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**Political Marginalisation and Persistent Poverty in
Karamoja, North Eastern Uganda**

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List of Acronyms

| | |
|--------|--|
| ADF | Allied Democratic Forces |
| ADP | Arid land Development Programme |
| AMISOM | African Union Mission in Somalia |
| CBO | Community Based Organization |
| CSO | Civil Society Organization |
| DRC | Democratic Republic of Congo |
| FOBA | Force Obote Back Again |
| HDI | Human Development Index |
| HPI | Human Poverty Index |
| ISS | Institute of Social Studies |
| KALIP | Karamoja Livelihoods Programme |
| LDU | Local Defence Unit |
| LRA | Lord's Resistance Army |
| MAAIF | Ministry of Agriculture Animal Industry and Fisheries |
| MDGs | Millennium Development Goals |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| OWC | Operation Wealth Creation |
| PRDP | Peace Recovery and Development Plan |
| UGX | Uganda Shillings |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNHS | Uganda National Household Survey |
| UNOCHA | United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs |
| UNPF | United Nations Population Fund |
| WFP | World Food Programme |

Abstract

Researchers, policymakers, and others have often used ecological factors to explain the persistent poverty in Karamoja sub region of Uganda. Through a qualitative methodology, this paper reveals how political marginalization plays a key role in perpetuating poverty in the region as explained by a range of theories such as marginalisation, racial (ethnic discrimination), modernization, dependency, and capability approach.

The study draws attention to the politics of resource allocation, political representation, and engagement of the local people to explain how political marginalization in Karamoja occurs and focus is put on the bias government policy towards pastoralism as a determinant of resource allocation. Whilst lack of political representation at top government levels is associated with poverty, the local leaders also have a role to play amidst national political agendas. It assesses if the local people have sufficient voice in the poverty alleviation and development keeping in mind elites capture and hints on whether Karamoja's economic potentials such as availability of minerals (gold and limestone) and tourism (Kidepo national game park and other game reserves) have produced tangible development in the region.

Persistent insecurity is a key factor that contributes to Karamoja's persistent poverty. The local people are too exposed to external raids from (Turkana of Kenya and Toposa of South Sudan). The government security forces at border points are inadequate because they are deployed according to the priority demands to serve at the AMISOM (Somalia), Uganda's missions in DRC, Central African Republic, and South Sudan. The LDUs who are charged with responsibilities to protect people and their property are untrustworthy. This results in the rearmament of communities. Other internal causes of insecurity such as cultural practices of raiding to pay dowry or pride and the role of elites/leaders/businessmen are discussed.

The paper investigates the challenges faced by the people of Karamoja in poverty alleviation and development and it analyses failures from government side, international NGOs, CSOs, role of elites and the local community.

The paper concludes that the persistent poverty in Karamoja is as a result of political marginalisation in terms of limited resource allocation from central government, lack of appointment of people from Karamoja in top government positions vis-à-vis ineffective representation from local leaders and that the local people are rarely engaged in poverty alleviation and development programs leading to their failures. Importantly, the study asserts that the persistent insecurity is to a larger extent a result of government's inaction to provide a long-lasting solution. After investigating the challenges in poverty alleviation and development, the paper posits that it is not only the state which has failed Karamoja but also the international NGOs that made the local population develop unprecedented dependency

As a way forward, the study urges government and development partners to drop the anti-pastoral policy: The government to increase resource allocation to the region to influence development by activating capabilities of the region, extend appointment in key and top government positions to the Karamojong as an empowerment tool that will have a trickle-down effect and provide a long lasting security in the region. On the other hand, the NGOs should discourage dependency through promoting self-reliance initiatives in the communities.

Relevance to Development Studies

There has been a silence on political marginalization as a major factor in explaining persistent poverty in Karamoja. The study sought to examine the link between political marginalization and poverty: How political decisions create vulnerability in the region through the processes of marginalization and exclusion. Most of the available literature about poverty and development in Karamoja offer limited investigations into the political marginalization, rather they offer rich analysis on ecological or environmental factors to explain the persistent poverty. For example, in a situational analysis of the underlying causes of poverty in Karamoja, (Ayoo et al. 2013) posits that environmental factors account for 47%, Insecurity constitutes 44% and Political marginalization 9%.

Having been born and raised in Abim district in Karamoja sub-region, I have constantly been concerned about the marginalization of the people by the government, and the rampant and persistent poverty. Throughout my work with the communities in Karamoja region, I continually interacted with the local people and this gave me the impetus for thinking about pursuing a Master of Arts in Development Studies at ISS of Erasmus University Rotterdam. I found examining the causes of persistent poverty through the political marginalization lens very fascinating. The study is central in Social Policy under marginalization and/or social exclusion, poverty, and inequality in development in pastoral areas.

Keywords

Political marginalization, pastoralism, resource allocation, representation, engagement of local people, persistent insecurity, persistent poverty, Karamoja, Uganda.

Chapter 1 : Creating Context- Political Marginalization and Persistent Poverty

1.1 Karamoja’s persistent poverty

Uganda has made an impressive progress in reducing poverty in the last two decades with an annual reduction in national poverty of 1.9 percentage point according to a World Bank document (Uganda poverty assessment report 2016).

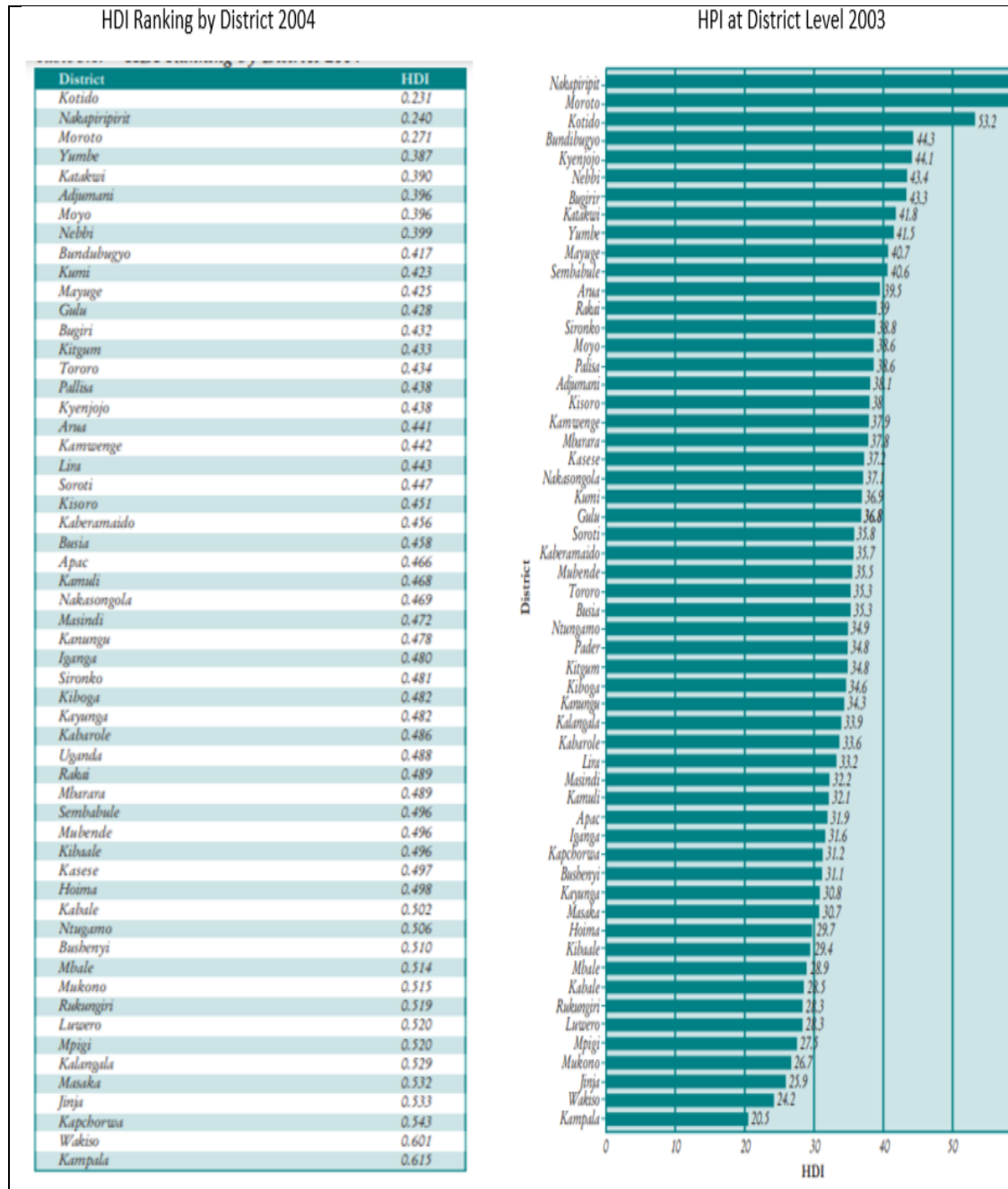
Table 1: Poverty rates in Uganda (1993-2013)

| Proportion of the Population Living Beneath | | | Region | | | | |
|---|------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------|---------|----------|---------|
| | National Poverty Line* | International Poverty Line** | Year | Central | Eastern | Northern | Western |
| 1993 | 56.4 | 68.1 | 1993 | 45.6 | 58.8 | 73.5 | 52.7 |
| 2000 | 33.8 | 52.1 | 2000 | 19.7 | 34.9 | 63.7 | 26.2 |
| 2003 | 38.8 | 62.2 | 2003 | 22.3 | 46.0 | 63.0 | 32.9 |
| 2006 | 31.1 | 53.2 | 2006 | 16.4 | 35.9 | 60.7 | 20.5 |
| 2010 | 24.5 | 41.5 | 2010 | 10.7 | 24.3 | 46.2 | 21.8 |
| 2013 | 19.7 | 34.6 | 2013 | 4.7 | 24.5 | 43.7 | 8.7 |
| Source: UNHS 1993-2013. | | | Percentage point reduction, 2003-2013 | | | | |
| Note: * Ranges from US\$0.94 to US\$1.07 PPP per capita per day depending on the region of the country. ¹⁰ | | | 17.6 | | | | |
| ** US\$1.90 2011 PPP per capita per day. | | | 21.5 | | | | |
| | | | 19.3 | | | | |
| | | | 24.2 | | | | |
| | | | Annual percent reduction, 2003-2013 | | | | |
| | | | 7.9% | | | | |
| | | | 4.7% | | | | |
| | | | 3.1% | | | | |
| | | | 7.4% | | | | |
| | | | Source: UNHS 1993-2013 | | | | |

Source: Analysis from (Uganda poverty assessment report 2016:p.4)

The above table shows that the proportion of Uganda’s population living in poverty under the national poverty line dropped from 56.4% to 19.7% in 1993 and 2013 respectively and there was also a decline in the proportion of the population living beneath the international extreme poverty line of \$1.90 a day i.e. 2011 prices from 68.1% to 34.6% in 1993 and 2013 respectively, the righthand side of the table indicates the slow progress in regional poverty reduction where north and eastern regions show little improvement (Uganda poverty assessment report 2016).

