The impact of protracted crises on attitudes and aspirations

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Question

Describe the evidence on the impact of protracted crises on people's attitudes and aspirations. Describe the scope of approaches and methods to understanding attitudes and aspirations in international development; Review the current initiatives to understand and respond to attitudes and aspirations in Uganda and Karamoja.

Contents

1. Overview

This rapid review explores the impact of protracted crises on attitudes and aspirations. It provides a general overview of what is meant by the term protracted crisis, a broad reading of the influence of different types of protracted crisis on attitudes and aspirations and a review of literature that discusses the impact of protracted crisis in Karamoja and on Karamojong attitudes and aspirations. The review draws on both academic and grey literature, which reflects the variety of approaches to understanding attitudes and aspirations and how they are formed. Of particular importance are discussions of social norms, networks and capital and how these shape relations between individuals and groups and thus influence the formation and evolution of attitudes and aspirations.

Despite the evidence for the importance of social norms, networks and capital, much of the existing qualitative and quantitative research on their role in crisis has focused on quick-onset events, such as natural disasters. Much less empirical research exists on precisely how social connections influence attitudes and aspirations in contexts of protracted crisis.

Protracted crisis has been defined as those environments in which a significant proportion of the population is acutely vulnerable to death, disease and disruption of livelihoods over a prolonged period of time. The impacts of protracted crisis are multifaceted and long running, including both economic and social consequences. The impact that protracted crisis have on the attitudes and aspirations of affected populations is an issue of particular concern. However, the humanitarian aid system often overlooks the impact of crisis on social networks and social capital among affected people – elements that inform the development and articulation of attitudes and aspirations.

The Karamoja region of north eastern Uganda is considered one of the most marginalised parts of the country and has suffered high levels of conflict and insecurity for decades, alongside low levels of development and challenges to individual well-being. The conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Government of Uganda has affected the region, and groups living in Karamoja have also been involved in cycles of cattle raiding. At various times, pastoralist or semi-pastoralist groups living across the border in Kenya and Sudan have also actively participated in these attacks.

Key findings of this report include:

- Better understanding of the attitudes, aspirations, socio-cultural norms, capabilities, and agency of communities affected by protracted crises is needed in order to improve the efficacy of humanitarian and development interventions. This needs a more nuanced approach that looks at how these shape responses to crises, rather than focusing exclusively on particular issues.

- Protracted crisis is seen to have an impact upon social interactions both within families and communities. Where norms and values are undermined, without anything positive (i.e. values and life opportunities which influence attitudes and aspirations) to replace them, the effect on individuals, and on the collective culture, can be disastrous. In contexts of deteriorating security, bonds of trust may be negatively affected and shared norms may break down. When social ties, traditional roles and responsibilities and the bonds of trust between and within communities are undermined the consequences can be disastrous.

- The term 'cultural depression' has been used to describe people and societies affected by major disruption to the norms and values (including attitudes and aspirations) which have underpinned their existence. Destruction of social values in this way has a high degree of association with increased alcohol dependency and miss-use, violence, economic disempowerment, lack of self-esteem and cultural belief and increasing powerless-ness and social lethargy. Protracted crises may also entail changes in livelihoods, gendered roles and the notions of the legitimate use of violence.

- It is suggested that there is a need to move beyond the conflict and post-conflict frameworks which dominate analysis in the Karamoja region, and instead adopt an analysis of how protracted conflict and crisis has shaped people's attitudes and aspirations, particularly attitudes towards masculinity gender roles and violence.

- Social drivers associated with manhood in the Karamoja context include: the need for status; pride; associated prestige and respect within the community from being able to marry; wealth and ownership of cattle. The increased inequality within and among communities in the region

and the erosion of cattle-based livelihood roles for many young men have acted as negative forces on the self-worth and status of young men; these may also be important drivers of violence and crime.

▪ As a semblance of stability is established in Karamoja, new challenges are likely to emerge. These include continuing changes to livelihoods, environmental degradation and the emergence and increased influence of mining interests in the region. The evolving nature of protracted crises mean shifting local dynamics and the impact these have on attitudes and aspirations require particular attention. More knowledge on the changing dynamics of Karamoja society and people's ideas of what they want from development is required to inform future programming.

2. Evidence on the impact of protracted crisis on people's attitudes and aspirations

Protracted crises have been defined as 'those environments in which a significant proportion of the population is acutely vulnerable to death, disease and disruption of livelihoods over a prolonged period of time. The governance of these environments is usually weak, with the state having a limited capacity to respond to, and mitigate, the threats to the population or provide adequate levels of protection' (Harmer & Macrae, 2004: 1). While protracted crises include a heterogeneous array of contexts, they are often defined by several characteristics (Maxwell et al., 2012; FAO, 2010: 12):

▪ **Duration or longevity**. Afghanistan, Somalia and the Sudan, for example, have all been in one sort of crisis or another since the 1980s.

▪ **Conflict**. Conflict is a common characteristic, but conflict alone does not make for a protracted crisis, and there are some countries in protracted crisis where overt, militarised conflict is not a significant factor or is a factor in only part of the country (e.g. Ethiopia or Uganda).

▪ **Weak governance or public administration**. This may be a lack of capacity in the face of overwhelming constraints, but it may also reflect a lack of political will to accord rights to all citizens.

▪ **Unsustainable livelihood systems and poor food security outcomes**. These contribute to malnutrition and increased mortality rates. Both transitory and chronic food insecurity tend to increase in protracted crisis situations. However, unsustainable livelihood systems are not just a symptom of protracted crises; deterioration in the sustainability of livelihood systems can be a contributing factor to conflict, which may in turn trigger a protracted crisis.

▪ **Breakdown of local institutions**. This is often exacerbated by state fragility. Relatively sustainable customary institutional systems often break down under conditions of protracted crisis, but state-managed alternatives are rarely available to fill the gap.

The FAO (2010) note that development is often viewed as a gradual improvement in quality of life with disasters or acute emergencies (briefly) interrupting this trend. However, in protracted crises development progress is likely to be unpredictable for an extended period. It is this long running interruption that makes protracted crises particularly challenging.

The impacts of protracted crisis are multifaceted and long running, including both economic and social consequences. The impact that protracted crisis have on the attitudes and aspirations of affected populations is an issue of particular concern. Aldrich et al. (2013) comment that despite regular claims

about the importance of crisis-affected communities and individuals, the humanitarian aid system remains in many respects a top-down, centralised system which too often overlooks the impact of crisis on social networks and social capital among affected people – elements that inform the development and articulation of attitudes and aspirations.

Further to this, differences in gender roles and disparities in the way men and women are treated play a major role in how protracted crises emerge and are experienced (FAO 2010). A better understanding of these differences can improve responses to protracted crises by the societies affected, as well as by providers of humanitarian assistance and the international community as a whole.

