Activist (NARWOA) group is well known for advocating women rights and handling issues around GBV⁶⁶. The famous *Moru Anayeche*⁶⁷ festival held in Letea, Turkana West and brings together a majority of the Ateker community members has been used by women to spearhead peacebuilding initiatives among different ethnic groups in the region.

GBV and psychosocial support for women in the greater Kapoeta region remain the focus for women led organization⁶⁸. One of the most prominent women organizations in the area, the National Empowerment of Positive Women United (NEPWU), has been at the forefront in offering these services to vulnerable women and girls in the region. The Roots of Generations (ROG), another woman-led organization, has also played a role in advancing peacebuilding and livelihood support for women in Kapoeta South.

Youth.

The young men of the Ateker communities, have the task of caring for and protecting the extensive herds of cattle, tending to their own herds or those belonging to their fathers or paternal uncles, while constantly

⁶³ World Athletics, 'No Stopping Lorooue in Her Crusade for Peace in Sport', 2021, <https://worldathletics.org/news/feature/teglalorooue-champion-peace-in-sport> (accessed 19 May 2023).

⁶⁴ Personal interview, key informant, Lodwar town, Turkana, Kenya. 17 February 2023

⁶⁵ FGD Participant, Aypa Kebele, Nyangatom, Ethiopia, 08 February 2023.

⁶⁶ Personal interview, key informant, Kotido, Uganda, 18 February 2023.

⁶⁷ *Moruanayece*, named after Nayece, a woman from the Jie community in present-day Uganda, who settled in caves in Turkana land, leading to the people being known as Turkana, thus the place being regarded as 'The Pillar of the grandmother'.

⁶⁸ Personal interview, key informant, Kapoeta Town, Kapoeta South, South Sudan, 06 February 2023.

searching for water and pasture. Therefore, their role as agents of change and development in their respective communities enhances their competence and participation in the implementation of community development projects. During an FGD session in Turkana County, one of the participants observed how “the youth are supposed to support the community when the three parties are not working together, since they are the eyes of the community in the future, the three parties are also supposed to hear the views of the youth”.⁶⁹ This was made in reference to differences in opinion between the community, the national and county authorities.

In Kaabong district of Uganda, youth are seen as influential and holding a lot of say on social issues especially around security. As one key informant told the study team, ‘Youth listen more to their fellow agetmates (peer-to-peer) listening approach and they are planning for a regional council to deliberate on issues that affect young people – a partner has been identified to support, planning to expand but praying for support from partners’⁷⁰. Youth groups are a vital part of the community for they do initiate interactions to bring peace to the region through trainings and meetings which are incidental. The Kaabong youth ambassadors have played a role in trauma healing among former youth warriors who previously engaged in rustling, killing, maiming among other atrocities.

Among the Daasanach of Ethiopia, the youth play an important role mostly in civic education during the electioneering period. The youth here create awareness or sensitize communities to actively participate in electioneering process.⁷¹

In Kapoeta South in South Sudan, the youth are similarly involved in community development projects through forums that encourage interaction and sharing of ideas.⁷² In their respective communities, the youth are seen as a huge source of untapped resource that can be utilized to create even more change.

Equipped with relevant information on options, available alternatives, and associated costs, the youth are empowered to make rational and socially optimal decisions. Additionally, the youth actively engage in the development and implementation of community development projects of their own volition, rather than being coerced into participation.

Media

Communication is one of the most important components of project activity implementation as it remains one of the forces that drive the entire process forward. Despite appearing to have minimal impact on electoral behavior, global case studies suggest that mass media plays a significant role in the advancement of sectors such as agriculture, health, and rural development.⁷³

The media serves as the fourth estate, providing a vital system of checks and balances on the activities carried out by development partners. Moreover, the media has effectively acted as an agenda setter,

⁶⁹ FGD participant, Oropoi, Turkana County, Kenya, 07 February 2023

⁷⁰ Personal interview, key informant, Kotido, Uganda, 18 February 2023

⁷¹ FGD participant, Dassanech Omorate, Ethiopia. 13 February 2023.

⁷² Personal interview, key informant, Kapoeta South, South Sudan, 06 February 2023

⁷³ Johan Swinnen, ‘Do Mass Media Affect Global Agricultural and Food Policies?’, World Bank blogs, 2013, <https://blogs.worldbank.org/developmenttalk/do-mass-media-affect-global-agricultural-and-food-policies> (accessed 18 May 2023).

shaping discussions, and influencing public opinion on key issues within society. The Karamoja cluster region boasts a robust network of radio stations that serve a crucial role in ensuring that local communities receive news and information in their native language.

The Karamojong ethnic groups of Uganda have a rich cultural heritage, and the *Etoil A'karamoja* radio plays an important role in preserving and promoting their traditions. The radio station has programs such as *Tochakulotem* and *Ekokwa* that run from 6pm to 10pm and 6am to 10am respectively, to hear views from callers.⁷⁴

Similarly, among the Pokot, local vernacular radios have become essential tools for addressing pressing social issues such as environmental conservation and encouraging good practices. They also facilitate fast communication in an area characterised by difficult terrain that makes transport a problem, fostering a sense of connectedness and belonging among the community members.⁷⁵ Kalya FM is the most listened to radio station among the residents of Pokot County. Likewise, Turkana County residents have over the years been able to tune in and listen to talk shows on vernacular radio stations broadcasting information that is deemed useful in building their culture, promoting businesses, and educating the community.⁷⁶ Maata FM, Echami radio and Akicha are among the most listened to radio station in the county.

Similarly, Jinka radio reaches the Daasanach and Nyangotom language speakers as some of the 16 languages in which it broadcasts. Singaita and Emmanuel FM are the two most popular radio stations in the greater Kapoeta broadcasting in both Ngatoposa and Arabic languages with programmes aimed at empowering the community in different sectors.

Government Institutions (National and Sub-national)

Study participants identified the government as a key actor whose actions can significantly impact the implementation of project activities, either positively or negatively. Within the cluster, governance is divided into two levels: the national and devolved/decentralized units. The national governments take charge of policy formulation and implementation, security maintenance, foreign affairs management, economic planning, provision of public services, tax collection, and law enforcement. Meanwhile, at the local level, the units handle policy implementation, public service provision, infrastructure management, tax collection, economic development promotion, and collaborative governance with other government agencies. Some of the government institutions tasked with delivering these services include administration (states, districts, *woredas*, counties, parishes, *kebeles*, locations, and *payams*), ministries and departments, the judiciary, police, and military.

First, the role of the national government in Ethiopia goes beyond internal governance. It actively engages with neighboring countries when it comes to cross-border activities. This engagement is vital for facilitating cooperation and coordination in various sectors, such as trade, infrastructure development, and security. By establishing diplomatic relations and agreements with neighboring countries, the national government creates an enabling environment for cross-border projects and activities to take place smoothly.

⁷⁴ Personal interview, key informant, Kotido, Uganda. 18 February 2023

⁷⁵ Personal interview, key informant, West Pokot, Kenya. 09 February 2023.

⁷⁶ FGD participant, Nadapal, Turkana County, Kenya. 14 February 2023.

Moreover, the decentralized government units of Nyangatom and Dasenech are vital in ensuring that the government agenda is arrived at. As corroborated to by one of the key informants during the study, "the government has *woredas*, *kebeles* and the zonal and regional structures that ensure peace and security and the implementation of its development agenda".⁷⁷ Through established networks with non-governmental institutions, the government works in collaboration to ensure that its citizens can access some of the services that have otherwise been difficult to provide.

In Uganda, the national government plays a vital role in policy formulation and implementation. It sets the direction and framework for various sectors, including the humanitarian and development services. Through policy initiatives, the government can create an enabling environment for local NGOs and CBOs to expand their services to remote areas. Government policies can encourage investment and competition in these sectors, leading to improved coverage and services for the communities in the region. Locally, districts in the Karamoja sub-region are considered marginalized and are given affirmative action in development programs by the national government.⁷⁸ The government has also initiated projects to assist local communities diversify and earn livelihoods and sustain themselves.

The Kenyan national government is responsible for maintaining security, both within the country and along its borders. By ensuring a secure environment, the government creates stability and confidence for different institutions to operate effectively. It also plays a role in protecting the rights and interests of the community, establishing regulations and standards to safeguard their rights and ensure the quality of services they receive. The desire to address persistent challenges of inequality, marginalization, and the concentration of power and resources served as the primary impetus for devolution in Kenya. The county governments of Turkana and West Pokot have well developed County Integrated Development Plans (CIDP) meant to guide and align development projects within the precincts of the county. They play an important role in the implementation of any activity by ensuring coordination and alignment of these activities to the national and international plans and goals like the Vision 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)⁷⁹.

In South Sudan, the democratic decentralized system of government was established by the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the Interim Constitution of South Sudan (ICSS). The government has pursued a process of "recentralization" since 2011, shifting powers from states to the center, while also granting states considerable control over local governments through the appointment of state governors and resource management.⁸⁰ During interviews with residents of South Kapoeta and East Kapoeta, one key informant emphasized the importance of the government's focus on administrative and institutional development to effectively manage government projects, enforce law and order, and build infrastructure. This, in turn, would lead to improvements in human capital development and better protection for vulnerable populations, ultimately bringing these benefits closer to the people. Local governments struggle with limited capacity and resources, and there is a prevailing perception of their

⁷⁷ Personal interview, key informant, Selemango, Jinka, Ethiopia. 12 February 2023.