Table 2: HDI ranking by district in 2004 and HPI, at district level in 2003



Source: Analysis based on data from (UNDP 2005: p.23 &26)

The table shows that Karamoja districts of Kotido, Nakapiripirit and Moroto continuously registered the worst indicators of HDI. Kampala and Wakiso progressed well and in terms of HPI (right hand side of the table), Karamoja districts recorded the highest HPI rates - Nakapiripirit 59.1%, Moroto 59% and Kotido 53.2%, in the West, Bundibugyo lagged but not to the tune of Karamoja, the low levels of HPI was recorded in Kampala and Wakiso (central), Rukungiri and Kabale (west) and in the east, Jinja and Mbale districts have low HPI (UNDP Report 2005).

Table 3: Factors that made people better off and worse off in the 5 years before the (UNHS 2016/17) (%)

| | Events that made people better off | | | | | | | | Events that made People worse off | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------------|---------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---|
| | Improved transportation services | Improved electricity | Development project | New road | New school | New employment opportunities | New health facility | Other | Drought | Sharp change in prices | Crop diseases/ Pests | Livestock diseases | Storms | Human Epidemic diseases | Floods | Power Outages | Displacement related development activities |
| Residence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rural | 31.1 | 17.5 | 24.2 | 21.3 | 16.0 | 11.0 | 5.3 | 7.9 | 80.6 | 58.1 | 68.9 | 53.9 | 27.9 | 23.0 | 14.4 | 5.0 | 6.8 |
| Urban | 41.3 | 50.1 | 25.3 | 32.5 | 24.3 | 22.1 | 6.6 | 6.5 | 66.6 | 70.5 | 39.6 | 39.6 | 12.9 | 14.0 | 15.0 | 21.8 | 16.6 |
| Sub-region | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kampala | 40.4 | 59.2 | 25.1 | 40.4 | 23.8 | 30.0 | 2.0 | 3.2 | 45.6 | 76.7 | 2.4 | 19.8 | 2.4 | 15.0 | 31.8 | 20.3 | 20.5 |
| Central I | 53.9 | 55.2 | 22.1 | 21.4 | 32.9 | 28.0 | 3.9 | 2.7 | 77.5 | 65.7 | 58.2 | 62.2 | 24.1 | 20.3 | 4.7 | 23.5 | 14.3 |
| Central II | 13.3 | 26.7 | 23.4 | 11.9 | 24.0 | 21.2 | 2.6 | 1.0 | 89.0 | 92.4 | 78.7 | 71.2 | 10.9 | 18.1 | 4.7 | 16.5 | 16.7 |
| Busoga | 32.7 | 23.6 | 5.5 | 19.6 | 21.8 | 6.5 | 5.0 | 4.5 | 73.4 | 42.6 | 60.0 | 51.0 | 10.7 | 19.5 | 11.7 | 6.4 | 3.3 |
| Bukedi | 7.1 | 7.8 | 9.1 | 24.2 | 8.8 | 9.0 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 98.9 | 33.1 | 96.6 | 98.2 | 23.7 | 72.6 | 41.5 | 0.0 | 3.5 |
| Elgon | 15.5 | 15.5 | 28.4 | 13.6 | 4.0 | 0.0 | 3.1 | 8.0 | 27.3 | 2.4 | 4.0 | 3.2 | 22.1 | 0.0 | 9.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Teso | 11.8 | 8.7 | 21.9 | 36.8 | 11.1 | 22.1 | 7.9 | 15.0 | 97.6 | 72.1 | 83.1 | 71.7 | 69.9 | 52.6 | 47.1 | 8.1 | 10.4 |
| Karamoja | 10.3 | 9.5 | 13.7 | 21.3 | 6.5 | 6.2 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 99.5 | 90.6 | 44.5 | 100.0 | 26.4 | 72.9 | 7.3 | 3.8 | 6.6 |
| Lango | 54.3 | 21.7 | 56.8 | 50.2 | 13.5 | 16.1 | 3.7 | 9.5 | 99.3 | 92.6 | 93.3 | 84.0 | 33.8 | 27.3 | 33.9 | 11.4 | 15.8 |
| Acholi | 8.2 | 5.8 | 55.7 | 33.6 | 12.9 | 6.2 | 3.8 | 47.5 | 96.5 | 74.0 | 43.1 | 66.9 | 22.5 | 77.1 | 15.3 | 0.0 | 4.3 |
| West Nile | 5.6 | 8.6 | 38.7 | 12.6 | 3.6 | 3.7 | 6.4 | 18.6 | 99.6 | 60.7 | 6.9 | 8.7 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 12.0 | 4.9 |
| Bunyoro | 39.2 | 18.9 | 11.3 | 16.6 | 18.9 | 7.0 | 9.1 | 1.2 | 57.1 | 24.5 | 73.0 | 28.3 | 19.0 | 4.6 | 5.9 | 2.2 | 2.9 |
| Tooro | 45.0 | 17.2 | 5.9 | 21.4 | 16.2 | 4.4 | 5.7 | 1.4 | 66.6 | 47.5 | 78.1 | 27.6 | 41.1 | 2.7 | 23.6 | 4.5 | 4.2 |
| Ankole | 85.9 | 42.0 | 42.8 | 44.1 | 28.2 | 21.8 | 19.9 | 14.1 | 79.2 | 84.2 | 88.9 | 52.5 | 51.1 | 3.2 | 11.3 | 3.7 | 17.5 |
| Kigezi | 25.6 | 16.7 | 14.0 | 15.6 | 4.0 | 0.0 | 5.0 | 1.8 | 32.6 | 44.8 | 78.7 | 13.2 | 16.9 | 0.4 | 6.8 | 2.3 | 2.7 |
| Uganda | 34.0 | 28.8 | 24.5 | 24.5 | 18.3 | 14.2 | 5.7 | 7.5 | 76.7 | 61.6 | 60.6 | 49.9 | 23.6 | 20.5 | 14.6 | 9.7 | 9.6 |

Source: Analysis from (UNHS 2016/17 2016/17:p.103-104)

The above table shows that the better living standards were influenced by improved transport for the Ankole by 85, electricity in Kampala 59%, and in Lango -northern development projects and construction of roads improved people’s lives by 57% and 50% respectively. Karamoja was hit by drought and livestock diseases 91% and 100% respectively, Teso - east was hit by storms 70%, and sharp changes in prices were experienced in Lango 93% and central II 92%.

In 2016/17, Karamoja still had poor access to health services 17.2% (travel at least 5km to a nearby health facility, 99% and 14% access to unpaved national roads and access to paved national roads respectively, households usage of grid electricity for lighting at 1%, the lowest literacy rate of 31.6% in 2012/13 and 26.8% in 2016/17, income poor persons at 60.2% above a national average of 21.4% and 70% worst food poor above the national average of 37%. Karamoja holds the highest poverty rates of 60.2% above a national average of 21.4%, followed by Bukedi 43.7%, Busoga 37.5%, and Ankole in the west 6.8%, central districts of Wakiso and Kampala with 2.7% and 2.6% respectively (UNHS 2016/17).

Having laid the above poverty statistics of Karamoja from the early 90s to 2017, it is safe to state that poverty in the region has persisted despite numerous poverty alleviation and development efforts. This leaves us with a crucial question of why the interventions have had a negligible impact on the poverty situation in the region.

“UNICEF engagement in Karamoja has always been problematic. Why? Because all our indicators show that Karamoja is ten times worse off than everywhere else and we don’t know what to do for it, we have done everything, and there are many more things we continue doing. First, the problem for Karamoja has always been too many interventions beyond PRDP and KALIP. Second, you have got all this parallel funding that goes into Karamoja. I think it is affirmative action for Karamoja because of the poor indicators. And now we are going to have a problem with Karamoja, if you think of how big Karamoja is, it is just below one

million. The whole size of Karamoja has always been over estimated...” (Uganda Human Development Report 2015:p.73).

1.2 We cannot wait for Karamoja to develop

Karamoja sub-region lags or has the worst development indicators in Uganda (Powell 2010) and (Gelsdorf et al. 2012). Its poverty is traceable from colonial exploitation (rule) to post-colonial times according to (Mamdani 1982).

To bring out the simplest illustration of inequality of development in Uganda, the 1st president of independent Uganda, Dr. Apollo Milton Obote was quoted in 1963 on a visit to Karamoja to have said, “We shall not wait for Karamoja to develop” (Daily Monitor 2012), (Ayoo et al. 2013:p.17). This is a fascinating historical perspective where people found that there was no time to develop Karamoja! This perception is part of the historical negative discourses about Karamoja which appears to normalize the backwardness of the region, and inadvertently reinforcing political marginalization of the region (Kreutzmann 2012).

This study defines political marginalization as a complex and a long process of intentionally relegating one to the fringe of the society i.e away from the center of power and this involves paying minimal attention or neglect by the government as far as poverty and development needs in terms of resource allocation, political representation, and engagement of the local people are concerned. Political marginalization is manifested in resource allocation, representation of the region in top political and government appointments and voice of local people in poverty alleviation and development. The persistent insecurity is driven by presence of illegal guns, state failure to provide security, rigid cultural practices that cherish raiding, the role of the elites.