Attitudes

Attitudes are commonly defined as general and enduring evaluations of a person, group, or issue, not only based on beliefs but also containing emotional and behavioural components (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986; Hogg & Vaughan 2005: 150). They are influenced by, and in turn influence, cultural norms and values. These cultural norms and values influence development through its various forms of expression: attitudes and behaviour related to work, reward and exchange; traditions of public discussion and participation; social support and association; cultural sites of heritage and memory; and influences on values and morals (Njogu & Orchardson-Mazrui, 2013). Given that attitudes are culturally constructed and widely diffused within a given society, they often act as a guide to individual and collective behaviours (Akesson 2004).

Attitudes and associated norms are not applied equally to everyone living within a society; they often vary according to class, generation, and gender. Therefore, it is necessary to qualify these terms and 'tease out the differences and inequalities that are often hidden by them' (Ní Laoire 2000: 239). Attitudes and norms are derived from one's context and are often concerned with upholding traditions shaped by people's behaviours in the past. Practices are undertaken in the face of the constraints and opportunities that any actor faces at a given time; they can therefore be associated with the (macro) structural conditions that shape action within the present (Bakewell & Bonfiglio, 2013).

Aspirations

Aspirations principally refer to individuals' notions of their ideal or good life and their goals for the future. A number of theories exist as to how aspirations arise. Emibayer and Mische (1998: 985) maintain that aspirations may be constructed differently according to the 'periods, cultures, theoretical traditions, and even individuals' in which they take shape. This does not mean that aspirations are wholly temporally or culturally pre-determined; rather, acknowledging the context in which aspirations form, provides key insights into the aspirations themselves. In addition, structural factors as well as capabilities may shape aspirations (Czaika and Vothknecht 2012). The latter suggests that there is an element of self-selection in having aspirations (e.g. to migrate) which point to personal traits, attitudes, and capabilities (Ferro 2006; Czaika and Vothknecht 2012).

In crisis-affected contexts, aspirations may be severely constrained or at odds with achievable goals. At the core of many discussions of aspirations and their formation is the idea that they are associated with the individual and are shaped by what Czaika and Vothknecht (2012) call 'individual disposition' or 'individual personality'. Aspirations can be most closely identified with the individual who is planning his or her future life and determining strategies to achieve this.

Protracted crisis, attitudes and aspirations

Protracted crises severely impact upon individuals and communities, often involving prolonged displacement, subjecting them to insecurity, theft and violence, cutting access to aid, and impairing their normal sources of basic social services and commerce, among other effects. These crises collapse formal institutions, fray political and social relations, and disrupt and displace communities for extended periods of time (Aldrich & Smith, 2015). Conflict and crisis may also transform existing economic or socio-cultural practices (Lubkemann 2000; Ali 2007).

Wacquant (1997: 349) claims that 'even in the most extreme of circumstances, social life is patterned, regular, and endowed with a logic and meaning amenable to analytic elucidation'. This is because people will seek to construct and reconstruct lives that are 'meaningful, reasonable, and normal'. Therefore, rather than define a process or place by its most extreme elements, Wacquant (1997) argues that one should uncover the order within the 'chaos' and reveal the more 'normal' features of life.

Protracted crises necessitate changes to daily social life and associated norms, values, attitudes and aspirations. Where norms and values are undermined, without anything positive (i.e. values and life opportunities which influence attitudes and aspirations) to replace them, the effect on individuals, and on the collective culture, can be disastrous (Crawford, 2016). Crawford (2008; 2016) notes that destruction of social values in this way, may lead to increased alcohol dependency and miss-use, violence, economic disempowerment, lack of self-esteem and cultural belief and increasing powerless-ness and social lethargy. Protracted crises may also entail changes in livelihoods, gendered roles and the notions of the legitimate use of violence.

According to Maxwell et al. (2012) understanding local changes and adaptations in crisis or conflicted-affected situations is crucial. Maxwell (2016) identifies adaptations including, higher reliance on labour markets, remittances, and natural resource extraction, and also notes that these adaptations that may entail unsustainable or 'maladaptive' practices. These include, for example, high-risk livelihood strategies such as the collection of firewood from insecure areas (FAO, 2010).

Protracted crises are also seen to have an impact on social interactions both within families and communities. In contexts of deteriorating security, bonds of trust may be negatively affected and shared norms may break down. It is acknowledged that we rely on the connections and ties that bonds individuals to others on a daily basis. According to Aldrich & Smith (2015), young people find jobs through connections and family friends, small business owners raise money directly from acquaintances or from neighbours in their community, farmers gain insights into new crop raising techniques from members of collective or cooperative groups etc. These connections allow more than the sharing of information, they also create shared norms and behaviour and influence attitudes and aspirations. A growing body of evidence has illuminated the critical role these social connections play in mitigating risk and in accelerating recovery during and after disasters.

Social scientists refer to these connections as 'social capital' and recognise that with these ties come information, trust, norms, and accurate expectations about how we and others will behave. Social capital has been categorised into three different forms:

- **Bonding social capital** describes the relationships between people who are quite similar. These may be family members, neighbours who share similar values, language, education, or extended kin.

- **Bridging social capital** describes connections to individuals who are different in critical ways but share an institution or interest.
- **Linking social capital** involves vertical ties between regular citizens and decision makers.

Social scientists generally divide measures for social capital into cognitive/associative and behavioural. Cognitive investigations of social capital ask people about how much trust they have in neighbours and decision makers, how they would solve problems in a crisis, and about their sense of belonging and place. Behavioural questions instead look to see how often they interact with friends and neighbours, and participate in communal and political activities. As noted, protracted crisis fundamentally undermines existing societal bonds and disrupt social capital

Research has demonstrated how social capital can positively affect welfare outcomes in developing nations in the areas of safety, health, and economic outcomes (Aldrich and Smith, 2015). It can also improve human security more broadly through the creation of shared values between ethnic, religious, or racial groups which may otherwise be in conflict (Varshney & Gubler, 2013).

Beyond reducing violence, individuals and communities with stronger social ties have better mental and physical health outcomes in both urban and rural communities. This may be because individuals who share norms can positively influence members within their social network to engage in healthier behaviours and because of the greater amount of trusted information shared. When social ties, traditional roles and responsibilities and the bonds of trust between and within communities are undermined, the consequences can be disastrous.