⁷⁸ Personal interview, key informant, Kaabong, Uganda, 13 February 2023.

⁷⁹ Personal interview with key informant, Kacheliba, West Pokot, Kenya, 09 February 2023

⁸⁰ Iffat Idris, 'Local Governance in South Sudan: Overview,' GSRDC, 2017, <https://gsdrc.org/publications/local-governance-in-south-sudan-overview/> (accessed 17 June 202).

ineffectiveness in governing.⁸¹ This therefore limits the services that are able to provide to the populace within their areas of jurisdiction.

Regional bodies

Regional bodies are significant players in the implementation of the CBCR Activity in the Karamoja cluster. With the growing burden on the United Nations (UN) system, there has been an increased delegation of conflict prevention and peacekeeping responsibilities to regional organizations by the international community⁸². Bodies such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the Africa Union Border Program (AUBP) have continued to influence issues around peacebuilding and conflict resolution among cross border communities in the cluster. IGAD, a regional trade bloc comprising eight Eastern Africa countries namely Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda, has been actively engaged in peacebuilding activities within the region for an extensive duration. Established in 2007, the primary aim of the AUBP revolves around fostering peace, security, and stability through various means, including border delimitation and demarcation, cross-border collaboration, and capacity building. By providing a platform for diplomatically resolving border disputes and fostering regional as well as continental integration through cross-border cooperation, the AUBP strives to promote peace, security, and unity.

In the Karamoja sub-region of Uganda, residents have witnessed a number of initiatives by one of the regional bodies and this was corroborated by one the respondents during the study. Bodies such as IGAD has supported the Karamoja cluster through research and policy interventions on areas on development and peacebuilding.⁸³ Similarly, this was supported by residents of Kapoeta South who recognize the important role of these regional bodies in ensuring that services are accessible to some remote and hard to reach areas of the country.

In West Pokot County, one of the respondents noted that partners under the IGAD umbrella in conjunction with the county government are working on a cross border framework which is in the formative stage.⁸⁴ This is in relation to the peacebuilding and economic development forums that the organisation has been conducting in the cluster region. The organizations have also been on the frontline in helping resolve border and boundary disputes among the communities along the different borderlines as well as nations in the region. In this regard, one study participant noted that 'IGAD is the sole organization known to us, responsible for promoting peaceful coexistence in the entire Karamoja cluster and addressing issues concerning the Elemi triangle.'⁸⁵ It is thus clear that regional governmental organizations are key actors in the cluster and thus provide a collaborative platform for the Activity.

Politicians

There was broad agreement in the region throughout the KIIs and FGDs conversations that politicians play a crucial role in determining the social development environment either as facilitators or disruptors, and that their actions can have a big influence on both households and communities. Participants stressed

⁸¹ Personal interview, key informant, Kapoeta town, Kapoeta South, South Sudan, 06 February 2023

⁸² Herbert Wulf, 'The Role of Regional Organisations in Conflict Prevention and Resolution,' Institute for Development and Peace, University of Duisburg-Essen, 2009, <https://www.uni-due.de/inef/institutprofil.php> (accessed 17 June 2023).

⁸³ Personal interview, key informant, Kaabong District, Uganda, 12 February 2023

⁸⁴ Personal interview, key informant, West Pokot County, Kenya, 13 February 2023

⁸⁵ Personal interview, key informant, Turmi, Ethiopia, 14 February 2023

the necessity for politicians to give priority to measures that assist their citizens and foster sustainable and equitable economic growth.

Politicians prioritize policies and institutional changes that serve their current needs, such as negotiating with other powerful stakeholders or designing intergovernmental relations to maintain centralized control, over optimizing service delivery. Winning elections and retaining the power and largesse that elected positions provide are frequently critical components of securing their (and their clans') economic fortunes.⁸⁶

As in other parts of the cross-border cluster, Kapoeta East residents, for example believe that their interest are well taken care of, and representation is achieved at the national level through politicians. On this note, one study participant observed that “politicians are trusted because they fight for the community in the parliament as they are trying to borrow some resources. They are the head of the community, and they give support to the school children”.⁸⁷

Among the Nyangatom and Daasanach, politicians are believed to own and control a lot of resources. They have also been known to use the resources to control the people during times of drought and movement, though this has been changing over time.⁸⁸ Locals see them as individuals bent on using resources to achieve their agendas.

Politicians have been instrumental in the successful implementation of cross border peace dialogues that promote trade between the Karamoja and the Turkana communities of Uganda and Kenya respectively.⁸⁹ Locals in the Karamoja sub-region in Uganda think politicians bear both positive and negative impacts on development in the area with a number of projects being credited to the leadership and influence of the local politicians especially the local councillors.

For the Pokot, politicians are among the most trusted individuals within the community and their influence in helping achieve development. The locals believe that politicians do their representative roles in various assemblies i.e., national and county government assemblies thus presenting their demands to the government. This is not different among the Turkana as they also hold politicians in high esteem. The community places trust in politicians, government officials, and their elders due to their ability to inspire hope during times of adversity.⁹⁰

Traditional authorities

Due to their role as stewards of indigenous knowledge systems that could be crucial to project implementation, traditional leaders and structures have a considerable impact on the communities that make up the Karamoja cluster. Traditional authorities play the responsibilities of mediation, community

⁸⁶ Yasuhiko Matsuda, ‘Strengthening Local Service Delivery in the Philippines: The Use of Political Economy to Craft Bank Operational Strategies’, in *Problem-Driven Political Economy Analysis: The World Bank’s Experience*, ed. Yasujiko Matsuda, (Washington D.C: World Bank, 2014), 233–60.

⁸⁷ Personal interview, key informant, Kapoeta East, South Sudan. 12 February 2023

⁸⁸ FGD participant, Dassanech Omorate, Ethiopia. 06 February 2023.

⁸⁹ FGD participant, Katanga Moroto, Uganda, 08 February 2023

⁹⁰ Personal interview, key informant, Lodwar town, Turkana County, Kenya. 16 February 2023.

representation, and administration of community culture and resources. These functions and their results underscore the crucial function traditional authorities play as facilitators of intended project activities.

As gatekeepers in the community, these traditional leaderships play a major role on decision making which may positively affect project implementation. The *Kraal* leaders in Kenya's Turkana County for instance play a role in controlling overgrazing and encouraging peace between community members by punishing those who go against their advice.⁹¹ Among the Pokot, the constituted body (*kokwo*), comprising the elderly and respected individuals in the community, is highly trusted and respected due to their intellectual capacity, dispute resolution skills, and fair judgment.⁹²

For the Nyangatom and Daasanach, traditional authorities work in conjunction with the national government representatives at the *woreda* and *kebele* level in planning and execution of government plans. As one study participant revealed, "the government at *woreda* level works with us according to plan from the *Woreda* level. The *Zone* level Government also has connection to the *woreda* level. We have no knowledge beyond the *zone* level."⁹³ The *kraal* leaders have power to mobilize the community and intervene during inter family disputes and settlement of community and other community disputes. They also lead cultural events that bring the people together and create a peaceful environment for the community members. The *kraal* leaders also bless the young warriors when there is a raid against the Turkana.⁹⁴

Traditional authorities in the Karamoja sub-region of Uganda are passionate about peace and have been instrumental in peacebuilding activities within and across the borders. Prominent *kraal* leaders such as "Ekile Ekwang" from Turkana and *Apalobok* and *Lingan* from Dodoth have been involved in mediation for peaceful coexistence of communities in the area because they command a lot of trust as compared to other government leaders.⁹⁵ In consultation with the community and seers, traditional justice institutions like the *akiriket*, also known as the sacred assembly, make decisions regarding declarations of war and peace as well as the movement of herds.

Similarly, Toposa elders (*Ngikasokuo*) in Kapoeta regions of South Sudan play an important role in resolving communal issues, giving amicable solutions and verdict over disagreements thus maintaining law and order. As an entry point to the community, the leaders represent the community's interests and must be consulted before anything is done in the community. They are also instrumental in guiding the youth on where to take their animals for grazing.⁹⁶

The traditional authorities' significant influence enables them to promote positive and culturally sensitive behavioral changes by addressing socio-cultural norms and beliefs that may otherwise impede project activities. Additionally, seers are a crucial component of traditional leadership as they are responsible for predicting future events within the community through observation of natural phenomena such as reading the intestines of slaughtered animals, weather patterns, and celestial bodies.

⁹¹ FGD participant, Lorengipi, Turkana County, Kenya, 17 February 2023.

⁹² Personal interview, key informant, West Pokot, Kenya, 07 February 2023.

⁹³ FGD participant, Kajamakin Kebele, Nyangatom Ethiopia. 07 February 2023.

⁹⁴ FGD participant, Dasenech, Ethiopia, 13 February 2023.

⁹⁵ Personal interview, key informant, Kaabong district, Uganda, 12 February 2023.

⁹⁶ Personal interview, key informant, Kapoeta East, South Sudan, 12 February 2023.

3.2.2 Disruptors in the implementation of the Activity

The implementation of any activity can be disrupted by various factors and actors. These disruptors can pose significant challenges to the successful execution of the CBCR Activity, hence its requires careful planning and effective management to overcome them. Understanding the nature of these disruptors is essential for anticipating and addressing potential obstacles that may arise during implementation. The potential disruptors to the CBCR Activity namely natural calamities, unfavourable government policies, the abuse of social media and technology, youth warriors, and politicians, are interconnected and may not work in isolation.