Ecological causes of the persistent poverty in Karamoja include the harsh climatic conditions resulting from unreliable rainfall patterns which cause famine. Food insecurity is also caused by social lifestyle. Also, the philanthropic and charity approach to Karamoja issues by humanitarian agencies such as WFP reinforces dependency other than empowering the people.

Karamoja is otherwise endowed with the natural resources that could transform its status quo if tapped, but unfortunately, this cannot be done due to political marginalization. For examples presence of Kidepo national game park in the region could boost tourism and local businesses if the road leading to it was tarmacked, proceeds from minerals such as gold, copper, cobalt among others would generate adequate resources to develop the capabilities in the region.

The paper concludes that much as other factors contribute to the persistent poverty in Karamoja, political marginalization makes the situation worse. Although a ministry is dedicated to the region, there is no tangible evidence on the ground that this ministry is serving its intended purpose.

1.3 Research Objectives and Questions

The main objective of this research was to investigate the causes of persistent poverty in Karamoja through the lens of political marginalization. The study aimed to examine instances of Karamoja marginalization, how they create fertile grounds for persistent poverty, and give some recommendations to guide policy.

Lastly, I aimed to contribute to the existing knowledge in the political marginalization of the pastoral communities.

Main Question

How does political marginalization contribute to the persistent poverty in Karamoja?

Sub questions

1. How are the Karamojong politically marginalized?
2. To what extent has the government's reluctance and unresponsiveness to insecurity crises contribute to persistent insecurity in Karamoja?
3. What challenges are faced by the people of Karamoja while striving for poverty alleviation and development?

1.4 Nature of the problem

In trying to explain the cause of persistent poverty and marginalization, particularly the most marginalized and who face continuing exclusion from poverty alleviation and development processes, (Leavy & Howard 2013) argued that:

“The very poorest are less able to access infrastructure, services, support and opportunities. Where services exist, they are sometimes unavailable to the very poorest through a lack of information and knowledge of their existence, lack of transportation, hidden costs, short-term coping strategies which sacrifice long-term needs, along with social norms which inhibit certain marginalized groups” (Leavy & Howard 2013:p.6)

On a similar note, (Pavanello 2009) succinctly states that pastoralists are politically marginalized because of exposure to:

“Long-standing governance failures, non-responsive and unaccountable institutions, and politicians and policy-makers lacking the will and incentives to include pastoralists’ interests in national policy debates. On the other hand, pastoralists often lack the ability to organize themselves and sustain collective action required to exert political leverage in policy-circles. In addition, the members of the pastoralist civil society groups who should represent the needs and interests of pastoralists and support their rights and voices in modern governance institutions have in some cases become detached from pastoral lives and systems” (Pavanello 2009:p.8).

Karamoja is politically marginalized in many complex ways such as low resource allocation from central government with a biased mind about pastoralism, lack of appointment in top government positions such as cabinet minister and permanent secretary where key policies and resources are decided, the local people are voiceless in poverty alleviation and development programs. Persistent insecurity reigns as the state ignores finding a lasting solution (Muhereza 2010). Many poverty alleviation and development programs have been implemented in Karamoja for many decades by the government, and development partners but have not pulled the region from persistent poverty. It puzzles that Karamoja remains the

poorest of all regions in Uganda by all standards (Uganda Human Development Report 2015).

1.5 Choice of the Research Location

The research was situated in the Karamoja region in north eastern Uganda because of two reasons: First, the fact that Karamoja is regarded as the least developed, and secondly, having been born, studied, lived, and worked in the region, my quest was to understand and propose actionable strategies to tackle persistent poverty in the area.

The study covered five districts in Karamoja: Nakapiripirit and Moroto in the South and Kotido, Abim, and Kaabong in the North. This is because the two zones have different levels of development.

1.6 Outline of the Research Paper

This study consists of 8 chapters. The first chapter presents the general information or context including the research objectives and questions, the nature of the problem, choice of the research area and an outline of the research paper. Chapter 2 provides the historical understanding of Karamoja region, chapter 3 is made up of the methodology.

Theoretical and conceptual frameworks are discussed in chapter 4. Here, political marginalization is viewed as a long-standing primary contributor to persistent poverty and general vulnerability in pastoralist areas (Pavanello 2009). The chapter discusses a range of theories such as marginalisation, racial (ethnic discrimination), modernization, dependency, and capability approach. Chapter 5 shows how political marginalization occurs, chapter 6 discusses the reluctance and unresponsiveness of the government to the persistent insecurity situation in Karamoja, chapter 7 focuses on challenges in poverty alleviation and development, and chapter 8 presents the general conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2 : Historical Background

This chapter describes who the Karamojong are, their geographical location, and pastoralism as a key livelihood source. It explains how colonial rule set the political marginalization agenda, briefly discusses famine, raiding as a key element of insecurity, and finalizes with how the Karamojong have been marginalized by the post-colonial governments.

2.1 Who are the Karamojong?

The Karamojong are a group of socio-ethnic inhabitants of the northeastern sub-region of Uganda. They include the Dodoth (north) of the current Kaabong district; Jie (central) of Kotido district; Pokot (Kenyan border) of Amudat district, Bokora of Napaak district, Matheniko of Moroto district, and Pian (south) of Nakapiripirit district. Smaller ethnic groupings include the Tepeth of Moroto, Nyakwae and Ethur (sometimes called by other tribes Tobur/Acholi Labwor) of Abim, Ik / Teuso of Kaaabong and Ngipore of Karenga district (Powell 2010), (Knighton 1999), (Agade 2010) and (Abera & Abdulahi 2015).

Geographically, the region covers a land area of 10,550 square miles, almost the size of Belgium (Howe et al. 2015) and (Agade 2010). The land is brown and dry (semiarid) covered with scrubs and volcanic mountains (Barber 1962) and (Wayland 1931). The region has an average annual rainfall of 300 – 625 millimeters which necessitates a semi-nomadic animal husbandry system (Karamoja Enhanced Market Analysis 2016).

There is uncertainty about the demographic data on Karamoja (Agade 2010): (Uganda Bureau of Statistic 2004) estimates its population at about one million people, Uganda Investment Authority - (Karamoja Investment Profile 2016) and (UNHS 2016/17) cited in (United Nations Population Fund 2018) put it at 1.2 million people.

2.1.1 Tribal differences/disunity

Some subtribes in Karamoja have different social and economic lifestyles from the mainstream Karamojong. (Abrahams 1986) indicates that the people of a well-watered hilly area of Labwor (Abim district), are linked with the Luo group (Acholi and Lango) linguistically and culturally. Economically, (Wayland 1931) states that they grew cotton as their cash crop, grew food crops like sorghum, millet, simsim, groundnuts and collected wild fruits such as shea nut fruit, do iron workings, and kept some livestock, see also (Crazzolaro 1960). The culture of the Ik or Teuso of Kaabong district is different from the rest – they speak a different language, marry using gourds and melons as opposed to cows, and are mainly crop cultivators, hunters and are despised by other tribes in the region (Ayoo et al. 2013). However, (Ssenkaaba 2015) notes that nearly all the subtribes speak Ngakaramojong.¹The subtribes remained disunited and at loggerhead, most times, due to cattle raiding and they hardly maintained peace with the neighboring pastoralists in Kenya and Sudan (Howe et al. 2015). However, certain circumstances called for temporary unity, for example, when the government of the notorious former president Idi Amin Dada threatened to extinct the Karamojong because of their uncivilized culture or backwardness, they united to oppose the regime until it was ousted (Kennedy 2007).

¹ Ngakaramojong is the main language spoken in Karamoja.

2.2 Pastoralism as source of livelihood

The Karamojong rely on cattle and subsistence agriculture (Zanon 1985). They jealously guarded the health and welfare of their cattle, they *“do not keep large herds of cattle simply as a subsistence hedge against famine; in times of famine livestock are more often used as exchange for grain or for cash to buy grain. For the Karimojong, cattle are more than just milk, blood, and meat; they are wealth, and in a form which is readily convertible and intrinsically expandable”* (Quam 1978: p.54) and (Otim 2004).

Cattle is highly valued, and it is the “life and culture” of these ‘non-westernized’ and “proud pastoral people” (Barber 1962:p.111), (Wayland 1931: p.190-191), “livestock has been the Karamojong’s 'bank' and 'granary' (edula), their survival and their 'everything' (dadang)” (Agade 2010 : p.95), see also (Morton 2010), (Harris 1968) and (Dyson-Hudson 1969: p.76). Through keeping large numbers of cattle, food security was guaranteed for the Karamojong.

Presence of vast land with no individual ownership facilitated herding and subsistence gardening. Earlier, “pastoralism was once the predominant livelihood activity, but few people in Karamoja today practice a strictly pastoral way of life; many engage in opportunistic cultivation and are better described as agro-pastoral” (Gray et al. 2002) in (Howe et al. 2015:p.6).

Table 4: Livestock numbers per region in Uganda as per 2008 animal census

| Livestock type | Central | Eastern | Northern | Karamoja | Western | Uganda | 2009 | 2010 |
|----------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|
| Cattle | 2,475,860 | 2,488,470 | 1,641,840 | 2,253,960 | 2,548,620 | 11,408,750 | 11,800,000 | 12,100,000 |
| Goats | 1,676,050 | 2,599,980 | 2,696,100 | 2,025,300 | 3,452,240 | 12,449,670 | 12,800,000 | 13,700,000 |
| Sheep | 269,600 | 319,370 | 568,510 | 1,685,500 | 567,390 | 3,410,370 | 3,500,000 | 3,600,000 |
| Poultry | 10,788,370 | 11,301,030 | 8,128,280 | 1,442,070 | 7,532,630 | 39,192,380 | 38,600,000 | 39,700,000 |
| Donkey | | | | 960 | | | | |
| Camels | | | | 32,030 | | | | |

Source: Analysis based on data from (MAAIF 2009) in (Pastoralism in Uganda Theory, Practice, and Policy 2019:p.91)

From the above table, at a national level there were 11,800,000 cattle, 12,800,000 goats, 3,500,000 sheep, 38,600,000 poultry. The highest number of camels were found in Karamoja (32,030) approximately (97.4%) of the total camels in Uganda and the region had (960) donkeys representing (91.3%) of all donkeys in the country.