Cultural depression has been used to describe the major disruption to norms and values, including attitudes and aspirations, that crises-affected people and societies face (Crawford, 2016: 26; Korhonen, 2005; Dyer, 2006). Crawford (2016) suggests that conflict (as in Cyprus after 1974 or Syria), natural disasters (e.g. after the Tsunami of 2004), or political manipulation and exploitation (e.g. Bantu discrimination against the Forest People's in Cameroon, or the colonial powers against the aboriginal peoples in Australia and North America) can cause these disruptions. This disruption is different to 'breaks with tradition' where the choice to abandon certain cultural norms and practices is made consciously and with minimum force. Rather, where norms and values are undermined, without anything positive – in terms of values and life opportunities – to replace them, the effect on individuals, and on the collective culture, can be disastrous, leading to higher degrees of associated alcohol dependency, violence and lack of self-esteem, for example (Crawford, 2016).

The gradual destruction of traditional livelihoods and gendered roles often accompany protracted crises. While the dislocation of society, loss of cultural identity and purpose, self-esteem and cultural pride can exacerbate cultural depression. Crawford (2016) notes that there is a need to better understand the socio-cultural norms, capabilities, and agency of crisis-affected communities and understand how their attitudes and aspirations change or adapt in response to conflict and crises.

3. Scope of approaches and methods to understanding attitudes and aspirations in international development

There are a multitude of approaches and methods for understanding attitudes and aspirations in international development. Much of this literature focuses on notions of social norms and values (Marcus et al., 2015; Pereznieto & Marcus), wellbeing (Grogan & Koka, 2013) and the psycho-social impact of crisis (ACF, 2013). There is a less robust evidence base that focuses specifically on how protracted crises influence affected individuals and communities attitudes and aspirations (Aldrich et al., 2013; Bakewell & Bonfiglio, 2013). However, there are a range of examples of attempts to better understand attitudes and aspirations in a variety of contexts.

South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS)

The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) has conducted the SASAS annually since 2003. It is a nationally representative, repeated cross-sectional survey that charts and explains the interaction between South Africa's changing institutions, its political and economic structures, and the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour patterns of its diverse populations. Designed as a time series, SASAS provides a long-term account of the speed and direction of change in underlying public values and the social fabric of modern South Africa.

Each round of SASAS has been designed to yield a representative sample of between 3500-7000 individuals aged 16 and older, regardless of nationality or citizenship, in households which are geographically spread across the country's nine provinces. The sample has been drawn from the HSRC's Master Sample - a sampling frame that consists of 1,000 Population Census enumeration areas (EAs). Each SASAS round of interviewing consists of a sub-sample of 500 EAs drawn from the master sample, stratified by province, geographical sub-type and majority population group.

The SASAS questionnaire contains a standard 'core' set of demographic, behavioural and attitudinal variables, which is repeated each round, with the aim of monitoring change and continuity in a variety of social, economic and political values over time. In addition to the core module, each round of interviewing accommodates rotating modules on specific themes, the aim being to provide detailed attitudinal evidence to inform policy and academic debate.

In determining the thematic content of the survey, attempts are made to identify key perennial topics that would provide reliable and robust measures to shape understanding of present-day South Africa and the processes of change within it. SASAS focuses on variations in culture and social structure within the country and aspires to be an instrument for identifying and interpreting long-term shifts in social circumstances and values, rather than simply monitoring short-term changes.

Moving beyond conflict: Re-framing mobility in the African Great Lakes region

Bakewell and Bonfiglio (2013) set out the case for exploring the broad process of migration in the African Great Lakes region looking beyond the conflict framework that dominates analysis in the region. They present a conceptual framework which facilitates an examination of the underlying everyday social processes that shape people's mobility, along with the particular conditions of conflict and violence prevalent in many parts of the Great Lakes.

The framework draws on sociological theories of 'normal' life and agency, looking along three analytical dimensions in order to examine mobility: aspirations, norms, and practices. It is then tentatively used to analyse migration associated with three underlying social processes within the Great Lakes region: education, urbanisation, and family formation. The paper concludes with a reflection upon the challenges of applying this framework. Bakewell and Bonfiglio (2013) argue that adopting a life-course approach, that views movement related to 'key, transitional events' during the span of a person's life, may be particularly suited to operationalising this framework.

The social impacts of crisis: findings from community-level research in five developing countries

Hossain et al. (2009; 2010) conducted an analysis of the social impact of relationship between locally specific crises and the global financial crisis in five developing countries. The research looked at how social protection interventions and local social solidarity and informal support systems featured in resilience to the shocks. It also identified issues on which the effects of the crises seemed likely to endure. They found that a wide range of 'harms that persist' emerge from or are associated with the recent economic shocks, including nutritional impacts, particularly on infants and children, and the associated future effects on health, cognitive capacities and education. Hossain et al (2009; 2010) document signs that social cohesion has weakened in case study countries, highlighting the relative severity of the food crisis compared to the global financial crisis for poor communities. In some places, particularly those where the recovery is relatively strong, there are signs that damage to social cohesion is being repaired. In others, notably in Kenya, where food security remains a serious concern, social fragmentation, including family breakdown, appeared to have worsened at the time of writing.

The protracted nature of the crisis was seen to reshape some power relations. The politics of economic crisis involved a renegotiation of the terms of engagement between state and economy, with shifts of power between groups at higher levels that shaped lives at the community level. Some groups were deemed to emerge stronger, and some weaker.

Hossain et al. (2009) conclude that the crisis has highlighted nuanced, yet critical, factors that conventional macroeconomic measures of impact may miss: much of the informal economy; all of the unpaid work that makes up household 'resilience'; many gender- and age- differentiated impacts; and much of the lasting social damage to people's wellbeing and societies that underlie attitudes and aspirations. For example, women's adaptations to the household economy absorb and cushion against shocks, and emerge as vital sources of resilience. However, these adaptations are often at considerable, and very likely enduring, costs to women and to gender relations.

Mental health and psychosocial wellbeing of Syrians affected by armed conflict

The UNHCR (2015) study of how armed conflict has affected the psychosocial wellbeing of Syrians aims to provide information on the sociocultural background of the Syrian population, as well as cultural aspects of mental health and psychosocial wellbeing relevant to care and support. It is based on an extensive review of the available literature on mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS) within the context of the current armed conflict in Syria. The ongoing hardships and violence associated with the conflict have had pervasive effects on the mental health and psychosocial wellbeing of Syrian adults and children. The study finds that conflict-affected Syrians may experience a wide range of mental health problems including:

- exacerbations of pre-existing mental disorders;

- new problems caused by conflict related violence, displacement and multiple losses; as well as

- issues related to adaptation to the post-emergency context, for example living conditions in the countries of refuge.

Experiences related to the conflict are compounded by the daily stressors of displacement, including: poverty, lack of resources and services to meet basic needs, risks of violence and exploitation, discrimination and social isolation.