Natural Calamities

Over the past few decades, the frequency of natural catastrophic events has significantly risen, leading to an even greater challenge in carrying out project activities. Such disasters result in increases in costs, causing contractors to raise their overhead and profit margins, and potentially alter their bidding values. In addition, repair costs tend to increase, leading to an overall surge in project costs. Communities suffer the greatest brunt of these catastrophic events. Among the natural calamities mentioned by respondents include extreme and prolonged drought, flooding, desert locusts and animal disease outbreaks.

For example, in the Nyangatom area, the decision to construct a dam along the Omo River has had devastating effects on the communities that depend on the river for their livelihoods. As one study participant observed,

The government's obstruction of river Omo has deprived us of our primary livelihood source, the fish harvest and prolonged droughts have also caused our crops to fail, and livestock disease necessitates migration to access pasture and water, compounding our difficulties.⁹⁷

Severe weather changes can cause major damage to infrastructure and vulnerable communities. In recent years, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Uganda have experienced locust invasion further exacerbating food shortages that are synonymous with regions in the Karamoja cluster.

Unfavourable government policies

The success of any project activity within a given jurisdiction is largely dependent on the policies set forth by both national and subnational government entities. These policies can be intricate, uncertain, and ambiguous due to the intricate nature of the issues they aim to address. Such issues can be difficult to define, with multiple interdependencies and no clear solutions, posing a challenge for policymakers seeking to develop effective strategies and solutions that tackle the root causes of these issues.

The uncertainty around the results of policy decisions also frequently impedes the development of policies. A policy's success could not be obvious right once, and its full effects might not be understood for years

⁹⁷ FGD Participant, Kajamakin-Nyangatom, Ethiopia, 14 February 2023

or even decades. This makes it challenging for policymakers to anticipate the effects of their choices, which may lead to indecision or reluctance to act.⁹⁸

In Uganda for instance, there is a feeling among stakeholders that a policy on pastoralism is lacking and that the government prioritizes crop farming as opposed to livestock despite failure in rains that crop farming is dependent on.⁹⁹ Communities in the Karamoja cluster region feel neglected by their respective governments as they do not receive the same treatment as parts of their respective nations. Cross-border traders blame national trade policies on slow business with the military as the main instigator.

The central governments of the countries in the region tend to perceive the pastoralist lifestyles of the communities here as archaic, disorderly, environmentally unsustainable, and lacking economic productivity.¹⁰⁰ As observed, some policies in place have further marginalized the communities by ignoring their needs or even seeking to altogether eradicate their cultural practices.

Claims of government inadequacies necessitating corruption has been touted to lead to disruption in service provision and development in parts of South Sudan. As one of the respondents in Narus, Kapoeta East pointed out, “policies and priorities of the government have greatly contributed to increase corruption especially at the local government.”¹⁰¹ The government is often viewed as unresponsive and lethargic to act, which has eroded trust in its ability to address community needs in a timely and effective manner.

Despite the non-partisan orientation of most of NGOs, the sector in Ethiopia is relatively small compared to other African countries, characterized by limited operational capacities and a notable concentration in Addis Ababa.¹⁰² This situation is further compounded by the government's perception that NGOs are opposed to political action. Poor coordination of government affairs was also blamed for the underdevelopment of the Nyangatom region in Ethiopia. A study participant noted how,

There is poor government-citizen relationship (community participation and involvement) as regards to government policies on socio-economic and political guidance to the community. It is like the people are living separately from the Federal policies affecting their development.¹⁰³

The decision by the national government to construct a dam along the Omo River has also been viewed by locals as a deliberate attempt by the government to interfere in their lives. One participant in the FGD lamented that,

⁹⁸ Bob Hudson, David Hunter and Stephen Peckham, ‘Policy Failure and the Policy-Implementation Gap: Can Policy Support Programs Help?’, *Policy Design and Practice* 2 (1) (2019): 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.1080/25741292.2018.1540378>.

⁹⁹ Personal interview, key informant, Kaabong, Uganda, 12 February 2023.

¹⁰⁰ Chris Chapman and Alexander Kagaha, ‘Resolving Conflicts Using Traditional Mechanisms in the Karamoja and Teso Regions of Uganda,’ Minority Rights Group International, 2009, <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4a97dc232.pdf> (accessed 17 June 2023).

¹⁰¹ Personal interview, key informant, Narus, Kapoeta South Sudan, 11 February 2023.

¹⁰² Jeffrey A. Clark, ‘Civil Society, NGOs, and Development in Ethiopia - a Snapshot View’, World Bank Group, 2010, <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/611131468773954100/Civil-society-NGOs-and-development-in-Ethiopia-a-snapshot-view> (accessed 17 June 2023).

¹⁰³ Personal interview, key informant, Turmi, Ethiopia. 14 February 2023.

We are pastoralists and we depend on livestock. Omo river floods had helped our agriculture and was a source of livelihood for our community. The government built a dam which was a mega structure on the upstream. We feel the government tricked us. We were told irrigation will be done up to our place, but this has not happened, and we have been denied our livelihood¹⁰⁴.

Moreover, the competition for scarce resources is not limited to the community but is also observed among subnational units. For instance, the imposition of levies like cess in Turkana and West Pokot counties of Kenya limit trade between the counties and increases the cost of doing business for traders. Similarly, various national policies may restrict the operating boundaries of NGOs, thereby limiting their ability to implement activities. The residents of West Pokot and Turkana Counties who engage in cross-border trade blame the Kenyan and Ugandan authorities for hindering trade at the border. Hindrance to the trade include revenue authorities and policing institutions from either country.¹⁰⁵

The abuse of social media and technology

While the media and technology are often viewed as facilitators, they can also hinder activity implementation, especially if abused. Social media and technology platforms in particular, wield significant influence over the type of content reaching the community.

The dissemination of misinformation and propaganda through these platforms hinders access to accurate information. Besides, the use of social media and technology for bullying and harassment isolates community members, leaving them feeling alone and disconnected. Furthermore, the underrepresentation of older adults in media exacerbates their feelings of being unseen and unheard.

In Turkana and West Pokot counties, study respondents were up in arms on the influence of mobile phones and social media on youth who engage in cattle rustling. There are also new dynamics of cattle rustling such as use of technology (smartphones) and collaboration of the bandits from across the communities to steal from either community.¹⁰⁶ The use of Google Maps as a navigational aid for geographic mapping has been implicated in exacerbating the border conflicts between the Pokot and Turkana ethnic groups. Local inhabitants allege that the territorial boundaries depicted on the online platform have been modified from their original delineation, thereby contributing to the dispute.

In some cases, improved technology has not only enabled better communication but also exacerbated criminal activities. In Uganda, particularly Moroto district, the recovery of livestock is challenging due to the exposure of collaborators involved in peace and recovery efforts. Mobile telephones are used in facilitating communication among raiders, enabling activities such as coordination with counterparts, location tracking, diversion of security forces, monitoring security force movements at night, and communication between business raiders and raiders utilizing motor vehicle trucks.¹⁰⁷

Youth Warriors

¹⁰⁴ FGD participant, Kajamakin Kebele, Nyangatom, Ethiopia. 13 February 2023.

¹⁰⁵ Personal interview, key informant, Moroto, Uganda, 06 February 2023.

¹⁰⁶ FGD participant, West Pokot, Kenya. 14 February 2023.

¹⁰⁷ Personal interview, key informant, Moroto, Uganda, 06 February 2023

The current state of youth participation in community development projects is characterized by a dynamic momentum. While they have sometimes been viewed as facilitators to the implementation of such activities, there is a growing recognition of their potential as disruptors. One major issue contributing to the latter perception has been the lack of attention given to their needs by the government, which is influenced by cultural expectations such as the provision of security for their families and animals, as well as obligations related to marriage. Increased participation of young people in development efforts motivated by a purposeful effort to empower and support them marks a positive step toward long-term community development, as their energy and creativity may be used for the greater good.

In South Sudan, the Toposa youth have been identified as a major factor contributing to the conflict due to their formation of armed groups. They cause conflict when participating in games and in education curriculum.¹⁰⁸ In Turkana, the youth (*ngoroko*) are seen as antagonizing development efforts while working with politicians in the area. As one respondent put it, “some youth and greedy politician are the ones sometimes undermining the development in this region and they always interact where youth are given money by a politician so as to stop any development that doesn’t benefit them.”¹⁰⁹ The raiders/youth (*ngoroko*¹¹⁰) who raid and kill others are undermining development, vandalize structures such as boreholes, stealing solar panels and other items.¹¹¹

Similarly, in Kangaten, Nyangatom woreda, it has been alleged that the youth play a significant role in instigating conflicts, citing cultural traditions and ceremonies as their justification.

Likewise, The Karamojong in Uganda face challenges in their development efforts due to the actions of raiders or youth *karachuna* who engage in destructive activities such as raiding and killing others, vandalizing infrastructure such as boreholes, and stealing solar panels. These actions hamper progress and development in the region.

It is important to recognize that youth involvement in community development projects can be a powerful force for positive change, but only if their needs are adequately addressed and their participation is guided by ethical leadership.

Politicians

Politicians frequently have a big impact on how different activities, initiatives, and policies are implemented in a society. Even if they have the potential to influence positive change, they can also cause disruptions during the implementation phase. This is due to the possibility that politicians may have competing interests and agendas that may conflict with the purposes and aims of the activity being carried out.