During colonial period, Karamoja held the second largest population of cattle in the country according to (Barber 1962). The number of cattle in Karamoja have drastically reduced because of the pressure on pastoralism and insecurity.

2.3 Karamoja during colonial rule

The elders were responsible for administration in Karamoja before colonial rule through the 'Akiriket' system, officiated over various conflicts and peace diplomatic relations (Knighton 2005)². Women were exempted from attending or participating in 'Akiriket' but were expected to adhere to its resolutions (Chapman and Kagaha 2009:p.5).

In 1898, the Karamojong made the first contact with the British during a "military expedition by Major J. Macdonald" in which he described the Karamojong as "the best fighters in Equatoria" despite the region offering limited attraction to the colonialists though it was good for the elephant tasks traders, adventurers, and sportsmen (Barber 1962:p.111). The people had hunted elephants for meat and had no use of ivory.

During this time, Karamoja had no motor roads, the only means of transport was portage and except Labwor (Abim), other parts remained administered until 1931 (Wayland 1931). But by 1894, Uganda had become a British Protectorate and Karamoja was the last part of the country to be conquered by the British, the region was identical with underdevelopment, poverty, and violence because of bad attitudes behind policies regarding Karamoja development (Aberra and Abdulahi 2015). The British concentrated on developing other regions that produced cotton and coffee to feed the home industries in England (Otim 2004).

As a result, the region was put under military occupation and was closed to outsiders (Akabwai and Atenyo 2007) in (Aberra & Abdulahi 2015). Karamoja became a no-go zone for outsiders and one required a permit to travel to Karamoja "just like accessing a zoo or game park" and this would later result in the region entirely being put "under conservation status" (Longoli 2012) cited in (Aberra & Abdulahi 2015:p.219). Karamoja was declared as a closed district because the British wanted to break the monopoly of the Muslim ivory trade in the region (Mirzeler 2006). The closure led to economic isolation and forceful sedentarization which contributed to environmental degradation (Gray 2000).

The colonial regime claimed that the ivory trade had facilitated lawlessness and when the situation could not be ignored for long, the first administrative outpost was set up at Koputh to monitor the situation (Barber 1962). The colonial forces who were supposed to ensure border security particularly against the raids of Turkana and Abyssinia were withdrawn in 1914 to attend to the demands of the World war and the security and control were transferred to a "small police detachment" who couldn't do much (Barber 1962 p.113). See also (Akabwai and Atenyo, 2007: p.12).

According to (Barber 1962), there was no clear distinction between the military (King African Rifles) and civil administration in Karamoja even after the first world war unlike in other parts of Uganda:

"What were to be the objectives of government within Karamoja? Was it possible to hope for development of these primitive people and their vast, harsh country? Certainly the district had problems peculiar to itself. Because of the different climate and topography an officer posted to Karamoja found that a great deal of the experience he had gained elsewhere was of no value. He was faced by a new situation, and inevitably it took

² Akiriket is an assembly of elders to discuss important issues affecting the community particularly conflicts and disciplinary matters.

time to discover what the problems were even before he could hope to solve them. New officers would write enthusiastically of the prospects of arable farming in Karamoja, but within a year or two the same officers reluctantly admitted that agriculture could only be a poor second string to cattle keeping, in a country with such unreliable rainfall” (Barber 1962: p.114).

The colonial government maintained a low funding for staffing and veterinary services in Karamoja (Barber 1962). A European economist who designed a development plan for Karamoja during the colonial times hinted that the Karamojong “don't have the sagacity of a squirrel” (Quam 1978: p.49).

However, a 1923 policy on the development of Karamoja promoted cattle export from Karamoja, and World War II reinforced the demand for meat which necessitated beef exporting: “Karamoja was viewed by central government planners as a stubborn giant whose potential for beef production must be aroused, controlled, and developed for the benefit of the local government's treasury and the national economy” the pastoralists were forced to sell cattle in the markets as an attempt to modernize the economy, but the idea did not attract the interests of the Karamojong as expected by government and traders (Quam 1978 p.50). This led to resistance, (Neville 1962) notes that 90 percent of the 1943 total sale was compulsory, and resultantly, a Jie (sub-tribe) chief lost his life trying to force cattle sales.

Furthermore, the establishment of the Karamoja Cattle Scheme (K.C.S) was to achieve “three developmental goals” of destocking and technically turn the “stubborn” pastoralists towards a sedentary life, raise funds for the local administration, and provide proteins (beef diet) for the urban population (Quam 1978: p.56 -62). However, the meat processing industry was put in Soroti in the neighboring Teso District and it was to rely on the supply of livestock from Karamoja. There were early suggestions that if such a facility were built in Karamoja, transport costs would reduce and chances of beefing up security would be high.

On the other hand, the government offered minimal administration and security at the local level because it was more concerned about preventing intertribal raiding and cattle theft – yet at times people depended on help from a “magico-religious practitioner” to get back stolen assets or to promote human rights in the community Dyson-Hudson (1969:p.82-83).

2.3.1 Raiding

To increase their herd, the Karamojong tribes fight and steal from each other. Raiding was an unprecedented thing until when the Swahilis, Arabs, Persians, Greeks, and Abyssinians traders came to trade in ivory through exchange with beads and later cattle when the trade was at peak and at this point, the traders resorted to raiding and using force (some traders had become gun runners) to close the deals (Barber 1962: p.112).

“Once the trade had started it was inevitable that a tribe which found its traditional enemies armed with rifles was itself anxious to obtain arms. What started as a trade to obtain ivory soon became a trade to obtain guns” (Barber 1962: p.112)

As a result, the ivory trade led to the extinction of elephants but an increase in the number of cattle. Even the people acquired firearms although they had knowledge to make home-made guns (Ngamitidae) as (Gray 2000) claims. (Quam 1978) elaborates that raiding offers a possibility to replenish the livestock in cases of drought, cattle diseases, and enemy raiding.

(Agade 2010) describes raiding as a complex thing with motives like restocking, retaliation, and theft for sale on markets.

2.3.2 Famine

Livestock and human epidemics of the 1890s had a devastating effect on the Karimojong:

“Many young men and boys live almost exclusively on milk and cattle blood, but if a man is poor in cattle, the whole family may have to depend almost entirely on agricultural products and food gathered in the bush.... For these reasons the Karimojong have no notion of the necessity-or even the desirability-to conserve grazing and to limit the number of cattle. The aim of the Karimojong herdsmen is to conserve their herds. They exploit their livestock largely by consuming the products of living animals: milk and blood”(Dyson-Hudson 1969: p.79)

The ivory trade helped to restock the herd which had been hit hard by diseases and droughts, hence the survival of human lives during the famine in the 1890s. (Barber 1962: p.112). Several authors have discussed other series of major famines which hit Karamoja: (Zanon 1985) claims that in the 20th century, 3 major famines hit Karamoja and the last one was in 1980 which claimed about 3000 lives and it was facilitated by a breakdown in both rule of law in 1979 and also security. (Gray 2000) concurs that the famine which severely hit Karamoja in the mid-1970s and 1980 because the central government ignored the famine with high hope that it would offer a final solution to the problems in the region (political marginalization):

“People re- call that in Mathany market³, desperate parents sold their children to people from down country, hoping their chances of survival would be better elsewhere. Rats were captured and roasted for food. The Bokora attribute their suffering in this period to raiding by the Matheniko and recall manufacturing ineffective homemade guns (Ngamitidae) to defend them- selves” (Gray 2000:p.411).

Another round of famine occurred from 1999 to 2000 where severe drought hit the West Pokot and another one in 2003 which affected the entire Karamoja Kennedy (2007). Food insecurity, malnutrition, and lack of key information on government programs contribute to the persistent poverty in Karamoja (Aberra & Abdulahi 2015).

2.4 Karamoja after Independence

The Karamoja Act of 1964 accorded the region “a special status in as far as administration and development were concerned” but President Idi Amin Dada revoked this status in 1971 only to be reinstated by incumbent NRM of President Yoweri Museveni (Aberra & Abdulahi 2015:p.221). Hard to reach refers to a term:

“Used by the government to refer to areas that experience low development and low service delivery by the state and other actors in relation to other localities in Uganda, and therefore are areas of urgent, special and priority development programmes. However, the Karimojong urge that the government’s classifying the region as a “Hard to Reach” area is admittance of guilt of neglecting their region at the expense of developing

³ Mathany market is located in the current Napak district which was curbed from Moroto.

other areas... In fact, other regions are manoeuvring to have their areas classified as "hard to reach" in order to attract government special treatment of such areas" (Aberra & Abdulahi 2015: p.221).

The anti-pastoralist colonial policy continued after self-rule:

"Postcolonial policy toward the Karimojong was a kind of unsystematic elimination of pastoralists' livelihood, effected through periodic confiscation of livestock, occasional and unpredictable punitive campaigns, haphazardly enforced containment of migration, and poorly planned and inadequately funded agricultural and ranching projects" (Gray 2000:p.409).

The post-colonial governments continued to use forceful means such as confiscating livestock and disarmament to hold the Karamojong from raiding yet the neighboring Turkana and Pokot pastoralists of Kenya remained well-armed, the Karamojong felt unprotected and more vulnerable to external attacks (Akabwai and Atenyo, 2007) in (Aberra & Abdulahi 2015).

The government of Idi Amin Dada (1971 – 1979) forced the Karamojong to wear western dresses as opposed to the traditional clothing (livestock hides) (Aberra & Abdulahi 2015). This move by Amin's forces angered the Karamojong who understood it as an attempt by the government to change their identity and culture. It is in records that a section of:

"Karimojong who refused to put on modern clothes was separated from those who were clothed and were massacred by Amin's army at Nawoikorot in 1972 and this incident instead of weakening the Karimojong only made them stronger and united against the government that they accused of attempting to kill them and wipe out their tribe. In the end, the collapse of Amin's regime in 1979 was a seminal event in the region" (Aberra & Abdulahi 2015:p.219-220), See also (Ssenkaaba 2015 p.22).