Some populations are particularly vulnerable such as men and women survivors of sexual or gender-based violence, children who have experienced violence and exploitation, and Syrians who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or intersex.

UNHCR (2015) conclude that levels of psychological stress are high among all affected. People with pre-existing mental disorders are becoming even more vulnerable, and significant numbers of Syrians are experiencing increasing levels of emotional disorders, such as depression, prolonged grief disorder and post-traumatic stress disorder. Cultural and religious value systems play an important role in the perception and understanding of psychological and social problems, and the methods of treatment. An understanding of common cultural modes of expressing distress and the ways that people explain and make sense of their symptoms or illness, which influence their expectations and coping strategies, is important for national and international practitioners involved in mental health and psychosocial support programmes.

12+ Rwanda approach

The overall aim of the 12+ programme is to empower 92,000 11-year old girls in Rwanda, over a period of 3.5 years (2012 – 2016). It intends to understand attitudes of girls and how these can be influenced and changed. The expected programme results are: increased self-esteem amongst girls participating in the programme; improvements in the social, health and economic assets of 92,000 girls, including friendships; increased self-confidence and social status; increased knowledge on sexual and reproductive health (SRH) and HIV; delayed sexual debut; knowledge on money and saving; support for girls' participation in the programme across the communities; less tolerance, amongst girls, for gender based violence (GBV); and the implementation of girl-focused policies at the national level. It is owned and managed by the Ministry of Health (MoH) and implemented by the Imbuto Foundation, World Relief Rwanda and Caritas.

Groups of 25 girls meet weekly over a ten-month period; each group is facilitated by two young women (aged between 18 and 25). The groups follow a standardised active learning course which is aimed at increasing the girls' assets. The 12+ Programme is an innovative example of growing global efforts to address the rights and needs of adolescent girls.

Maternal child feeding and caring practices, Uganda

This formative study aimed to identify and explore existing knowledge, attitudes, practices (KAP) and beliefs that community members have regarding nutrition practices in order to inform the design of a community-based nutrition programme aimed at improving maternal, infant and young child feeding. The nutrition practices for pregnant and lactating mothers across all the regions are largely influenced by

insufficient food, lack of entitlements to the food, gender dynamics and failure of families to prioritise appropriate menus for pregnant and lactating women.

It provided an opportunity for stakeholders to participate and contribute to programme activities through a focus on issues the community consider important. The research aimed to define levels of acceptability and adoption of new behaviours, target audiences and the behaviour change messages for each of the audiences. Based on the results, specific recommendations have been made in relation to what different stakeholders, including those in the community and UNICEF, should do to improve on nutrition practices in the study districts and Uganda in general.

Concern Worldwide conducted a Barrier Analysis study for four behaviours: continued breastfeeding, hand washing, complementary feeding and extra meal for lactating mothers in the Karamoja region. It underscored the following as key behavioural determinants: i) self-efficacy, ii) social norms, iii) positive and negative consequences, iv) access, v) cue for action, vi) divine will, vii) susceptibility, viii) severity and ix) universal motivators. Knowledge barriers, culture and traditional beliefs and practices, financial constraints and service delivery gaps are some of the major factors underpinning the low uptake of maternal, childcare and feeding practices.

The analysis of responses from pregnant women and lactating mothers indicates their actions have much to do with the family and the socio-economic relations within the existing nutrition service-provision arrangements.

4. Attitudes and aspirations in Uganda and Karamoja

Context

Karamoja[1] is an arid region in north-eastern Uganda, bordering Kenya and Sudan and marked by chronic poverty and poor human development indicators. Protracted and endemic armed violence, violent conflict, illicit small arms proliferation and insecurity, alongside environmental degradation, have affected the region (Saferworld, 2010; HWR, 2014). Decades of cyclical conflict, and marginalisation from central government strategies, have left the Karamoja population coping with high levels of vulnerability in everyday life and at severe disadvantage (Saferworld, 2010; Crawford, 2016).

Protracted inter-clan conflicts over cattle, pasture, and access to resources have affected the Karamojong people, which include a number of sub-clans. While the ethnic groups who live in Karamoja are often referred to collectively as Karamojong, the region's population broadly includes three distinct large groups (HRW, 2014: 28): the Dodoth to the north in Kaabong district; the Jie in the center in Kotido district; and the Karamojong (comprised of the Matheniko, Bokora, and Pian) to the south in Moroto and Nakapiripirit districts. Other smaller groups include the Pokot, Ik, Tepeth, and Labwor.

The region is traditionally dependent on semi-nomadic cattle-raising; however, climate variability has made the region's pastoralist and agro-pastoralist people vulnerable to food insecurity (HRW, 2014). Other factors contributing to vulnerability include the gazetting of land, under both colonial and recent governments, for wildlife conservation and hunting, which prompted restrictions on mobility.

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[1] For the purposes of this report 'Karamoja' refers to the seven districts of Abim, Kaabong, Kotido, Moroto, Napak and Amudat, which cover approximately 27,200 km2 of North Eastern Uganda.

Karamoja experiences many different forms of armed violence, including interpersonal disputes, large-scale collective clashes between clans, criminal attacks perpetrated for profit, and violence between the Karamojong and state forces. Although these types of violence are often related to the long-standing practice of cattle raiding, they cannot be attributed solely to failings in the pastoral system. Bevan (2008) notes a rise in armed criminality, in which acts of violence are increasingly orchestrated irrespective of community norms on the use of force.

Odhiambo (2003) notes that conflict in Karamoja can be broadly categorised as taking three forms: intra-Karamojong, cross-district, and cross-border. Similarly, Saferworld (2010) have developed an analytical framework identifying a conflict typology that defines the protracted crisis in the region.

Conflict and insecurity between ethnic groups: Some of the most visible and well-documented violence in Karamoja occurs between different ethnic groups, particularly in the form of cattle raiding. The effects of such violence include death, injury, displacement and disruption of economic and social activities. While some responses to change this dynamic have been initiated, perceptions differ between the Karamojong and state actors about their effectiveness. The Karamojong still report a high level of fear of attacks by other ethnic groups (or sub-groups), leading to restricted freedom of movement. State actors on the other hand see their responses as having become more proactive and effective, and perceive there to have been an overall reduction in violent incidents across Karamoja. Underlying this violence are a number of more long-term and structural factors:

- access to the tools of violence (arms availability and demand factors) and responses to control or reduce the violence, namely civilian disarmament processes and longer-term security and justice provision;

- socio-economic motivations for conflict between groups, focusing on access to resources and livelihoods;

- current attempts to improve perceptions of and relations between different ethnic groups.