The Toposa in South Sudan believe that the Turkana politicians in Kenya are the main instigators of conflict between the two communities.¹¹² This highlights the significant influence that politicians can have on inter-communal relations and underscores the importance of promoting responsible leadership and conflict

¹⁰⁸ FGD participant, Narus, South Sudan, 11 February 2023

¹⁰⁹ Personal interview, key informant, Lorugum, Turkana County, Kenya. 16 February 2023

¹¹⁰ *Karachuna/Ngoroko* is a young male warrior mostly associated with cattle rustling activities.

¹¹¹ Personal interview, key informant, Kaabong, Uganda. 13 February 2023

¹¹² FGD participant, Kapoeta town, Kapoeta South, South Sudan, 06 February 2023.

resolution among politicians to prevent the escalation of tensions and violence. In the Nyangatom and Dasenech *woredas*, politicians are the least trusted because of broken promises. As one key informant said, “politicians are not trusted as the result of most of the promise are not fulfilled and there is always turnover of officials.”¹¹³ The underdevelopment of Turmi area is blamed on political leaders who have been inciting natives against other communities.

Along the borderlands, it has been observed that politicians have been forming alliances in certain instances thus undermining the spirit of collaboration in the region. For instance, the building of cross-border political alliances between politicians from the Dodoth in Uganda’s Kaabong district and the Turkana from Kenya has led to conflicts within the cluster, as these alliances often prioritize political interests over peace efforts and exclude opposing camps from the conversation.¹¹⁴ Political leaders in Uganda are seen as influential and may lead to injustice in the community. They have taken advantage of cattle traders by using them to cover up raids. When politicians make decisions regarding cattle theft disputes, their rulings are often considered final. If politicians collude with others, it can lead to a failure of true justice for the rightful owners of the animals, and this has had a negative impact on trade.¹¹⁵

In essence, facilitators and disruptors have a significant impact on society, and similarly in the implementation of the CBCR Activity. At the same time, controversial issues can arise during decision-making and implementation of planned activities. It’s important to identify and address these concerns in the course of implementing the Activity.

3.3 Controversial Issues in decision making and implementation of planned activities.

Decision making and implementation of the CBCR Activity in the Karamoja cluster might be a challenging endeavor. This is because of the controversial issues surrounding the region, including 1) high-level sponsorship of cattle rustling, 2) proliferation of small arms and weapons, and 3) strong cultural beliefs and superstitions. With a predominantly pastoralist community that relies on livestock for their livelihoods, the region has been plagued by conflicts and insecurity, largely fueled by the aforementioned issues. This section explores the controversial issues in decision making and implementation of planned activities in the Karamoja cluster.

3.3.1 High level sponsorship of cattle rustling

Cattle rustling in the Karamoja cluster has become a multifaceted issue, with increased raids and the ease of acquiring weapons through political patronage posing a significant threat to the livelihoods and safety of residents and visitors alike. This ultimately leads to conflicts that have taken on an economic and political perspective. Different communities view cattle rustling differently but agree generally that it has evolved over time and ultimately taken on an economic and political perspective¹¹⁶. The cross-border communities in the Karamoja cluster are alleging that powerful individuals are financially backing livestock theft.,

¹¹³ Personal interview, key informant, Jinka, Ethiopia, 12 February 2023.

¹¹⁴ Personal interview, key informant, Kaabong, Uganda, 13 February 2023.

¹¹⁵ FGD Participant, Katanga-Moroto, Uganda. 08 February 2023

¹¹⁶ Deo Gumba, Nelson Alusala, and Andrew Kimani, ‘Vanishing Herds: Cattle Rustling in East Africa and the Horn’ ENACT Africa, 2019, <https://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/vanishing-herds-cattle-rustling-east-africa-and-horn> (accessed 18 May 2023).

In one FGD session in Moroto, Uganda, there were claims that cattle stolen from the Turkana and Pokot in Kenya are taken across the border but then again after being handed over to traders in Uganda, they are loaded into trucks that transport them all the way to Nairobi, Kenya. Cattle rustling has been commercialised and coordination could be within the government structures.¹¹⁷ A key informant intimated that,

UPDF deployment is favouring one community in that if cattle are raided from Kaabong, no helicopter is sent to recover but if it happens in Kotido (Jie people), the process of releasing the helicopter is hastened to do the recovery, which is really unfair.¹¹⁸

Disarmament efforts to reduce arms proliferation and thus cattle rustling in the Karamoja sub-region in Uganda have only received minimal success in the past. Many questions have been asked about the failure of the government to address the practice despite having a more superior force as compared to the rustlers. Some people think this could be because some of the soldiers taking part in the operation could be in cahoots with the raiding bands and were sharing in the loot.¹¹⁹ Among the Dodoth community, the youth claim that government officers, who were often burdened with maintaining security in the region, predominantly supplied firearms for cattle rustling without any cost, ostensibly as a means of assisting them.¹²⁰

In South Sudan, cattle rustling has taken a political turn and is used by politicians in the Equatoria regions that host the greater Kapoeta as a bargaining tool for their political interests. The utilization of cross-border cattle-related violence by Equatorian elites has served to advocate for stricter internal boundaries and as a challenge to centralized power.¹²¹ Locally most of the cattle stolen in the Kapoeta South and Kapoeta North find their way to markets in Torit and Lokichogio livestock markets.¹²² Adding to the complexity, the prevalence of cattle rustling has escalated from a localized and rudimentary practice involving sticks, spears, and traditional weapons to a broader scale where automatic firearms are employed.

In Turkana and West Pokot livestock raiding 'is now about guns, land, and votes' as well as political claims over administrative boundaries, struggles for access to land and attempts to safeguard electoral bases.¹²³ In recent years there have been observed patterns of modern cattle rustling in West Pokot that are in stark contradiction to the traditional setting, where typically small-scale violence was involved accompanied with theft of the best livestock or the replacement and restocking of animals lost through

¹¹⁷ Personal interview, key informant, Kaabong, Uganda, 09 February 2023

¹¹⁸ Personal interview, key informant, Kotido, Uganda, 18 February 2023.

¹¹⁹ Monitor, 'Why Does Karamoja Remain a Stain on Our Conscience?', *Monitor*, 19 May 2023

¹²⁰ *Ibid*

¹²¹ Francois Sennesael, 'What Cattle Conflicts Say about Identity in South Sudan', *The Conversation*, 2022, <https://theconversation.com/what-cattle-conflicts-say-about-identity-in-south-sudan-181637> (accessed 25 May 2023).

¹²² Personal interview, key informant, Kapoeta East, South Sudan. 12 February 2023.

¹²³ Clemens Greiner, 'Guns, Land and Votes: Cattle Rustling and the Politics of Boundary-(Re) Making in Northern Kenya', *African Affairs* 112 (447) (2013): 216–37, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adt003>.

drought or disease, as well as the accumulation of wealth.¹²⁴ Incitement from political leaders and facilitation from prominent businessmen is a common happening.

In Oropoi village, situated at the border between Kenya and Uganda, another key informant revealed that local livestock businessmen actively accompanied raiders and purchased their loot directly at the source for quick resale in the larger towns of Lokichogio and Kakuma. The substantial amounts of money involved, with the average cost of a bull at the source fluctuating between Kenya Shillings (KES) 15,000 to KES. 20,000 and being resold at about KES. 40,000, indicate significant financial resources at play. There have been allegations of complicity in this illicit activity involving individuals in positions of authority, including local administrators and politicians¹²⁵. However, no concrete evidence has been presented, underscoring the influence and power dynamics at play. Even when questioned, these leaders are rarely subjected to legal charges.

Despite numerous regularized and spontaneous peace meetings in the Karamoja cluster, resulting in multiple accords and agreements, enforcement remains a significant challenge, as there is a lack of coordinated efforts across borders by security forces and other duty bearers. This issue is further compounded by contradictory disarmament policies in the region, which leave some communities disarmed while neighbouring ones remain armed, leading to vulnerability and increased risk of raids.¹²⁶ Nonetheless, the traditional practice of communal enterprise, which was historically executed using spears and bows, has been progressively substituted by a modern version of gang raids, conducted with advanced weaponry, as a profitable means of generating income.¹²⁷

The lack of a common and harmonised legal framework in the region is thought to be one of the factors fuelling the practice. It is therefore necessary to redefine cattle rustling as a transnational crime and subsequently establish a unified legal framework to discourage perpetrators from seeking sanctuary in any country within the region.¹²⁸

3.3.2 Proliferation of small arms and light weapons

The civil wars in Ethiopia and unpredictable wars in South Sudan and Ethiopia have rendered the corridor a free market for small arms and light weapons.¹²⁹ Karamoja region is one of the world's most violent places, with a small arms fatality rate of about 60 per 100,000 people, according to a Saferworld report, with violence being characterized by "peaks and valleys."¹³⁰ The rebels and the militia groups in these wars

¹²⁴ Personal interview, key informant, Kacheliba, West Pokot, Kenya, 20 February 2023.

¹²⁵ Personal interview, key informant, Oropoi, Turkana County, Kenya, 07 February 2023

¹²⁶ FGD participant, Kapoeta East, South Sudan, 13 February 2023.

¹²⁷ Thomas T. Halabo and Tadesse Berisso, 'Pastoral Conflict, Emerging Trends and Environmental Stress in Nyangatom, Southern Ethiopia', *Ethiopian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 16 (2) (2020): 112-132, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1314/ejossah.v16i2.5>.