After the fall of Amin's regime, the Karamojong looted the army barracks in Moroto and acquired weapons and ammunition that became widely used in the region (Kennedy 2007), Again, (Aberra & Abdulahi 2015), (Otim 2004) and (Akabwai and Atenyo 2007) concur that the Karamojong had already acquired the guns through bartering ivory from traders (Greeks, Arabs, Abyssinian -Ethiopian) and (Toposa and Didinga pastoralists) who obtained guns during the Sudan Civil wars. Some guns were got from Congo in the 1960s (Ssenkaaba 2015). These guns later caused more harm such as cattle raiding and loss of lives and other property (Howe et al. 2015). In 2001, a forceful disarmament program began even if it never fully improved the security situation (Otim 2004). See also (Knighton 2003). The Karamojong felt that the disarmament would make them more vulnerable to foreign attacks (Aberra & Abdulahi 2015). Overall, (Howe et al. 2015) says there is a reduction in large scale raids, noting an improvement in the general security in Karamoja.

2.5 Conclusion of the chapter

The colonial rule marked the start of the political marginalization of Karamoja through anti pastoralist attitudes reflected in national policies, allocation of resources like veterinary services and reluctance to provide full-time security. The post-colonial government forced Karamojong to modernize (wear western clothes) before they could receive development assistance. More guns entered Karamoja during this period (insecurity worsened), and the post-colonial attempts to develop Karamoja have not yielded many tangible benefits.

Chapter 3 : Methodology and Data Collection

This research adopted a qualitative methodology. (O'Leary 2017) recommends this methodology because it encourages deductive logic, multiple truth, and a deeper value of depth into the research especially when clear questions are asked.

3.1 Research Approach and Design

Two sets of qualitative semi-structured interviews were employed. Each set of the participant had its specific interview questions asked in a more flexible way to allow a natural flow of discussion with a mix of open and closed questions.

1. Key informants: These were the government and NGO experts/officials (elites) directly/indirectly involved in poverty alleviation and development programs in Karamoja. Data was obtained from them through purposive sampling. O'Leary 2014 recommends that awareness about who might have the answer to your questions, be it key informants, populations, cases, or a combination of them and how you will open up opportunities to gather information from them, is core to obtaining credible data. With this category, the study conducted 90% online interviews via skype, zoom, and WhatsApp/mobile phone and a research assistant covered the 10% in a face to face interview for those that could not be reached via the internet. A total of 25 participants were interviewed, five per each district of (Moroto, Nakapiripirit, Kotido, Kaabong, and Abim).
2. The local community: Local people interviewed were from Longerep and Kalogwang villages of Watakau parish in Nakapelimoru sub-county, Kotido district. Nakapelimoru is famously referred to by some elites as the largest village settlement of pastoralists in East Africa. The research Assistant collected data from these participants. Snowball sampling was done to interview face to face 24 participants (12 male and 12 female). Snowball sampling was used because the participants were not easily accessible. The study obtained the understanding and experiences of the community members regarding the study questions.

3.2 Data Collection method

Qualitative data collection was used through informal semi-structured online interviews and help of a research assistant. The study used both secondary and primary data. Secondary data sources used were analysis of policy documents of government and NGOs, literature from various research reports, journals, books, and media reports. Primary data were collected through informal semi-structured online interviews and the help of a research assistant. Travel restrictions during the Covid-19 lockdown could not allow me to travel to Uganda to collect the field data particularly from the illiterate community members who do not have access to the internet.

The research assistant is an undergraduate university finalist, a youth leader, and a resident of Kotido municipality with experience in conducting qualitative interviews. The research assistant was trained on how to administer the interview questions designed by me,

take notes while interviewing which he later shared images with me, make audio records of the interviews, and take pictures using a phone camera. Regular communication with him was maintained throughout the 3 weeks of field data collection in August to have a close glimpse into his work.

3.3 Data Analysis

The qualitative primary data collected by the research assistant (audio records of the interviews and field notes) reached me through transfer via apps like file mail (shares large electronic files) and WhatsApp. Both audio recordings of online interviews (done by me) and face to face interviews were analysed by transcribing and downloading the files. Coding was done manually using the study main themes in which similar responses were grouped then through a different word document; the findings were interpreted. Responses that matched with a theme were highlighted using one colour before they were merged. Responses that fell under many themes were recognised and those that did not match any theme were separated, frequently checked, and were used to build rebuttals. The main themes included resource allocation, representation, engagement of local people (voice), cause of persistent insecurity, challenges faced in poverty alleviation and development. Secondary data were used to back up the primary data through statistical (tabular/pictorial or graphical) illustrations to corroborate the findings.

3.4 Challenges and Limitations of the Study

There was an inherent bias in the snowballing sampling of the community members because the participants referred were acquaintances and this to some extent limited diversity in the responses. Some key informants (government/political leaders and NGO officials) tended not to explain the real-life situations in Karamoja for reasons such as fear of being misquoted and political reasons hence affecting reliability to some extent. I missed the physical collection of field data and interaction with the local community members to understand their body language/facial expression hence a possible loss of valuable data.

Operational challenges included the unprecedented Covid-19 restrictions (no use of public transport, the social distance among others) affected data collection by the research assistant. However, the research assistant adhered to the Covid-19 preventive measures much as there was laxity on the part of the Nakapelimoru community in following the standard operating procedures. A personal motorcycle was used to collect data without any interference from the authorities. The muddy road interfered with the movement of the research assistant and being a political campaign season, getting politicians to be interviewed was challenging as they stuck to their campaign schedules.

3.5 Ethical Considerations and Dilemmas

The participants contacted to participate in the study consented after being told that the study was for academic purposes and one way of giving back to the community. Confidentiality was adhered to and recorded audio interview data were managed well and deleted after transcribing.

Chapter 4 : Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

Due to the complex socio economic and political situation in Karamoja, the study doesn't use a single theoretical framework but it uses a range of theories such as marginalisation, racial (ethnic discrimination), modernization, dependency and capability approach where each of them throw light on the aspect(s) of the study. The chapter starts by briefly conceptualizing poverty then discusses the theories.

4.1 Conceptualizing poverty

Several scholars of recent have indicated that the global poverty has decreased over the past decades despite “many hiccups and regional concentrations” and with the advent of the MDGs in 2000s, significant improvements have been recorded in China and South Asia and even Sub Saharan Africa which has been the most poverty stricken (Fischer 2018:p.2).

There is no straightforward (generic) definition or conceptualisation of poverty, it can be defined in various ways depending on the methodology chosen: Indirect involves “measurement of proxies” (monetary value) or direct which involves measurement of actual outcome (something that can be presumably measured or even observed) for example health, education and ‘functionings’ (Fischer 2018:p.54).

Poverty has been classified into two main categories – Absolute and Relative . “Absolute refers to the idea that there is some identifiable objective threshold below which things essentially start to fall apart, such as starvation, sickness and/or death” and relative poverty refers to an “idea that poverty thresholds are inherently relative to social or other norms”(Fischer 2018:p.52-53). Even though it seems there is a wider acceptance of relative conceptualization of poverty in richer or advanced countries, poverty must primarily be viewed as an absolute idea according to (Sen 1983). To date, there is a common argument about relative poverty as suitable for the rich and absolute for the poor, but isn't inequality also important in poor countries?

4.2 Marginalization

This constitute the major discussion in this study. Marginalization/exclusion is defined, reasons for marginalization applicable to Karamoja context are investigated basing on available literature showing how political marginalization cause poverty regarding resource allocation, representation/policy and engagement of the local people. It employs a synthesis of explanatory factors (external, internal and interconnection between them) to examine marginalisation.

Several authors have offered limited attempts to point out the difference between marginalisation and exclusion. (Cleary et al. 2014) postulates that social exclusion is a by-product of marginalization and (Mowat 2015) contend that the two terms can be used interchangeably. The two terms are used simultaneously (Braun & Gatzweiler 2014), (Gatzweiler et al. 2011) and (Born & Jensen 2002). The study uses the two terms synonymously.

Exclusion involves denial of human rights like personal security, political participation, freedom of speech/ expression, equality of opportunity and rule of law and further argues that the state which is the chief custodian of the above rights is not neutral but “a vehicle of the dominant classes in a society” (Bhalla and Lapeyre 1997: p.420). However, a weakness in using social exclusion is that:

“The main theoretical problem here is that exclusion is closely related to other concepts and frequently used to denote similar phenomena (e.g. poverty, inequality, inaccessibility). The meaning of one in relation to the other is thus fairly dependent on the context and regularly a matter of debate.” (Berndt and Colini 2013: p.5)

A more comprehensive definition of marginality is therefore given:

“An involuntary position and condition of an individual or group at the margins of social, political, economic, ecological and biophysical systems, preventing them from access to resources, assets, services, restraining freedom of choice, preventing the development of capabilities, and eventually causing extreme poverty” (Gatzweiler et al. 2011:p.3).

The operational definition adopted by the study is that marginalisation refers to a complex and a long process of intentionally relegating one to the fringe of the society i.e away from the centre of power and this involves paying minimal attention or neglect by the government as far as poverty and development needs in terms of resource allocation, political representation and engagement of the local people are concerned.

The experiences in Karamoja match the marginalized state of living and the local communities in the region live with an awareness about their marginalized state. (Mowat 2015) supports this observation:

“it is important to recognise that marginalisation is more than a state: it encompasses feelings about that state. To be marginalised is to have a sense that one does not belong and, in so doing, to feel that one is neither a valued member of a community and able to make a valuable contribution within that community nor able to access the range of services and/ or opportunities open to others” (Mowat 2015:p.457).