Conflict between the state and Karamojong society: The relationship between the state and society in Karamoja has long been a difficult one. The Ugandan government has increased its engagement with Karamoja in recent years, including devising new programmes such as the Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme (KIDDP), aimed to counter insecurity and stimulate development in the region. Tense and distrustful relations and sporadic armed violence between state forces and the Karamojong, coupled with the historical marginalisation of Karamoja, demonstrate an enduring 'latent conflict' between the state and Karamojong society.

Conflicts and insecurity within communities: While inter-ethnic violence is a well-recognised dynamic in Karamoja, intra-community violence is also prevalent, increasing local-level insecurity and undermining social cohesion. This violence is reported to be mostly perpetrated against men, using firearms. High levels of theft within communities, targeting livestock, but also food and personal property, were reported as characterising this conflict type,. In terms of more structural factors underlying intra-community conflict and violence, Saferworld (2010) identify three clusters of issues:

- access to and use of the tools of violence, and the role of the state in trying to maintain security and justice in the face of such violence;

- competition between individuals or families for access to key resources, services, and livelihood options; and

- possible solutions to the violence in terms of existing mechanisms for intra-community conflict prevention and peacebuilding, and the role of local leaders in promoting community cohesion.

Bevan (2008) notes that increased access to firepower escalated the impact of conflicts arising from these tensions and weakened traditional dispute mediation mechanisms. There is agreement in the literature that the factors which have pushed the pastoral system out of equilibrium and resulted in armed violence need to be addressed (Saferworld, 2010; Bevan, 2008; Crawford, 2016). Traditionally, community norms regarding the use of force have conditioned armed violence, spilling over into more general types of armed crime.

According to Crawford (2016) the destruction of traditional, pastoralist lifestyles and livelihoods, has rendered traditional roles for men and women unviable. The increased rigidity of political and territorial boundaries and resulting tensions between political and cultural identities, have played a primary role in the structural and functional changes of traditional livelihood strategies in Karamoja.

While Ugandan Government (voluntary and forced) attempts to disarm inhabitants of Karamoja appear to have reduced violence, many residents feel that it has left them vulnerable and has failed to resolve underlying causes of conflict and insecurity. Saferworld (2010) comment that excessive and unlawful use of force during some disarmament operations has also contributed to poor relations between the Ugandan state and the Karamojong.

While disarmament has contributed to a degree of stability, it has also brought new challenges, including those resulting from the activities of multinational companies mining for gold, marble and limestone in Karamoja (HRW, 2014).

Initiatives to understand and respond to attitudes and aspirations in Karamoja and Uganda

A number of initiatives are currently under way to better understand the context that faces the population of Karamoja and how this impacts upon and shapes attitudes and aspirations of individuals and communities. Much of this evidence takes the form of reports or research assessments that provide generalised overviews of the region. There is an expanding literature that highlights issues and opportunities women and girls in the region face, but more limited information pertaining to differences between ethnic groups (clans) and within communities and families of the issues young people and older populations face.

This section of the report includes brief summaries of research that provides contextual analysis of Karamoja, and goes some way to illuminating attitudes and aspirations. Given the protracted nature of crisis in Karamoja, it includes reports dating back to 2000 in order to illustrate changing dynamics within the region.

Support for strategic review and planning to strengthen DFID's work on gender equality and women and girls empowerment in Karamoja Region, Uganda (Crawford, 2016)

Crawford (2016) warns that approaches to secure the lives and livelihoods of people in Karamoja (which have focused on the provision of basic survival needs and initiatives to increase livelihoods/economic activities for women) have been developed and implemented with insufficient attention to, and understanding of, underlying socio-political, power, gender and age issues. She cautions that this may limit the possibilities for sustained, equitable development by:

- further de-stabilising the relations between men and women;

- over-burdening women and dis-empowering men;

- decreasing the chances for personal, social and national stability and security.

Crawford (2016) notes that the solutions which outsiders and governments have tried to find to the "problem of Karamoja" have, in large part, caused the cultural depression and social dislocation the people of Karamoja are caught in. Karamojong people are treated as problematic, rather than as people living with, and through, a combination of socio-political and environmental issues which have not yet been adequately solved. Transition (to a "modern" society) is said, in the literature and in external reports, to be slow. However, Karamoja is going through a period of rapid transition away from a pastoral, cattle-wealth society towards something else.

Entrenched social norms continue to reinforce discrimination and violence in the region. There is high cultural acceptance of violence as a normal method of resolving conflict and as a typical part of parenting and teaching a child. Traditional beliefs that men have a right to control or discipline women through physical means make women vulnerable to intimate partner violence. Crawford (2016) identifies a number of other findings:

- Traditional ways of being, and traditional livelihood strategies are no longer functional – yet there is little, apart from aid-dependency, to replace them.

- People have lost their traditional roles and their purpose.

- Inequitable power relations and discriminatory cultural norms are the foundations for gender inequality in Karamoja. The values, attitudes and beliefs of the people in the region have led to disempowerment of all – men and boys, women and girls – and have failed to protect human rights throughout the region.

Gender, land and conflict in Moroto: Results from testing gender analysis of conflict toolkit in Moroto District in Karamoja, Uganda (Saferworld, 2016)

Saferworld (2016) comment that to address both new and long-standing tensions it is vital to analyse the different roles and experiences of women and men. To this end, Saferworld have developed a gender analysis of conflict toolkit designed to analyse how gender norms (the ways in which societies expect women and men to behave, and which may vary according to factors such as class, age and marital status) can drive conflict and violence in different ways, an issue often omitted from conflict analysis.

The summary of findings focuses on analysing whether and how masculinities and femininities in Moroto are influencing conflict dynamics. It also examines the impact of current conflicts on women and men and the different roles they have been playing.

The analysis argues that gender norms, which link manhood to cattle raiding and gun ownership have, together with drought, poverty, the proliferation of small arms, poorly executed disarmament campaigns, abuses of power by government soldiers, and the bride wealth system, fuelled high levels of armed violence between communities in Karamoja. In the post-disarmament period, the types of conflict occurring in Moroto have shifted, and violence has reduced significantly.

The vast majority of men are no longer able to fulfil traditional masculine norms, and their practices have shifted toward activities that were formerly reserved for women, resulting in a sense of emasculation.

This has knock-on effects for women, who have had to compensate for men's reduced ability to provide for their families economically, and it may also contribute to some men's violence against their wives. At the family and interpersonal level, hunger drives conflict over land more than gendered expectations of women and men when it comes to economic provision. However, there are some conflicts in which masculinities and femininities, and the social structures that both result from and entrench them, clearly play a role.

At the community level, the most prominent conflicts happening in Moroto today are over land grabbing, which occurs on a large scale, particularly when mining companies, who have been granted exploration and/or excavation licences, fence off arable and pastoral land. These conflicts are driven primarily by the non-implementation of provisions in the Land Act (1998) that enshrine communities' rights over their land; abusive business practices; and perceptions of government corruption.