¹²⁸ Nelson Alusala, Deo Gumba and Andrew Kimani, 'Vanishing Herds: Cattle Rustling in East Africa and the Horn,' ENACT Africa, December 2019, <https://enact-africa.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/2019-12-18-vanishing-herds-research-paper-10.pdf> (accessed 17 June 2023).

¹²⁹ Aly Verjee, 'Ethiopia and the South Sudanese Civil War', 2017, <https://www.e-ir.info/2017/11/30/ethiopia-and-the-south-sudanese-civil-war/> (accessed 28 May 2023).

¹³⁰ SaferWorld, 'Peace, Security and Justice in Karamoja: Amplifying the Voices of Women and Girls,' December 2020, <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/publications/1293-peace-security-and-justice-in-karamoja-amplifying-the-voices-of-women-and-girls> (accessed 17 June 2023).

get ready market to other communities who were disarmed or need to re-arm. In 2003, it was estimated that over 300,000 firearms are in civilian hands in the region.¹³¹ Due to access to these weapons, the intensities of violent conflicts have increased among these pastoralists year in year out.

Governments' efforts to disarm these communities have failed to some extent.¹³² Currently there is a military operation in the north rift region of Kenya to disarm the warlords in the region. The armed pastoralists from the Turkana, Sthe amburu, and the Pokos, are seriously taking on the joint military troops and even killing some of them, burning public institutions and military vehicles.¹³³

Although the security situation in Karamoja districts in Uganda has improved lately, the region's borders with Kenya and South Sudan remain porous, resulting in a constant flow of people, livestock, and small weapons.¹³⁴ Some Karamoja communities have re-armed themselves as a response to the armed Turkana cattle rustlers from Kenya due to the lack of disarmament in Kenya. Insecurity in the region is caused by the illegal possession of firearms, which are rumoured to be supplied by Turkana. The porous borders are aiding the supply of illegal guns. As a result, the Jie and the Matheniko are buying guns from the Turkana and using them to attack each other.¹³⁵

In SNNPR, the escalation of conflicts in the Karamoja region has increased the proliferation of modern arms and their subsequent acquisition by all pastoral groups. The Nyangatom are believed to have used the civil war in the greater Sudan to their advantage through the Toposa people to get firearms which have always given them an upper hand in the past in relation to communal feuds. As one key informant stated, "the only item that gets into Ethiopia from South Sudan is illegal firearms."¹³⁶ The trend does not seem to have changed much. Among the Daasanach, many men today carry modern arms, which were becoming the new symbol of male status and power in that society.¹³⁷

South Sudan has a long history of civil wars that have resulted in the proliferation of small arms and light weapons which have also ended up in civilian hands. It is perceived that possession of firearms by civilians is the main constraint to development in the area as it leads to insecurity. Restricted movement due to ambushes and attacks on the road hinders community members from freely engaging in economic development, intensified by limited opportunities for income generating activities and the negative influence of politics, leading to increased vulnerability among the youth to join gangs.¹³⁸

3.3.3 Strong cultural beliefs and practices

Cultural beliefs can be controversial issues because they can affect people's behavior and choices in ways that may be harmful or irrational. Some cultural beliefs may have positive effects, such as providing comfort

¹³¹ Joe Nam, 'Gun Culture Persists in Karamoja', *New Vision*, 17 November 2003.

¹³² Patrick Devine, 'Persistent Conflict Between the Pokot and the Turkana: Causes and Policy Implications' (PhD Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2016).

¹³³ Martin Ndiema and Lucas Ngasike, 'Three Police Officers Feared Dead, 8 Injured after Bandit Attack in Turkana', *The Standard*, 11 March 2023

¹³⁴ SaferWorld, supra n 130.

¹³⁵ FGD participant, Kaabong, Uganda, 10 February 2023

¹³⁶ Personal interview, key informant, Dasenech, Ethiopia, 12 February 2023.

¹³⁷ SaferWorld, supra n 130.

¹³⁸ Personal interview, key informant, Kapoeta South, South Sudan, 11 February 2023.

or hope in times of uncertainty or difficulty. However, some beliefs may have negative effects, such as causing fear, anxiety, or discrimination. Beliefs and practices can also conflict with modern values and norms, such as human rights, gender equality, and social justice.

Cultural beliefs and practices can have far-reaching effects on the social and economic lives of individuals and communities, as is the case in many parts of the Karamoja cluster. Traditional customs and beliefs continue to influence the way people interact with each other and make decisions that affect their lives. Across the region, the belief that all cattle belong to specific ethnic groups is common. The Turkana believe it is their right to own cattle, a right bestowed upon them at creation. This is the same for the Pokot, the Nyangatom, Daasanach, Toposa, Dodoth, Jie, and literary among the other pastoralist ethnic communities in the region.

The example provided in the Kaabong district of Uganda is a clear illustration of how cultural beliefs can limit women's economic opportunities and exclude them from decision-making processes. The cultural belief that only men of a certain age group can make decisions on community development¹³⁹ issues exclude women from participating in crucial decision-making processes. This denies women the opportunity to contribute their ideas and perspectives on matters that affect their lives and the community. This exclusion can lead to the marginalization of women and the perpetuation of gender inequality.

Among most of the communities living in the Karamoja cluster, livestock remains a major source of wealth and there are a lot of beliefs attached to it. The belief that women should not own or dispose of any livestock at home is another cultural belief that limits their economic opportunities. This belief denies women the chance to own and manage livestock, which is a significant source of income for many families among the pastoralist's communities. Women who are unable to engage in meaningful economic activities are more likely to be dependent on their husbands, which can further perpetuate gender inequality.¹⁴⁰ Among the Pokot of Kenya, marginalization of women is seriously compounded by traditional beliefs that places women after men thus exposing them to further lack of economic power. Modern justice is one of the areas that suffers the influence of these strong traditional beliefs among the Daasanach and Nyangatom in Ethiopia. As one study participant revealed, people mostly choose to attend the traditional system of dispute resolution led by the council of elders, including those related to murder¹⁴¹ These traditional beliefs have been blamed to reinforce some of the illegal activities in the community as perpetrators find an easy way out for their mistakes.

Additionally, the prohibition of women from engaging in any meaningful economic activity apart from watering livestock in the *kraal* set up further limits their economic opportunities. This belief denies women the chance to engage in other economic activities that could help improve their livelihoods and those of their families. Women who are unable to engage in income-generating activities are more likely to be vulnerable to poverty and economic insecurity. Cultural community issues such as early child marriages

¹³⁹ FGD participant, Kaabong, Uganda, 10 February 2023.

¹⁴⁰ Sabin Bieri, 'Power and Poverty. Reducing Gender Inequality by Ways of Rural Employment?', Pathways out of Poverty, 2009, <https://www.oecd.org/social/gender-development/42806451.pdf> (accessed 17 June 2023).

¹⁴¹ Personal interview, key informant, Jinka, Ethiopia, 12 February 2023.

and FGM which are rampant in Kopulio and Nakuyen locations¹⁴² remain major concerns as they are decided upon by other community members rather than victims.

3.3.4 Prolonged and unresolved border disputes

Conflicts over boundaries in the region have emerged and developed under diverse historical and political circumstances. However, the influence of international politics has made these disputes more intricate and complicated over time. As a result, some of these conflicts have become prolonged and difficult to resolve. The Kenya-South Sudan conflict is an example of this situation, as it appears to have grown more complex in recent times. Its roots can be traced back to 1963, when Kenya laid claim to the Ilemi triangle,¹⁴³ a resource-rich area abundant in oil and water, shared between Kenya, South Sudan, and Ethiopia.¹⁴⁴ The Triangle is inhabited by five major ethnic groups, including the Turkana of Kenya, the Didinga and the Toposa in South Sudan, the Nyangatom who migrate between South Sudan and Ethiopia, and the Daasanach residing to the east of the triangle in Ethiopia.¹⁴⁵ Kenya still asserts its claim and *de facto* authority over the most parts of the region. International observers have accused Ethiopia, Kenya, and Sudan of utilizing the ethnic groups as proxies in minor conflicts to strengthen their claims to the contested territory.

Nadapal, a fertile arable land situated between Kenya and South Sudan, has become a point of contention between the Toposa and the Turkana.¹⁴⁶ The dispute has drawn the involvement of politicians from both sides as well as the two national governments. Ongoing conflicts have been occurring between the two communities at the border point, including at the time of this study. During an interview with a key informant in Kapoeta, it was suggested that political leaders from the Turkana community are responsible for fueling the ongoing armed conflict between communities on both sides of the border by using the border issue as a campaign tactic. On the Kenya and Ethiopia border, there has been clashes between the Daasanach and Turkana communities. The reason for this is that the Turkana people acknowledge the border established by the 1914 'redline,' which stretches up to the Ferguson Gulf in the north, whereas the Daasanach people recognize the current boundary line between Kenya and Ethiopia, known as the 'blue line,' that was established in the 1940s.¹⁴⁷

Internally, nations that occupy the region have also seen border disputes between communities in their own territories. In South Sudan for instance, boundary disputes between the Toposa and the Didinga is

¹⁴² Personal interview, key informant, West Pokot, Kenya. 13 February 2023

¹⁴³ Chukwuma Okoli, 'Ilemi Triangle Spat: How Resources Fuel East Africa's Border Conflicts', *The Conversation*, 2023, <https://theconversation.com/ilemi-triangle-spat-how-resources-fuel-east-africas-border-conflicts-199656> (accessed 17 June 2023).