However, (Braun & Gatzweiler 2014) warns that:

“The concept of marginality should not be construed as an alternative to the concept of poverty; rather these two concepts overlap and are complementary. Marginality encompasses broad approaches like relative deprivation, social exclusion, or the capabilities approach. It entails an interdisciplinary and systemic perspective on the lives of the poor with the aim of revealing the underlying contributors to poverty...” (Braun & Gatzweiler 2014:p.4)

4.2.1 Reasons for Karamoja marginalisation

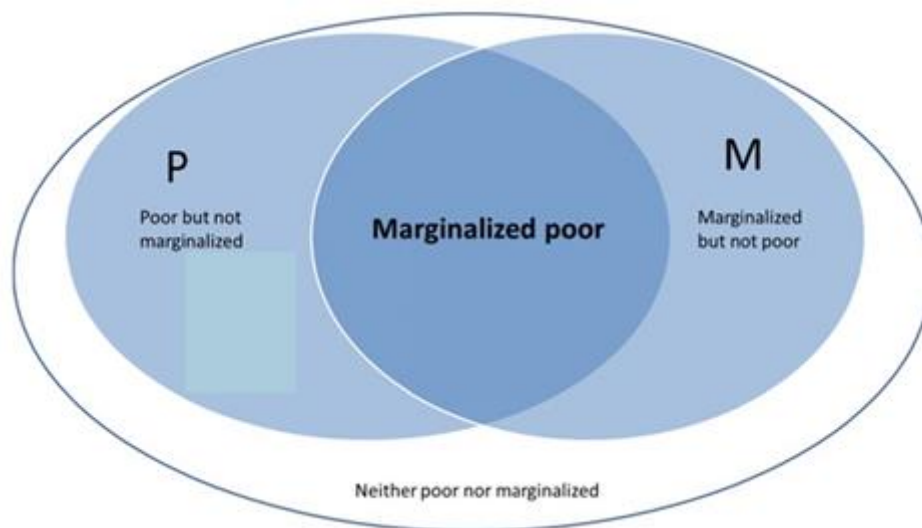
Remoteness

(Gatzweiler et al. 2011: p.1) outlines the following as proximate reasons for the exclusion of extreme poor:

- i) live in unfavourable areas (poor agricultural asset base, poor or no transport infrastructure)
- ii) can (for various reasons) only make minimal use of their labor and lack opportunities to acquire skills spend most of their effort to achieve a calorific and nutritional minimum
- iii) are socially or ethnically excluded or lost their role or status in society, for example because of being born into a class of extreme poor
- iv) are excluded from public services or poverty reduction program

The above factors speak directly to the situation in Karamoja. In other words, (Gatzweiler et al. 2011) and (Braun & Gatzweiler 2014) agree that there is a close connection between extreme poverty, geographical remoteness, and social exclusion. More so, (Bevan 2008) blames Karamoja's peripheral status as a big problem and argues that the region needs adequate state attention.

Figure 1: The marginalized poor



Source: Analysis adopted from (Gatzweiler et al. 2011:p.2).

Figure above shows that the marginalized poor are victims of both marginalisation and poverty.

In most cases, the large chunks of land in such backward regions are reserved as wildlife game parks and have shared history of their underdevelopment linked to both colonial and post-colonial marginalization and exclusion (Bird et al. 2002). Karamoja is host to one of

largest national game parks in the country (Kidepo national game park) with additional wild-life reserves such as Pian Upe, Matheniko, and Bokora corridor. Before 2002, out of the total land area of Karamoja, wildlife reserves occupied 21.2% (Rugadya & Kamusiime 2013).

Politically irrelevant and insignificant ethnic group

Size and political importance of an ethnic group in national politics matters a lot (Raleigh 2010). Exclusion is normally directed at the politically irrelevant ethnic groups i.e. those who are not in any position to mount pressure on the government to demand their rights.

In a study done in Thika District, one of the marginalised places in Kenya, (Kinyanjui 2007) claims that their poverty was caused by a product of a process of exclusion from the centre of political power and appropriation. The Karamojong face discrimination because of their unique language/culture as noticed by (Ayoo et al. 2013). In terms of policy, (Krätli 2001) makes the point that the educational needs for the pastoral Karamoja communities are less catered for, misguided, and not inclusive. In other words, it may be safe to argue that the Karamojong are politically excluded from power and resource allocation based on their ethnicity.

4.2.2 Indicators of political marginalization in Karamoja

Representation

Political representation entails speaking, and advocating done by political actors on behalf of the people (Dovi 2006). Representation is dominantly political and the most causes and effects of marginalization and exclusion relate to the political system (Born & Jensen 2002).

Rather, a relational view of poverty hints that “people are poor because of others ... [They are] unable to control future events because others have more control over them” (Wood, 2003: p.456) in (Mosse 2010: p.1158). The dominated rarely have a say in decision making and this kind of marginalisation drives the communities affected into extreme poverty because they do not participate in decision making. (Leavy and Howard 2013)

Peripheral areas like the Marasabit (Kenya) and Karamoja regions in recent times have experienced massive extension of state power in their lands for purposes of control amidst sharp difference with the interests of the local people, the state uses leaders in such areas as mere conduits, (rewarded with wealth/material possessions) as they implement government policy positions which are normally not in line with what the local people want (Czuba: 2011, 2017 and 2019),see also (Mosse 2010).

The ruling class or regime’s main aim is to achieve total political dominance in such marginalized areas by making it very hard for other political parties to operate. (Rupasingha & Goetz 2007:p.668) expanded analysis of poverty from income, ethnic polarization to political influence and a more “complex, non-economic and difficult-to-measure processes that occur within communities” The above study found out there is a lower poverty rates in counties with more competition between the leading two political parties and that poverty rates are lower when the voting is balanced and in the sense that elections were closer.

Even electoral politics may not fully represent the interests of the poor people: “This debate takes discussion well beyond the narrow confines of ‘good governance’ and

democracy, showing some of the ‘complex ways in which the politics of clientelism and citizenship are intertwined’ (Hickey and Du Toit, 2007: 14) in (Mosse 2010:p.1167).

(Mowat 2015: p.458) posits that one can be marginalized according to ‘government policy’, ‘disenfranchised through poverty’, race and ethnicity, and in other ‘subtle’ ways. For the case of East African pastoral groups, the Nuer and Dinka of Sudan, the Somali of Somalia, the Nyangatom of Ethiopia and Sudan, have experienced long history of marginalization (both colonial and post-colonial): Pastoralists are perceived as “difficult people” to deal with, “conservative”, and “violent”. Most development interventions based on the above perception end up failing or further subject the already marginalized into worse conditions (Mosebo and Azarya 1996), see also (Bird et al. 2002) and (Heathcote 2012).

Engagement of the local people

The power that people or communities have “depends upon the capacity of others.....to impose social classifications upon them and then to speak on their behalf” (Mosse 2010:p.1166). The powerful will use the media to keep the marginalised poor and use all what it takes to ensure that the local people remain ignorant about their rights and entitlements that would help them build their capabilities to achieve sustainable development

“The very poorest are less able to access infrastructure, services, support and opportunities. Where services exist, they are sometimes unavailable to the very poorest through a lack of information and knowledge of their existence, lack of transportation, hidden costs, short-term coping strategies which sacrifice long-term needs, along with social norms which inhibit certain marginalized groups” (Leavy & Howard 2013:p.6)

The poor are not consulted in most poverty alleviation programs but are expected to participate in their implementation. Overall, (Kabeer 2006) points at lack of voice as a key dimension of poverty and that accounts for their position at the bottom of every social indicator in marginalised societies.

Resource allocation

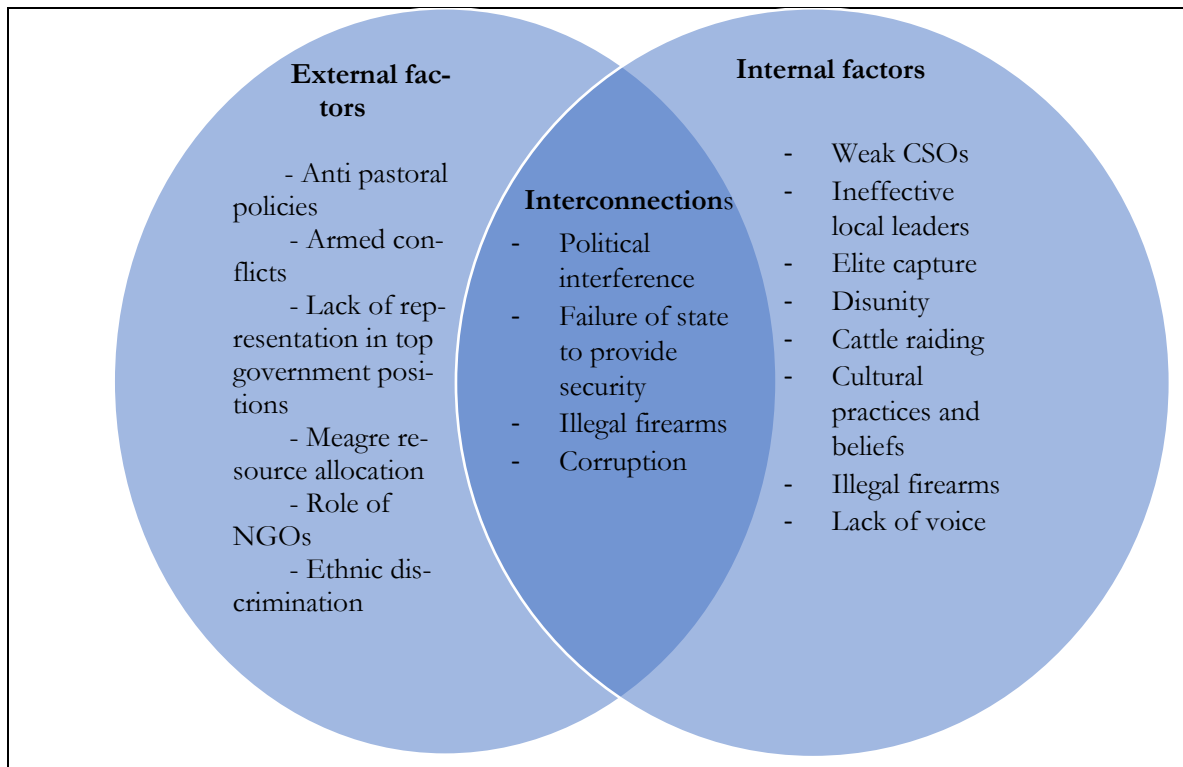
The study defines resources as annual budgetary allocations by the central government to different sectors, regions, or districts. (Mosse 2010) and (Good 1999) argue that the systems or people such as state officials, local councils and police who allocate resources to the rural people apply their power to the disadvantage of the local population. (Brady 2019: p.157) complements this by making the point that “*Power and institutions cause policy, which causes poverty and moderate the relationship between behavior and poverty.*” Similarly, decentralization and state bureaucracy influence resource allocation. Pavanello (2009) criticizes too much state controls when resources are transferred from central government to local levels.