Powerlessness in the face of mining companies and their government backers further exacerbates a pre-existing sense of emasculation and injustice many men in Moroto feel, which could lead to more serious outbreaks of violence. While this must be taken seriously, addressing it should not entail a return to the somewhat idealised yet problematic masculine practices of the pre-disarmament period. This Saferworld research indicates that some men are considering taking up arms again if they are able to secure them, and that long-standing notions of manhood may support such a trend.

"How can we survive here": The impact of mining on human rights in Karamoja (HRW, 2014)

Human Rights Watch Staff carries out research between May and November 2013 in Uganda. They conducted interviews in Lodiko, Loyoro, East Kaabong, and Kathile sub-counties and Kaabong town in Kaabong district; Rupa and Katikekile sub-counties and Moroto town in Moroto district; Kotido district; and Kampala and Entebbe.

HRW (2014) reports that Uganda's government has promoted private investment in mining in Karamoja as a way of developing the region since violent incidents of cattle rustling between communities have decreased in recent years. Karamoja has long been thought to possess considerable mineral deposits and sits on the frontier of a potential mining boom. Private sector investment could transform the region, providing jobs and improving residents' security, access to water, roads, and other infrastructure. However, the extent to which Karamoja's communities will benefit, if at all, remains an open question with the potential for harm great. As companies have begun to explore and mine the area, communities are voicing serious fears of land grabs, environmental damage, and a lack of information as to how and when they will see improved access to basic services or other positive impacts.

Over the last two generations, both men and women have turned to the gruelling work of artisanal gold mining for cash, in part because of increased weather variability and the loss of livestock due to cattle raiding and the government's disarmament program. This increases community concerns for how large scale mining will affect their survival. HRW (2014) reports that mining companies have consistently failed to secure free, prior, and informed consent from the local communities before they started operations on communal lands. The central and local governments have failed to insist on this established international standard. Companies have promised communities benefits, including schools, hospitals, and jobs in exchange for their compliance. However, exploration work has continued and communities have yet to see the promised benefits that were supposed to help mitigate current and future loss of land use, livelihood, and other impacts.

While the army specifically denies having any role in the mining sector in Karamoja, there is clear evidence that soldiers provide security for the companies and their workers, and at least in some instances, benefit financially from those arrangements. Given the brutality of the recent forced disarmament in Karamoja, the presence of the military alongside the companies has prompted both apprehension and questions from local residents about intimidation if they try to criticise mining operations or query companies' decision-making and suspicion of corruption.

Karamoja conflict and security assessment (Saferworld, 2010)

Saferworld's (2010) conflict and security assessment of Karamoja finds that people's values and beliefs inform conflicts and insecurity between ethnic groups. It indicates that inter-ethnic conflicts are a self-fulfilling prophecy, with fear of conflict and violence between groups very high, and respondents reporting an increase in this fear in the two years leading to the assessment (2008-2010). Respondents cited the desire to restock cattle or recover stolen cattle as the two most prevalent causes for attacks. Yet when probed about the legitimacy of this kind of violence, respondents strongly felt that violence against people from a different ethnic group was never acceptable and expressed a strong preference for resolving matters peacefully through peace meetings or regular dialogue. Notions of ethnic identity also do not appear to play a strong role in inter-ethnic conflicts, as most respondents prioritised their identities as firstly Ugandan and Karamojong (equally) and only secondarily as their specific ethnic group.

In broader governance terms, most respondents felt positive about state efforts to provide better lives and access to resources to people in Karamoja, particularly in relation to food and water. However, respondents were only moderately positive about access to locally grown food and replenishment of livestock, and were not positive about access to land. They felt that government programmes were generally responding to their needs, although when it came to actual delivery on the ground, a high percentage of respondents perceived government institutions to be corrupt and felt they only sometimes saw the impact of such programmes. In terms of core services like health, education and roads, respondents were very positive about government performance, demonstrating potential to improve the relationship between the state and Karamojong people.

The assessment also delved more deeply into the nature of the relationship between the state and Karamojong. It uncovered a number of interesting dynamics:

- this relationship was characterised as quite positive by people in Moroto District, but as quite negative by people in Kotido District (even being described as a 'conflict' in the latter);

- many respondents, when asked about the 'government', think about central government rather than local government, who most people seem to trust;

- respondents strongly asserted that they valued dialogue as a means to resolving disputes or problems with state institutions and that violence against the state was mostly unacceptable.

The fact that Karamojong respondents saw their identity as first and foremost Ugandan and Karamojong (equally), bodes well for a positive relationship with the state in terms of their belonging to a national identity.

While the situation may have stabilised, the fear of attack from other ethnic groups was strong amongst Karamojong group interviewees. The most dramatic indicator of fear is the degree to which Karamojong civilians self-restrict their movements. Almost all interview groups reported that fear of attack from other ethnic groups significantly restricted movements necessary for cultivation and cattle grazing, while some

felt that fear of attack restricted movement necessary for medical treatment, education and trading. This strongly suggests that normal daily life in Karamoja is highly disrupted, if not by actual violence, then at least by the perceived threat of violence between ethnic groups. It could also indicate that violence and insecurity between ethnic groups in Karamoja particularly affects agricultural and livestock areas.

During the consultation phase, 'reformed warrior' and male youth focus groups made it very clear that they did not want the government and other actors to give up on them or discount their willingness to be productive. They listed many livelihood ideas, such as opening stores, working in building trades or as labourers, and providing services. They felt that they had energy, ideas and some skills, but not the start-up opportunities or resources. While alternative livelihoods were generally seen as important and positive in relation to reducing conflict, some interview groups emphasised that support to cattle-based livelihoods continues to be of paramount importance. They suggested that livestock and pastoralist livelihoods should be strengthened through support to cross-breeding and improved animal nutrition projects. They implied that "hatred" and conflict would be reduced if Karamojong communities could get assistance to improve the quality and health of their livestock. Although the majority of group interview responses suggested that alternative livelihoods were seen as contributing to a reduction in conflict, some warning notes were also sounded, including recognition that:

- improved trade in the region may lead to an increase in demand for stolen or raided cows or create new opportunities for raiding;

- increased levels of food and money in the community could lead to increased opportunities and incidences for theft and looting (although this contradicts comments from other groups that an increase in food would likely decrease levels of theft); and

- everyone must be included in income-generation or alternative livelihood projects, otherwise this will lead to complaints that people have been left out, and to an increase in tension.