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Charles Haskins, 'The Ilemi Triangle: A Forgotten Conflict,' *Shalom Center for Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation*, 2009, [chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnhtps://shalomconflictcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/THE-ILEMI-TRIANGLE_-A-FORGOTTEN-CONFLICT-CHARLES-HASKINS_-2009.pdf](https://efaidnbmnnnhtps://shalomconflictcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/THE-ILEMI-TRIANGLE_-A-FORGOTTEN-CONFLICT-CHARLES-HASKINS_-2009.pdf) (accessed 18 May 2023).

¹⁴⁶ Ole Kuntai Tingisha, 'The Role of Natural Resources in Promoting Regional Peace: A Case Study of the Kenya – South Sudan Border Regions' (M.A Thesis University of Nairobi, 2014).

¹⁴⁷ Nicholas Aura, 'Turkana-Dassanech Relations: Economic Diversification and Inter-Communal Conflicts, 1984-2015' (M.A Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2017).

rife and an occasional occurrence.¹⁴⁸ The Turkana of Kenya and their neighbours the Pokot, have had long standing disputes over boundaries along the Turkwel River in areas like Kainuk, Marich pass, Lokiriama, Alale and Amolem. A study participant noted how “boundary disputes between the Pokot – Turkana border are common whereby some areas which were traditionally believed to be West Pokot county are now indicated to be in Turkana county by the google Maps.”¹⁴⁹ Similarly, in Moroto district of Uganda, inter communal border disputes have been witnessed among the Matheniko, the Bokora, the Tepeth, the Dodoth and the Jie, with the Matheniko taking the biggest blame for perpetrating intra-Karamoja clan rivalry.¹⁵⁰

3.4 Implications of socio-economic and political conflicts for the CBCR Activity

The Karamoja cluster faces significant challenges in achieving development due to prevalent conflicts, including cattle raids, disputes over water and pasture, political conflicts, and conflicts over contested boundaries. These conflicts have had detrimental effects on the communities residing in the cross-border region, impeding their progress and well-being. Criminal activity may benefit some individuals to a lesser extent, but the overall impact on social infrastructure is substantial, with a lack of investment in education, health, and road infrastructure. Livelihood activities often come to a standstill, and political players may take advantage of the situation to incite violence and call for their people to take up arms. When planning interventions within the cluster, it is critical to apply conflict-sensitive approaches to ensure the successful implementation of the CBCR Activity.

3.4.1 Challenges and opportunities for conflict-sensitive programming.

Most pastoralist communities within the arid and semi-arid lands for a long time have developed mechanisms to enable them to survive in fragile environments such as the arid lands of the Karamoja cluster. However, these settings have changed over the last decades, and pastoralists’ livelihoods seem to become increasingly vulnerable especially with the current prolonged drought.

Areas previously used during the dry season for grazing are being utilized for dry land farming, such as in the upper part of the river Omo in Ethiopia limiting the movement of the Nyangatom within their previous grazing lands. Water was diverted from the Omo river for sugar cane production for the Omo 5 Sugar factory in Kangaten leaving the lands occupied by the Nyangatom drier with less pasture.¹⁵¹ As noted by one study participant as well “the growing populations inhibit mobility, and increased conflicts involving modern arms threaten pastoralists in their areas of origin.”¹⁵² Competition for scarce resources is on the rise, together with larger and more permanent settlements that exploit water resources, which increase intercommunal conflict incidents.

The challenges for conflict sensitive programming within the vast Karamoja cluster revolve around issues that seem unique and quite intractable. Occupied by a predominantly pastoralist people, 30 percent of an estimated population of 230 million,¹⁵³ the land they occupy is arid and semi-arid. The area experiences

¹⁴⁸ Personal interview, key informant, Kapoeta East, South Sudan, 12 February 2023.

¹⁴⁹ Personal interview, key informant, West Pokot Kenya. 07 February 2023.

¹⁵⁰ Michael O. Odhiambo, *The Karamoja Conflict Origins, Impact and Solutions* (Fountain Publishers, 2003).

¹⁵¹ FGD participant, Kajamakin-Kangaten, Nyangatom, Ethiopia, 14 February 2023.

¹⁵² Personal interview, key informant, Kangaten, Nyangatom, Ethiopia, 09 February 2023.

¹⁵³ Intergovernmental Authority on Development, *supra* n 11.

constant food insecurity because of the lay of the land, recurring extreme drought because of very unpredictable and unreliable rainfall patterns and consequently loss of their livestock, for lack of water and pasture. This scenario gives rise to fierce competition for the scarce twin natural resources of water and pasture that is the mainstay of their key livelihood activity, pastoralism.

All kinds of communication become difficult to execute from the tattered or non-existent roads to unreliable telecommunication networks. In Ethiopia, though the main road trunks have spots of tarmac, all the access and feeder roads are marram at best or motor-able cattle tracks at worst. The same holds for South Sudan even though Uganda and Kenya can boast of better roads, working telecommunications and structured administrations that then reach to the farthest of corners within their areas of jurisdiction. Consideration for this element in programming should be emphasised as the need to reach the target populations is critical. The lack accessibility by government agencies and any other outsider means in cases of conflicts, emergencies or even development initiatives, it will be very difficult to access the communities. It is important therefore to plan adequately to accommodate the most remote from the centre.

Among the cluster communities, a lot of information about developmental initiatives is disseminated through formal government channels. However due to the low levels of literacy, trust issues arise. Most community members trust their traditional and informal sources like the elders, *kraal* and spiritual leaders. In such cases, the uptake of new alternative livelihood sources is not only ignored but resisted because of lack of understanding and trust arising from low levels of literacy. This is the reason why most conflicts persist between the Nyangatom, Toposa and the Turkana along their common border and between the Turkana and Daasanach along the Kenya-Ethiopia border at the shores of Lake Turkana.

Within borders of the states in the cluster, boundary conflicts are a common daily occurrence. In Kenya these have degenerated to brazen raids between the Pokot and the Turkana and have invited the intervention of national armed forces to try and bring a lasting military resolution to the conflicts. All development activities in such volatile and obviously a military operational area can only call for suspension of everything else.

There are *opportunities* for conflict sensitive programming in this area as well. Improved relationship and cultural interaction between the Hammer and Daasanach communities on the one hand and the Turkana in both Kibbish and Todonyang in Turkana County, has influence on the trade at the borders. The Kenya national government recently approached the County Government to allocate land for the construction of a formal border crossing point.¹⁵⁴ This opening up of a formal border will enhance trade relations, open educational opportunities for the cross-border communities from either side and generally improve opportunities. Contemporary livelihoods will spring up and markets for goods will grow.

The long-awaited rains seem to have started as reported all over in Kenya and witnessed in Uganda and South Sudan. Though late and depressed, this gives an opportunity to lessen the pain of water scarcity and the sprouting of new pasture from the overgrazed pasture lands. Livestock which has been decimated across the entire region can now regain slowly and disputes over pasture will dissipate. Peace actors and other stakeholders have led the signing of multiple peace agreements at different levels for conflict-prone border area communities, with the region characterized by frequent inter-community cross-border

¹⁵⁴ Personal interview, key informant, Nadapal, Turkana County, Kenya, 14 February 2023.

sharing of livestock and resources. Some notable ones include Lokirama Peace Accord of 1973.¹⁵⁵ This is a peace treaty between the Turkana people of Kenya and the Matheniko of Uganda signed in December 1973 as a commitment by both parties to peacefully co-exist. The effectiveness of cross-border resource sharing and livestock coordination in promoting peaceful and sustainable resource management has been demonstrated in this region. This approach helps to prevent resource-based conflicts and supports traditional pastoralist institutions, enhances community resilience to disasters and drought, and acknowledges the historical role of communities in governing land and natural resources for peace and mobility.

Additionally, the Moroto Peace Accord was signed by the presidents of Kenya and Uganda on 13th September 2019, and christened the Cross-Border Sustainable Peace and Development.¹⁵⁶ It aims to end hostilities among the Turkana, the Pokot and the Karamojong communities living along the border areas of both countries. The UN-supported intervention is led by a ministerial committee co-chaired by Kenya and Uganda and will be implemented in the region to reduce tensions resulting from access to shared resources such as water and pasture. “This programme, in cooperation with the UN, is a programme that will help all of us to ensure that we have peace, our people live together and also to enable us develop”¹⁵⁷ President Kenyatta said at that time. The USAID’s supported Peace 3 project also led to multiple peace conferences and accords signed especially for communities along the borders of Kenya, Uganda, and South Sudan.¹⁵⁸ The Loyoro Peace accord signed in Kaabong between the Dodoth and the Turkana on 9th of February 2019 was again notable. In November 2022, Kenya hosted a CBCR/USAID supported Tripartite meetings between Kenya, Uganda, and South Sudan border counties of Turkana West, Kapoeta East and Kaabong District in Lokichogio. This meeting resulted in a joint accord that sort to summarise and implement activities that will further the cordial relations at the common borders.

All the above initiatives have had peace dividends. There is observed intention and goodwill by communities and stakeholders to ensure there is peaceful coexistence among the communities. For conflict sensitive programming, this will be a steppingstone in ensuring developmental initiatives and opportunities for diversified livelihood activities are implemented.