All in all, political decision takes precedence during resource allocation even though there are well documented criteria to allocate public resources. The executives allocate resources where they expect high political reward for example, highly influential ethnic groups are allocated bigger shares compared to less influential ones.

4.2.3 Explanatory factors for marginalisation of Karamoja

These factors are divided into external and internal to the region and showing interconnections between them.

Figure 2: Explanatory factors categorized



Source: Own construction

The figure illustrates how external and internal factors, and their interconnections explain marginalisation in Karamoja

External to the region

The anti-pastoralist tendency in national policy. The government maintains a colonial negative attitude towards pastoralism which they claimed was not economically viable hence the region did not benefit from key development initiatives such as infrastructure (roads, schools, hospitals).

Endless conflicts such as armed cattle raiding, struggle for grazing land, pasture and water for animals, tribal, armed conflict between state security and the Karamojong over guns and a new type of conflict between the elites and the Karamojong community over land ownership (elites of recent have started fencing off communal grazing land). All these inspire insecurity and marginalisation.

“Addressing insecurity among the pastoralists of Karamoja has for a long time been a low priority for the Yoweri Museveni led government. The Karamojong were not a threat to the state. They were government allies during the Teso Rebellion and in the war against the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA). The government had no interest in taking measures that had the potential of antagonising the people of Karamoja. On the other hand, the government was under strong pressure from the people in the neighbouring districts who were victims of the cattle raids carried out by the Karamojong, especially in Acholi and Teso, to react or offer protection” (Simonse 2011:p.7)

The Karamojong are not represented in top government positions such as cabinet ministers, permanent secretaries among others hence they have very low bargaining powers when

it comes to lobbying for resources. The government appoints people from other regions to handle the affairs of Karamoja. The few Karamojong who may hold influential positions turn out to be less supportive in poverty reduction efforts.

Meagre resource allocation to Karamoja limits the operation of the district local governments in making choices to reduce poverty. The little resources received are again misappropriated by officials at both central government and local levels.

Many NGOs have operated in Karamoja for several decades doing humanitarian work but with limited positive impacts in the region. Most of the NGOs are anti pastoral in their approach, they impose projects on the communities and above all, they have promoted dependency syndrome.

Internal to the region

The CSOs in Karamoja are few and weak. The pastoralists are not organized amongst themselves to forge a collective action urgently required to mount political pressure to counter marginalisation. “*Civil society groups who should represent the needs and interests of pastoralists and support their rights and voices in modern governance institutions have in some cases become detached from pastoral lives and systems*” (Pavanello 2009:p.8). Some CSOs are briefcase⁴ in nature. However, interference from the government through intimidation, issuing threats of deregistering CSOs undermine their roles.

Presence of illegal weapons in the region despite a series of disarmament programmes. The failure by the state security to protect the people and their livestock has resulted into rearmament. Through the porous borders, the Karamojong obtain weapons from Kenya and South Sudan and the illegal weapons are used to carry out both internal and external cattle raiding.

The local politicians/leaders fail to represent the interests of the people. They get absorbed by political manipulations from government and at the end they focus on their interests to amass wealth at the expense of the poor majority.

Disunity in Karamoja. The Jie are not at peace with the Bokora, and Bokora are not at peace with the Matheniko, the Ethur/Labworians do not trust the Jie and accuse them of endlessly raiding their livestock and so on. The elites too are disunited hence the region fails to resolve internal conflicts and lobby for resources. Their disunity creates a favourable atmosphere for the central government to apply divide and rule to achieve its vast interests in the region.

The elites have captured most poverty alleviation and development programmes. They have used the illiterate state of the local population to misappropriate public resources. They also collaborate with state agents and mining companies to grab the land from the poor, steal the minerals without considering the need to develop the region.

⁴ CSOs which do not have physical office, at times a one-man organisation or exist just on paper only but seeks endless funding from donors.

4.3 Racial Theory (Ethnic Discrimination)

Much as the racial theory points to the painful main colonial past events, modern elements in it such as ethnic issues and discrimination are applicable to the modern marginalisation of Karamoja.

A backward people are those who are in a situation which makes them unable to earn a livelihood (Myint 1954). Citing Genesis (9:25) “Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be to his brothers”, slavery marked the great power imbalance and this set a conceptual understanding of the race theory where black skin was considered cursed and Ham was confirmed as of colour black, placed in Arabia, Syria, Egypt and Africa but some biblical anthropologists like Thomas Brown don’t agree to this presumption given the fact that there is no biblical reference (Hrabovský 2013: p.74).

In simple terms, much as the race concept is European invention, it is a modern one used in our daily life although prefigured in various ways and therefore, race as is a “concept that signifies and symbolizes sociopolitical conflicts and interests in reference to different types of human bodies” (Winant 2000:p.172-175). It is therefore important to focus on “the continuing significance and changing meaning” of race rather than limiting it to an obviously “natural” or “commonsense” meaning (Winant 2000: p.172-175).

For the case of Karamoja, the colonial rule set the tone where the Karamojong were treated like human zoo on their own land and forced to change their culture. A European economist who designed a development plan for Karamoja during the colonial times hinted that the Karamojong “don't have the sagacity of a squirrel” (Quam 1978: p.49).

In a contemporary Uganda, the Karamojong face serious ethnic discrimination, hence stimulating cultural marginalisation. Other ethnic groups view the Karamojong as backward or uncivilized. They do so because of the cultural differences and lack of an understanding of pastoralism. The language used by non-Karamojong to talk about Karamoja is often derogatory.

4.4 Modernization Theory

Modernisation theory helps to explain the bias in terms of policy and poverty alleviation and development programs facilitated by government and development partners like NGOs while dealing with the people of Karamoja whose pastoral way of life is considered backward in preference to a modern and sedentary way of life.

Africa was rich in 1500 before the exploitative colonial regime and slavery weakened and changed its development path (Hopkins 2009) and (Acemoglu & Robinson 2010). Modernization can be defined as “*the internal achievement of a society; the particular processes of modernization support each other in combination; the leading nations do not impede the followers; the processes of modernization are converging in a common goal*” (Berger 1996:p.46) in (Zapf 2004: p.2). African countries have not been able to develop or redeem themselves from poverty like those in the West and some parts of East Asia because of its preoccupation with the growth theories in the 1940s and 1950s. (Ewane & Ajagbe 2018).

(Chirot 2011:p.64- 67) contends that there “was a world capitalist system, with a rich, developed, technologically sophisticated core and a poor, backward, systematically exploited and disadvantaged periphery that exported low-technology primary products” and the gap

between the poor and the rich economies will keep widening because “the latter are technologically dynamic and constantly increasing their productivity, while the former, particularly in Africa, are failing to increase their educational and skill capacities” hence development failures (poverty) in the poor countries.

Several authors have expressed disapproval of this theory: (Leys 1982: p.102-103) argues that it is Eurocentric and America-centric, malicious, and misdirected because before the colonialization, African empires used their advanced technology and skills and the backwardness of Africa is rather a product of colonialism. See also (Grundy 1966) and (Rodney 1972).

For modernization to take place, one must abandon one's “cultural values in favour of that of the former colonisers,” because modernization does not “consider the poor as the centrepiece in poverty reduction initiatives and by ignoring the involvement and participation of the target community, modernity achieves the marginalization of their commitment, creativity and support of the intervention strategies.....human nature has a propensity to resist change in favour of the status quo.” (Matunhu 2011: p.66-67) and (Ojo 2016).

In essence, (Birken 1999:p.17) demonstrates that western civilization is “intuitively” presented by students of the West (Greeks) as the “central story of human existence” or the centre of world’s civilization by ignoring existence of other cultures such in Middle East and North Africa, Indian sub-continent. Proponents of the modernization/civilisation theory forget the fact that “God created races to live in specific environments” (Jones 2010: p.14).

For Karamoja, modernisation is viewed as an agenda by the promoters to change the sustainable and resilient pastoralist culture, livelihood, and political leadership structures (role of village/kraal elders) into something new. It is done through policies and resource allocations which are aimed at destroying pastoralist lifestyle in favour of a modern sedentary life and crop cultivation which have often failed because of harsh climate. Its modernization in terms of extraction of minerals turns out to be exploitative, development partners tend to impose projects in Karamoja because they were successful elsewhere and this leads to failure in achieving their intended goals. Modernization has recorded low progress in Karamoja hence dragging the region into unprecedented dependency.

4.5 Dependency

Having seen modernization theory failing in the 1950s, the dependency theory comes in to explain domination of Africa both economically and politically by external powers of America and Europe and to some extent, exploitation by internal powers also precipitates dependency: “While Europe and America are busy exploiting Africa; the urban areas are also busy exploiting their rural areas. Within those rural areas one finds rich people exploiting poor individuals and the chain goes on and on. Therefore dependency may loosely be viewed as linear and multi-staged” (Matunhu 2011:p.68-71) Another interesting claim is that:

“It would be grossly unfair to think that Africa has always been a victim of external influence. On the contrary, African leaders have allowed the developed countries to exploit it.....Therefore Africa’s poverty is not natural but an engineered position. It was a result of a protracted capitalistic dominance by the metropolis. Similarly, the poverty and underdevelopment in most rural areas in Africa is a result of the inhibiting relationship between them and the urban areas” (Matunhu 2011: p.69)

As a way forward, the author above approves that Africa should reject the modernity, dependency paradigms which worsens its poverty and adopt alternative models “embroiled

in the African values like ‘Ubuntu’ in South Africa, ‘Humwe’ in Zimbabwe, ‘Harambee’ in Kenya and ‘Ujamahaa’ in Tanzania.” If it wants to regain its lost “identity and development path” (“African renaissance theory”) (Matunhu 2011: p.71).

Colonization altered the development path and potential of Karamoja. The destruction of the core livelihood source of the people (pastoralism) resulted in the influx of several aid organizations such as WFP, Oxfam, World Vision, Lutheran World Federation, Save the children among others in Karamoja. These organizations maintained humanitarian presence in the region for several decades - feeding the local people while paying little attention to what the local people exactly need to feed themselves, it is not a surprise that there is a high food insecurity and poverty in the region to date.