When discussing alternative livelihoods, interview groups focused primarily on traditional education, vocational training and employment or 'make work' schemes, such as bricklaying or quarrying. Activities such as collecting firewood and charcoal were perceived more as 'coping strategies', rather than livelihoods, and had only been taken up because of the insecurity associated with cattle-keeping. These activities were not seen as viable alternative livelihoods and some interview groups reported that these activities themselves involved security risks.

Peace meetings and longer-term peace dialogue processes stood out as important dynamics during the consultation phase of the assessment. Stakeholders identified these meetings as enabling communities and stakeholders to engage with one another and build constructive dialogue, confidence and agreements on behaviour and interaction (such as 'peace resolutions'). Peace meetings were therefore thought to be a potential basis for conflict prevention and peacebuilding in the region.

An important dynamic of inter-ethnic conflict in Karamoja is how people perceive their own identity. In consultations during the design phase of the assessment, this issue was prioritised, given that most large-scale violence happens between different ethnic groups. However, when asked directly to rank how they best described their own identities, most interview groups ranked both their national Ugandan and their Karamojong identities equally as their foremost identity. Their specific 'ethnic' identities (e.g. Matheniko, Jie) were seen as not very important in comparison. This is surprising given that violence between ethnic groups so centrally defines violent conflict in Karamoja. It points to the possibility that the unifying

Karamojong and Ugandan identities of people could be utilised as an important peacebuilding tool and help to mitigate the inter-ethnic characteristics of conflict in the region.

The relationship between the Karamojong and the government is perceived differently in different areas: in Moroto District there appears to be a good relationship, whereas in Kotido District there appears to be a bad relationship. In areas where there is a bad relationship, the perception that there is conflict between the Karamojong and government is high.

Engaging male youth in Karamoja, Uganda: An examination of the factors driving the perpetration of violence and crime by young men in Karamoja and the applicability of a communications and relationships program to address related behavior (Stites et al., 2014a)

This study used qualitative and quantitative methods to examine, document, and analyse the key factors influencing male youth violence in Karamoja. It is unique in that it looks at the continuing and pervasive insecurity in Karamoja largely from the perspective of the *lonetia*, who are the perpetrators. Local populations use the term *lonetia* to describe the cohort of exclusively male individuals who steal and/or cause physical violence within or outside their community. *Lonetia* attacks appear fewer in number, and male and female respondents feel able to engage in livelihood activities such as gathering firewood, going to market, and herding livestock with relative security, a marked change from 2009–2010 in the same area. These improvements have been gradual and continuing throughout the course of the intervention and data collection, and hence likely contribute to the impressions of improved security.

The research findings of this study reflect a deep, complex, and sometimes contradictory picture of what is happening in Karamoja with respect to a rapidly changing social and livelihoods environment and the part that violence plays in shaping, and being shaped by, the landscape. The research findings confirm and refine existing understandings of the livelihoods context in the region, with households engaging in a range of diverse activities to meet daily needs, manage risk, and cope with potential adversity. For some households, this set of activities includes the continuation of violent asset stripping; for other households, this practice has decreased. As has always been the case in the region, this diversified livelihoods approach is reflected in the shifting importance of different activities based on the seasonal and agricultural calendar. There is, however, a widening divide between the reality of existing daily livelihood activities and prospects of achieving livelihood aspirations and perceived ideals. Stites et al. (2014a) suggest that this is particularly pronounced for male youth. Findings point to the divide between what young men are actually doing and what they would ideally like to be doing as their primary livelihood activity.

This study confirms the link between crime and violence as committed by the *lonetia*. They are significantly more likely than the overall population to physically abuse other males, women in their households, children, and elders. The more frequently respondents self-reported theft, the more likely they were to report the use of physical violence.

The study concludes that the *lonetia* category is highly fluid and changes over time; young men are sometimes engaging in theft (possibly with violence) and sometimes they are not. There are nuanced differences in the profile and behaviours of those who fall into this category occasionally or persistently. An understanding of these differences will contribute to the success of programmes aimed at managing insecurity and violence in Karamoja.

Respondents in both the qualitative and quantitative portions of the study describe the need to survive, hunger and providing for the family as a critical element driving crime. These social characteristics of being a provider and protector are closely linked to masculine self-identity, respect, and worth. They also identify additional social drivers associated with manhood in the Karamoja context: the need for status, pride, and associated prestige, and respect within the community from being able to marry, and of being wealthy with many cattle. The increased inequality within and among communities in the region and the erosion of cattle-based livelihood roles for many young men have acted as negative forces on the self-worth and status of young men; these may also be important drivers of violence and crime.

The Karamoja conflict: origins, impact and solutions (Odhiambo, 2003)

Odhiambo (2003) noted that the social, political and cultural isolation of Karamoja went hand in hand with the absence of effective government and the absence of clear, consistent and enforced policy on conflict and insecurity in that region. These factors combined to historically marginalise Karamoja and the Karamojong from the mainstream of Ugandan political, social and economic discourse.

It has further been observed that the state in post-independence Uganda had tended to treat Karamoja as a war zone, where the principles of democratic governance does not apply. Instead ad hoc crisis management mechanisms have been used in governing the Karamojong. As a consequence, hostility and resentment characterised the experience of government, undermining the authority of government in the area, as well as the capacity of government to catalyse the transformation of society.

Odhiambo (2003) highlights that protracted crisis in the region has a diverse range of impacts on the community depending on existing power positions and relations. These relative positions also determine the capacity of the respective sectors to respond to conflict. Odhiambo (2003) concludes that these considerations have had implications for the strategies that may be put in place to address conflict in Karamoja.

For the Karamojong, the causes of persistent conflict and insecurity have had more to do with outsiders than with the Karamojong themselves (Odhiambo, 2013). In particular, they lay blame on the government for ignoring their problems, and for doing nothing to address their plight and provide an environment that would encourage other income generating and livelihood enhancing activities.

"It's better to sweat than to die:" Rural-to-urban migration, Northern Karamoja, Uganda (Stites et al., 2014b)

Stites et al., (2014b), in their analysis of rural-urban migration, note that the primary reasons for migration are: loss of animals, hunger, and death of a family member. These aspects are closely linked, with many people losing their animals in violent raids that result in a death, and the loss of animals causing subsequent hunger.

Widows in the study population most commonly cited the death of a family member as the main factor in their decision to migrate. Better economic opportunities are identified as the strongest urban pull factor; respondents strongly believed that they would find a better life in town and be in a better position to support their families. Improved security was also an important consideration in the decision to migrate, particularly for those who had lost assets or family members.