Education has long been the gateway to opportunity. In 1998, the Ministry of Education and Sports with Karamoja district local governments in collaboration with Save the Children Uganda initiated the Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK)¹⁵⁹ project, in a bid to integrate pastoralist communities

¹⁵⁵ Personal interview, key informant, Moroto, Uganda, 06 February 2023.

¹⁵⁶ The Independent, ‘Kenya, Uganda Sign MoU to Strengthen Cross-Border Cooperation’, 2019, <https://www.independent.co.ug/kenya-uganda-sign-mou-to-strengthen-cross-border-cooperation/> (accessed 18 May 2023).

¹⁵⁷ Intergovernmental Authority on Development, ‘Kenya, Uganda Sign Pact to End Cross-Border Conflicts between Turkana, Pokot and Karamoja,’ 14 September 2019, <https://resilience.igad.int/kenya-uganda-sign-pact-to-end-cross-border-conflicts-between-turkana-pokot-and-karamoja/> (accessed 17 June 2023).

¹⁵⁸ Personal interview, key informant, Moroto, 06 February 2023.

¹⁵⁹ Apophia Agiresaasi and Nakisanze Segawa, ‘When Fields Become the Classroom: Transforming Education in Karamoja’, Global Press Journal, 2019, <https://globalpressjournal.com/africa/uganda/fields-become-classroom-transforming-education-karamoja/>.

into the education sector of Uganda. Ethiopia's pastoral areas targeted educational plan¹⁶⁰ have clearly been properly thought out even though execution could be limited based on resources. Alternative Basic Education (ABE) stems from the Ethiopian government's effort to provide better access to quality primary education for out of school and hard-to-reach children, particularly in pastoral and agro-pastoral communities. They both seek to uplift the marginalised children from the communities with less opportunity to get an education. In Kenya among the Pokot and Turkana, there are still pockets of areas where illiteracy is still quite high.¹⁶¹ In South Sudan, the majority of the Toposa community remains largely illiterate, highlighting the need for targeted programming.¹⁶² Programming targeting these areas has a possibility of greater impact and positive change.

Water and pasture are the greatest sources of conflict within the cluster. These two hold the aces for the pastoralist communities across all the countries. Natural resource management and shared resources especially within the pasture areas have proven to be critical during drought. The Kobebe dam set up by the Government of Uganda for use by the Turkana and the Jie from Kotido has helped reduce tensions and saved thousands of animals from starvation and sure death.¹⁶³ Governments at either level for the other cluster countries could easily borrow a leaf and implement the same in areas mapped out for the highest or most densely populated or frequented by the pastoralists.

Improved road networks, accessing social services such as health facilities and markets for livestock and related products need to be put in place to open up the cluster. It is a very herculean task to implement any other aspect of development and to meet any challenges without opening up the road network. Uganda is aggressively opening all its border points with motorable Narongole road through Nakitongo¹⁶⁴ and tarmacked roads to its neighbour Kenya while South Sudan stopped the tarmac into the country through Lokichogio on account of a disputed border line.

With the government of Uganda's investments in road infrastructure, access roads to the border areas have been improved to marram and in other cases, upgraded to bitumen standards. The pre-selected sectors, such as GESI may not necessarily receive as much attention due to competing priorities in the government policy agenda.¹⁶⁵ In order to guarantee that disadvantaged sectors are given the attention and resources, they need to address the problems they confront, it is crucial to interact with policymakers and other stakeholders and advocate for the prioritizing of these sectors.

¹⁶⁰ Federal Ministry of Education, 'Education Sector Development Programme VI (ESDP VI) 2013 - 2017 E.C. 2020/21-2024/25 G.C.', 2021, <https://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/en/2021/education-sector-development-programme-vi-esdp-vi-2013-2017-ec-202021-202425-gc-7239> (accessed 17 June 2023).

¹⁶¹ World Bank, 'Literacy Rate, Adult Total (% of People Ages 15 and Above)', 2022, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.ZS?view=chart> (accessed 10 June 2023).

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ USAID-EKISIL, 'Uganda: USAID EKISIL Activity CRM Case Study,' 2021, https://www.climatelinks.org/sites/default/files/asset/document/2021-10/2021_USAID-EKISIL_CRM-Case-Study-2021-Final.pdf (accessed 18 May 2023).

¹⁶⁴ FGD participant Katanga-Moroto, Uganda, 08 February 2023.

¹⁶⁵ Personal interview, key informant, Moroto, Uganda, 06 February 2023.

To cap it all, the newly elected Governor of Turkana County, has struck a good note with strong networking skills and cordial relations with all the three neighbours.¹⁶⁶ Various cultural fetes have taken place within the cluster and have ensured the spirit of sharing ideas and peaceful coexistence. These fetes bring together the Ateker clans spread out within the cluster countries of Uganda, South Sudan, Kenya, and Ethiopia. Being at the forefront and making the events possible has ensured the possibility of resolution of any disputes and peaceful coexistence within the cluster for the benefit of the communities.

3.4.2 Windows of opportunity towards achieving the objectives of the activity

Most of the populations who inhabit the Karamoja cluster depend on livestock as their main source of livelihood as either pastoralists or agro-pastoralists. This implies that they depend highly on rainfall for their livelihood. However, the harsh climatic conditions characterized by recurrent prolonged droughts have undermined pastoralists' coping methods, making livelihoods more complex, which increases their stress, and heightens livelihood vulnerabilities. Raiding and cattle theft have also been exacerbated by the harsh climatic conditions. Livestock diseases were also identified as a major constraint to livestock production and the ability of communities to recover from drought. Each year and especially during drought, pastoralists in the Karamoja cluster lose hundreds of cattle and small stock due to diseases that can be prevented if they had access to the right drugs and skilled veterinary personnel.

Therefore, it will be imperative for the CBCR Activity to empower the communities by drawing lessons from tested technologies and innovations that have proven effective within the Karamoja cluster. Training and equipping community animal health workers and establishing drug supply chains to facilitate their work, and rehabilitating and constructing shallow wells and boreholes to meet the needs of pastoralists and their livestock would lead to achieving the activity objectives.

Cross-border livestock mobility and trade in livestock and its products are largely constrained by policies, regulatory framework and capacity that are either non-existent or are not harmonized. This report identified a need to grow trade and social ties across borders, such as between the Karamoja and the Turkana, and the flows of goods, services, and people between towns such as Moroto and Lodwar with no restrictions if the security is beefed up. There is also a need to harmonize and develop pro-poor livestock production and development policies at the cluster level, including, the harmonization of legal, policy and regulatory frameworks to facilitate in-country migration corridors and routes as well as trans-boundary livestock movements for enhancing livestock production and trade in the Karamoja cluster countries. Therefore, the communities will benefit greatly if the CBCR Activity would create access to production and marketing inputs, trainings, learning and exchange visits for pastoral and agro-pastoral households.

Achieving sustainable livelihood practices in the Karamoja cluster require a comprehensive approach that includes tangible interventions, mindset change, and the active involvement of government actors. By working collaboratively with relevant government agencies, policymakers, and local authorities, the CBCR Activity can foster an enabling environment for positive change, promote inclusive policies, and empower

¹⁶⁶ Uganda People's Defense Force, 'Uganda - Kenya Commit to End Gun Violence,' November 2022, <https://www.updf.go.ug/uncategorized/uganda-kenya-commit-to-end-gun-violence/> (accessed 17 June 2023)..

the communities for long-term resilience and prosperity. This section discusses some of the issues on mindset change and government involvement.

Mindset change

Most households in the Karamoja cluster are living on the edges of pastoralism or no longer own livestock hence must depend on humanitarian assistance. However, most of them still consider the cow as a measure of all things as was cited by most respondents during the assessment. Most of the respondents called for a shift in the mindset and for the communities to embrace and diversify their forms of livelihoods for sustained peace and development. The community is largely fixated on the belief that livestock is their only source of livelihood. However, integrating livestock farming with crop farming would provide enough sustenance. Communities in the Karamoja cluster tend to have extravagant cultural celebrations, which results in wastage of food and livestock. If these celebrations are more modest, the waste can be minimized.

Inclusion of government actors

Passive involvement of government actors at some levels was identified as a risk to implementing development activities by private actors. Most of the key informants called for a stronger inclusion of government actors at all levels in the cluster. They pointed out that the various government entities should coordinate activities of development partners in the region and at the community level, especially when dealing with security matters. This would in turn lead to accountability and increase synergy among actors for visible impact in their various interventions.

Since the 1980s, significant funds have been invested in the Karamoja cluster by development and humanitarian partners. Despite this investment, the community still heavily relies on humanitarian aid. Security, which is a prerogative of respective governments in the region, remains a major concern within the cluster. If effectively addressed, the community has the potential to produce enough food to sustain itself without the need for humanitarian assistance. Facilitating the free movement of the cross-border communities and promoting resource-sharing would contribute to this self-sufficiency. Finally, the provision of socio-economic services such as healthcare, education, and markets would help to reduce the need for humanitarian assistance¹⁶⁷.

¹⁶⁷ Personal interview, key informant, Moroto, Uganda. 09 February 2023.