Pull factors for pastoralists to urban areas include employment opportunities and livelihood diversification as well as access to services. Push factors include the loss and degradation of land,

development-induced displacement, natural disasters, repeated drought, urbanisation, and lack of recognition of rights (Kipuri 2010 cited in Stites et al., 2014b). Violent conflict among pastoralist groups has also been a major cause of displacement and migration. Restrictions on mobility, exacerbated by the nationalisation of pastoral lands and the denial of pasture and water rights, were seen to hinder pastoral livelihoods. Climate change and land-use and land-cover changes have important implications for pastoralist communities in the Horn of Africa, particularly as many political, social, economic, and ecological crises have resulted from the pressures put on already fragile ecosystems (Stites et al., 2014b).

The findings from this study illustrate several aspects of migration in northern Karamoja. An important overarching finding is that the vast majority of study respondents interviewed in Abim, Kotido, and Kaabong have not made a complete break with their rural livelihoods. Rather, the migration and settlement patterns illustrate livelihood adaptations and diversification that take into account the growing importance of the district centers. In many instances, individuals in the study sample made calculated decisions to take advantage of the economic and other opportunities in the urban locations, which include labour in the emerging construction and services markets, access to better-quality educa-tion for children, entrepreneurial possibilities, and the potential for saving for greater investment in rural assets such as land and livestock.

Women who have left rural homes after being widowed, abandoned or mistreated are an exception to the pattern of maintaining rural ties. These women are normally in the urban centers with their children and appear to be generally worse off than their married counterparts. Most reported no or limited connections with their in-laws in the village they had migrated from. This lack of rural connection is considered to have important implications for vulnerability, as migrants rely heavily on land and/or relatives in rural areas for food supplies and assistance with children (many respondents reported one or more child living with relatives in a rural area).

Motivations for migration vary in different areas within Northern Karamoja. In Kotido, for instance, of 43 respondents, 26 listed "lost animals" as the primary reason they had left and moved to town (60 per cent of Kotido respondents). Of these 26 respondents, 19 listed "hunger" as the secondary reason for migration (44 per cent of total). In most instances, the loss of animals occurred as a result of uneven disarmament followed by raiding, and the loss of livestock herds led to hunger and an inability to support the household.

In contrast, general insecurity was a major push factor in Kaabong, often coupled with hunger or the death of a family member. Responses were more varied and evenly dispersed among respondents in Abim, and included hunger, death of a family member, loss of animals, and education and job opportunities.

The push factors discussed above often contributed to the decision to depart, but in most instances the move was deliberated and calculated based on risks and perceived opportunities in the urban areas. Those respondents who hoped to return home were often quite specific in their plans and aspirations for this move. Some of the many former pastoralists in the study population were determined to restock and to wait to return home until this was possible.

Crisis in Karamoja: Armed violence and the failure of disarmament in Uganda's most deprived region (Bevan, 2008)

In this analysis of crisis and disarmament in Karamoja, Bevan (2008) notes that the threat of armed violence has had a significant impact on people's daily lives. This has manifested itself in the form of

increasingly impaired communication among groups of Karimojong and also in the deterioration of relations within communities; violence, or the threat of violence; and disrupted travel between towns, villages, and kraals or temporary cattle camps. Many people fear to walk because it may result in being robbed and potentially shot. One person's decision to travel can be a strategic problem for the whole community; in some cases, people have been captured and forced at gunpoint to lead raiders to their community's livestock

These deterrents to travel affect both intra- and inter-communal relations. An upsurge in armed violence appears to deter all but the most essential travel, with people abandoning their visits to relatives who lived even a relatively short distance away for fear of being robbed, killed, or taken hostage.

Impaired social networks have also had a highly negative impact on the prospects for peace in Karamoja. Historically, inter-clan meetings have been pivotal in dispute resolution, and for sustaining resource-sharing agreements and access rights to pasture. Many elders were deterred from risking travel and often dependent on transport provided by faith-based and other community-based mediation groups in the region.

Numerous government-led disarmament initiatives of varying scale have been launched in Karamoja since 1945, with the most recent being in 1984, 1987 and 2001. Another disarmament initiative was launched in the first half of 2006 and was ongoing at the end of 2007. None of these initiatives proved effective in reducing armed violence in the region with the 2006 disarmament initiative having an escalatory effect on violence.

Many Karamojong view the Ugandan defence forces as hostile invaders in their territory as a result of disarmament initiatives. By extension, they increasingly view the government, and everything associated with it, as a hostile actor. The findings from focus groups suggest that many Karamojong believe that the army is an instrument of vengeance. Participants alleged that 'foreign' soldiers (of different ethnicities) from the districts to the west of Karamoja were mostly to blame for the violence against civilians.

Bevan (2008) comments that without a structured plan for increasing community security in Karamoja, there is little prospect for effectively disarming pastoral groups in the near future. The use of Ugandan military and paramilitary forces to disarm the Karamojong has been the cause of tensions between civilians and the army. He asserts that small arms are likely to continue to play a primary role for communities that seek to protect themselves from a host of threats. Past initiatives demonstrated that pure disarmament cannot come before the provision of adequate security by the state of Uganda. In the short term, this means the protection of communities and cattle from raids by rival groups of warriors or from economically-motivated crime. In the long term, it means the provision of police forces that are able to resolve crime as well as to mediate disputes before they escalate. Arguably, one future danger is the persistence of short-term policies directed to the region—ones that are built either on incomplete assessments of the nature of the insecurity that exists in the region or desperate measures born out of frustration at the escalating crisis there.

There is a tendency to frame conflict-reduction and development interventions, however nascent, in terms of a drastic reordering of the modes of production rather than attempting to fix failings in the system (Bevan, 2008). He concludes that while the system in Karamoja may be gravely malfunctioning, to attempt to replace it would be unwise on several counts:

- ▪ Pastoralism is not the result of marginalisation, but rather of the optimisation of previously inaccessible resources. Most of Karamoja's range- land is not suited to agriculture, and it is

doubtful whether the population of Karamoja could exist on the limited land that is suited to farming.

- Pastoral groups interact with the market on many different levels. In Karamoja, the criminal linkages between pastoralism and the economy are clear evidence of this, and are an indication that the state has a role to play in encouraging better integration of pastoral modes of production into the national economy.

- If the state views such drastic changes as necessary, the enormity of implementing these policies is likely to deter any meaningful interventions. The failure of every alternative livelihood component within KIDDP is a prime example.

Bevan cautioned that the result, as in the past, is likely to be short-term policies directed at addressing the symptoms of the region's problems, such as numbers of weapons, rather than structural reasons for conflict, such as marginalisation, poverty, and scarcity. All of these observations suggest the need for a well-developed, long-term plan for increasing security in Karamoja that reflects the needs of communities. Above all, Karamoja needs to receive adequate government attention. Its roads, towns, and people all exemplify neglect by central authority. The government needs to restore the confidence of the people of Karamoja if it is to begin to address armed violence, insecurity, and underdevelopment in the region.

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