4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Conclusions

This applied political economy analysis (APEA) of the Karamoja cluster identified individuals, institutions and conditions that would facilitate or disrupt the implementation of the CBCR Activity. The most controversial issues as well as windows of opportunity that the Activity could leverage are also highlighted. Some players stuck out as key in facilitation in the implementation of the CBCR Activity. Thus, Activity's implementation in the Karamoja cluster requires collaborative efforts with various state and non-state actors. Actors such as NGOs are key facilitators, providing a range of services and interventions while working closely with local communities. Private institutions, such as banks and telecommunications companies, contribute through financial services, grants, and communication infrastructure. Religious institutions play a significant role in fostering trust, peacebuilding, and delivering essential services. Women organizations champion development, peacebuilding, and empowerment initiatives, while youth, particularly young men, act as agents of change and development. The national governments play a vital role in policy formulation, security maintenance, infrastructure development, and service provision, while the decentralized units handle policy implementation, public service provision, and collaborative governance. Additionally, regional bodies such as IGAD and the Africa Union Border Program (AUBP) play a significant role in peacebuilding and conflict resolution among cross-border communities, providing platforms for resolving border disputes and fostering regional integration. These actors provide opportunities for collaboration with the CBCR Activity. By leveraging the strengths of these actors, the CBCR Activity can be implemented comprehensively, promoting sustainable development and community resilience in the region.

At the same time, various factors and actors can disrupt the implementation of the CBCR Activity. These include natural calamities, unfavorable government policies, the abuse of social media and technology, youth warriors, and politicians. Natural disasters like droughts and floods can increase costs and damage infrastructure, while inadequate government policies and corruption hinder progress. The misuse of social media and technology platforms spreads misinformation and isolates communities. Youth involvement can be positive, but their participation in armed groups and destructive activities disrupts development efforts. Politicians with their competing interests and agendas can conflict with project objectives, leading to conflicts and broken promises. For the successful implementation and sustainable community development the CBCR must have in place effective strategies of dealing with such disruptors.

Moreover, controversial issues in the cluster pose significant challenges in decision-making and implementation of the CBCR Activity. The high-level sponsorship of cattle rustling, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, strong cultural beliefs and practices, and prolonged and unresolved border disputes are major controversial issues affecting the cluster. Cattle rustling has become commercialized and is fuelled by political patronage, leading to conflicts and insecurity. The availability of small arms and light weapons exacerbates the violence and intensifies

conflicts among pastoralist communities. Cultural beliefs and practices, such as gender inequality and exclusion of women from decision-making processes, hinder social and economic development. Prolonged and unresolved border disputes further contribute to conflicts in the region. Addressing these controversial issues requires coordinated efforts, including redefining cattle rustling as a transnational crime, disarmament initiatives, promoting gender equality, and resolving border disputes through peaceful means.

Conflict-sensitive programming in Karamoja cluster may face numerous challenges as well as opportunities. The changing climatic conditions, including prolonged drought and flooding at times compounded with competition for scarce resources, has made livelihoods increasingly vulnerable. Limited access to communication, low literacy levels, and boundary conflicts further exacerbate the situation. However, there are opportunities for peace and development, such as improved trade relations, peace agreements, and initiatives for education and water resource management. To achieve sustainable livelihoods, it is important for the CBCR Activity to empower communities, and foster a mindset change towards diversifying livelihoods. Collaborative efforts involving government actors and the provision of socio-economic services can contribute to long-term resilience and self-sufficiency.

4.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions of the analysis, we make the following recommendations.

Strengthen Conflict-Sensitive Programming: Given the socio-economic and political conflicts in the Karamoja cluster, it is important to prioritize conflict-sensitive programming. This includes addressing the vulnerability of pastoralist livelihoods, promoting resource management, and addressing competition for scarce resources. CBCR could support initiatives that promote sustainable grazing practices and water resource management. Consider incorporating conflict resolution mechanisms, fostering dialogue among communities, and promoting peaceful coexistence.

Engage Key Actors: Identify and engage key actors and organizations that can facilitate the implementation of the CBCR Activity. This includes CSOs, NGOs, religious institutions, women, youth, media, government institutions, politicians, and traditional authorities. Collaboration with these actors can help in fostering inclusive decision-making processes and building consensus.

Address Controversial Issues: Consider the controversial issues that could arise in decision-making and implementation. These include high-level sponsorship of cattle rustling, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, strong cultural beliefs, and prolonged border disputes. Develop strategies to address these issues through community engagement, awareness campaigns, and promoting diversified livelihood options.

Strengthen partnerships with NGOs and religious institutions: This is important to enhance the execution and impact of the CBCR Activity. Collaborate closely with NGOs, leveraging their expertise, networks, and resources through joint planning and capacity building initiatives. Engage

and collaborate with religious institutions to promote peacebuilding, social change, and development initiatives, tapping into their networks, resources, and community outreach that at times has cross border presence. This can include joint planning, resource sharing, and capacity building initiatives.

Strengthening the local governance, peace, and security systems for pursuance of human rights principles in peace and development initiatives. CBCR Activity should focus on capacity building by providing training and support to enhance the knowledge and skills of local governance structures, including authorities and community leaders, in conflict resolution, human rights, and peacebuilding. This could involve training on mediation, negotiation, dialogue facilitation, and conflict-sensitive development.

Develop well-designed, contextualized, and focused youth and women empowerment programs for cross border communities. Provide platforms for youth engagement and participation, such as youth forums, mentorship programs, and leadership opportunities. Foster an inclusive environment where the voices and perspectives of youth are heard and valued. Provide training, resources, and opportunities for women to engage in income-generating activities, peacebuilding initiatives, and community development projects.

5 ANNEXES

ANNEX I: Terms of Reference



Political Economy
Analysis TOR - Copy.c

ANNEX II: Key Informant Interview Guide and Focused Group Discussion Guides



KII for Political
Economy Analysis-Ne



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GUIDES.doc



FGD GUIDE
traders.docx

ANNEX III: List of Interview Participants

	KENYA	UGANDA	ETHIOPIA	SOUTH SUDAN
1	LOPEO-LOKI	KAPDA-KAABONG	TODONYATU	OPRD-NARUS
2	LOKADO-KAKUMA	KDF-MOROTO	IPC-ETHIOPIA	ICPDO-KAPOETA
3	SAPCONE-LODWAR	MADEFO	SAPCONE-JINKA	DOT-NARUS
4	SIKOM-KAPENGURIA	DADO-KAABONG	CARITAS	LRDA
5	DCC-TW	RDC-KAABONG	Admin-Kangaten	Commissioner-Kapoeta East
6	DCC-CENTRAL	RDC-MOROTO	Admin-Omorate	Commissioner-Kapoeta South
7	DCC-LOIMA	RDC-AMUDAT	Admin-Hamer	Executive Director-Kapoeta South
8	DCC-KACHELIBA	RDC-KOTIDO	Admin-Selemango	NSS Director
9	SCA-TW	LC5-KAABONG	Town Mayor-Kangaten	Mayor-Kapoeta Town
10	SCA-CENTRAL	LC5-MOROTO	Town Mayor-Omorate	Admin-Narus Payam
11	SCA-LOIMA	LC5-AMUDAT	Town Mayor-Hamer	Admin-Kapoeta Town Payam
12	SCA-KACHELIBA	LC5-RUPA	Town Mayor-Selemango	Admin-Kapoeta Town Payam
13	KRA-LOKI	URA-MOROTO	ERCA-Omorate	NRA-Nadapal
14	Immigration-Loki	Immigration-Moroto	Immigration-Omorate	Immigration-Nadapal
15	MP-TW	MP-KAABONG	National MP	National MP-IK
16	MP-N	MP-MOROTO	National MP	National MP-Kaabong
17	MP LOIMA	MP-AMUDAT	National MP	National MP-Kotido
18	MP-KACHELIBA	MP-KOTIDO	National MP	National MP-Moroto
19	MCA-LETEA	LC III -KAABONG	Regional MP	State MP
20	MCA-LOIMA	LC 3- MOROTO	Regional MP	State MP
21	MCA-Kacheliba	LC 3-AMUDAT	Regional MP	State MP
22	Chamber of Commerce- Chair	Chamber of Commerce	Office of Cooperatives-Dasenech	Chamber of Commerce
23	Chair Biashara Fund	CAO	Office of Cooperative-Nyangatom	Executive Director
24	Youth Council	Chamber of Commerce	Dep't of Investment Nyangatom	Youth Leader
25	IGAD	IGAD-Moroto	Dep't of Pastoralism-Dasenech	Office of Emergency
26	UNHCR-Kakuma	Director for Emergency	Peace and Security-Dasenech	Customs Officer -Nadapal
27	RAS-Kakuma	DISO-Moroto	Peace and Security- Nyangatom	Executive Chief
28	Catholic Church	Catholic Church	Catholic Church	Catholic Church
29	Anglican Church	Anglican Church	SO4CM Church	Anglican Church
30	AIC	AIC	Jinka Medhaniyalem Church	AIC
31	Muslim-	Muslim-	Muslim-	Muslim-
32	National Police Service	Uganda Police	Ethiopia Police	Police Inspector
33	Kenya Army	Uganda Army	Ethiopia Army	Army Commander
34	ASTU-Nadapal	ASTU-Moroto	ASTU-Jinka	Border Police-Nadapal
35	KDF-Loki	UPDF-MOROTO	EDF-Jinka	SSDF-Nadapal
36	Media I	Media I	Media I	Media I
37	NDMA	NUSAF	DRM&FS	NDMA
38	Advisor-Economy	Advisor-Economy	Advisor-Peace	Advisor-Peace
39	Advisor-Political Affairs	Advisor-Political Affairs	Advisor-Political	Advisor-Political
40	Advisor- Administration	Advisor-Administration	Advisor-Administration	Advisor-Administration

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