4.6 Capability Approach

“A fundamental problem with money-metric approaches to poverty measurement is the dilemma of how to deal with public goods such as health and education, or else how to evaluate actual outcomes in health and education that are difficult if not impossible to monetise. Both health and education expenses are not included in the calculation of money-metric poverty lines. They are reflected in expenditure surveys, although these only reflect what people spend and consume on such services, not necessarily what they would need to spend or consume, nor the quality of these services or their importance to wellbeing. As usual, revealed expenditures might in fact represent repressed expenditures relative to a reasonable assessment of need” (Fischer 2018: p.107).

Regarding the above dilemma, many poverty scholars have opted to advance a more multi-dimensional measurement of poverty drawing inspiration from Amartya Sen’s capability approach. Sen first articulated this concept in the 1980's and later became understood in a broader human development by the UNDP.

To give a background, Sen starts with entitlement theory of famines:

“The real issue is not primarily the over-all availability of food, but its acquirement by individuals and families. If a person lacks the means to acquire food, the presence of food in the market is not much consolation. To understand hunger, we have to look at people's entitlements, i.e., what commodity bundles (including food) they can make their own. The entitlement approach to hunger concentrates on the determination of command over commodities, including food. Famines are seen as the result of entitlement failures of large groups, often belonging to some specific occupations (e.g., landless rural labourers, pastoralists)” (Sen 1987: p.7-8).

In other words, entitlement involves command over resources and ability to convert endowments (i.e. land, labour, capital) into claims (on food, etc) for the marginalized people like the Karamojong pastoralists.

According to (Gatzweiler et al. 2011):

“Sen’s capability approach is of particular relevance, as the causes of (extreme) poverty are explained by unrecognized capabilities of the poorest which need to be brought into function, by endogenous and exogenous change, i.e. changing the attributes of the marginalized from within the system and changing the circumstances/environment in which marginalized systems can function (and thereby become less marginalized). The concept of marginality therefore refers to the constraints which need to be lifted in order to recognize capabilities and transform them into functioning.” (Gatzweiler et al. 2011:p.3): See also (Gasper 2007).

Additionally, (Wells 2013:p.23) observes that being concerned about “what people are actually able to be and do,” the capability approach examines “the underlying determinants of the relationship between people and commodities, and thus play a role in explaining poverty and advantage” and two determinants from his work are worth mentioning:

- a) Local environment diversities’ (climate, epidemiology, and pollution)
- b) Variations in social conditions, such as the provision of public services like education and security, and the nature of community relationships, such as across class or ethnic divisions

Capability approach examines capability deprivation of Karamoja in terms of provision of basic public necessities such as education, health, roads, security, (human development in general). This is because poverty is understood as deprivation in the capability to live a good life, and development is understood as capability expansion (Wells 2013: p.12). Once the capabilities of Karamoja region are expanded, mitigating the persistent poverty, and achieving development becomes straightforward and this will help to close the gap created by prolonged political marginalisation.

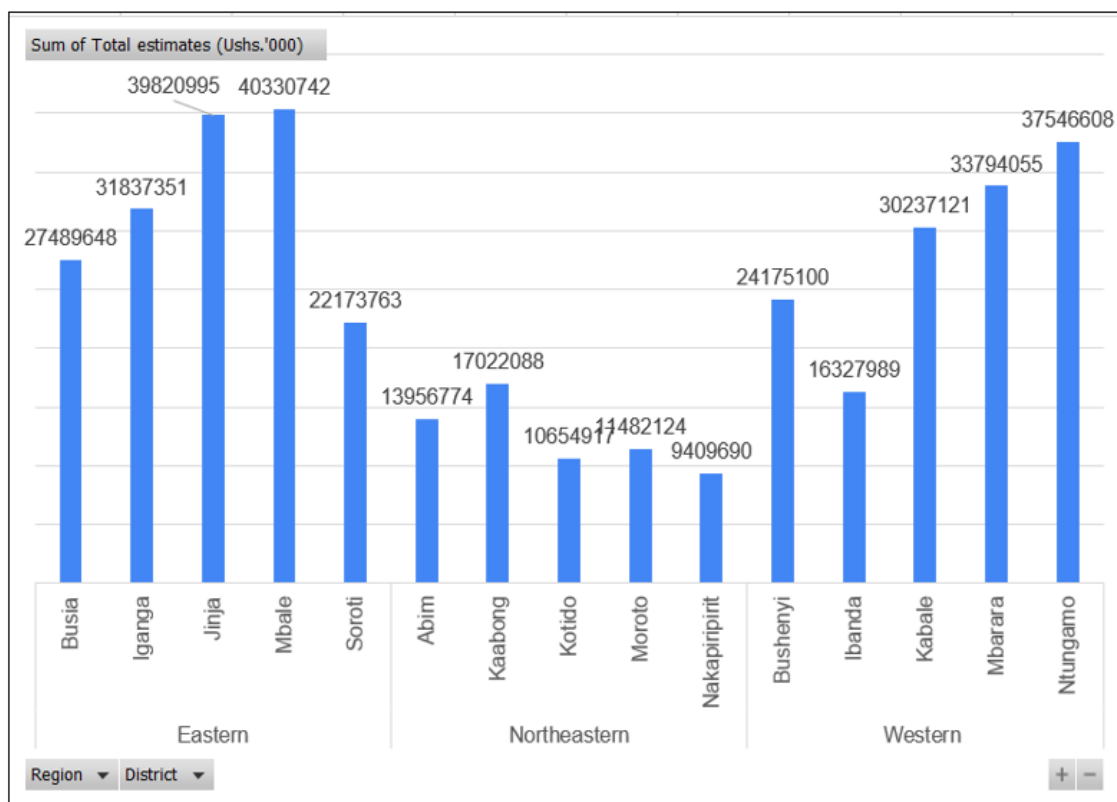
4.7 Conclusion of the chapter

The chapter discussed a range of theories such as marginalisation by pointing at politics of resource allocation, representation and engagement of the local people, it used ethnic discrimination under racial theory to portray how the Karamojong are discriminated policy wise and by other ethnic groups, applied modernization to demonstrate how adopting Eurocentric cultures has failed Karamoja, used dependency theory to explain how NGOs have failed Karamoja by creating a high dependency syndrome, and applied capability approach to explain how Karamoja’s marginalisation can be reversed by developing its unrecognized capabilities to pull it out of poverty and marginalisation. All the above-mentioned theories and concepts entail elements of political marginalisation which is key in explaining Karamoja’s persistent poverty in this paper.

Chapter 5 : How the Karamojong are politically marginalized

5.1 Resource allocation

Table 5: Budget vote for selected districts/regions 2018/19. (Note that these figures exclude funding to cities and municipalities).



Source: Own analysis based on data from Uganda's approved budget estimates of revenue and expenditure for financial year 2018/19.

From the table above, in eastern region, Mbale district received the highest allocation Ugx. 40,330,742,000) and the district with the lowest allocation was Soroti Ugx. 22,173,763,000. In western, Ntungamo received the highest allocation Ugx. 37,546,608,000 and the lowest amount was received in Ibanda Ugx. 16,327,989,000. In Northeastern (Karamoja), Kaabong received the biggest allocation of Ugx 17,022,088,000 lower than what the least funded district in Eastern got and almost nearer to what the district with the least funding in Western got and Kotido received the lowest allocation Ugx 10,654,917,000. Karamoja has always received the least funding from central government.

According to data from the ministry of finance, planning and economic development, resource allocations are done based on well laid allocation criteria.

Table 6: The grant allocation formulas used in resource allocation

| <i>Rural Discretionary Development Equalization Grant</i> | | |
|---|---------------|--|
| Variable | Weight | Justification |
| Poverty Headcount | 40 | Equalizing variables - to allocate greater resources to districts that lag behind as per article 193 (4) of the Constitution |
| Rural Population | 30 | Provide for demand/scale of delivering services |
| Constant | 25 | Ensure that Higher and Lower Local Governments have minimum allocations for construction of meaningful infrastructure |
| Conflict | 5 | Allocate more resources to Local Governments severely affected by conflict |
| <i>Urban USMID Discretionary Development Equalization Grant</i> | | |
| Variable | Weight | Justification |
| Population | 67 | Provide for demand/scale of delivering services |
| Poverty Headcount | 20 | Equalizing variables - to allocate greater resources to districts that lag behind as per article 193 (4) of the Constitution |
| Constant | 10 | Ensure that Higher and Lower Local Governments have minimum allocations for construction of meaningful infrastructure |
| Conflict | 3 | Allocate more resources to Local Governments severely affected by conflict |
| <i>Urban Non-USMID Discretionary Development Equalization Grant</i> | | |
| Variable | Weight | Justification |
| Population | 62 | Provide for demand/scale of delivering services |
| Poverty Headcount | 15 | Equalizing variables - to allocate greater resources to districts that lag behind as per article 193 (4) of the Constitution |

Source: Analysis based on data from the (approved estimates of revenue and expenditure - recurrent and development 2018/19:p.28 or xxvii)

The table above shows that factors like poverty headcount (poor districts to get greater allocations), rural population and conflict (allocate more resources to conflict prone areas) are used by the budget experts to determine resource allocation.

Considering the above factors, it is important to look at some indicators of human development in Karamoja to find out if the allocation criteria above are reflected in key statistics.

Table 7: Humanitarian and development indicators in Karamoja

| | National | Karamoja |
|--|-----------|------------|
| Life Expectancy (UNDP 2007) | 50.4 year | 47.7 years |
| Population living below poverty line (WB 2006) | 31% | 82% |
| Maternal Mortality rate | 435 | 750 |
| Infant Mortality Rate | 76 | 105 |
| U5 Mortality rate (per 1,000 live births) [UNICEF/WHO 2008 | 134 | 174 |
| Global acute malnutrition | 6% | 9.5% |
| Immunization (children 1-2 years) [UDHS 2006) | 46% | 48% |
| Access to sanitation unit (UNICEF 2008) | 62% | 9% |
| Access to safe water (UNICEF 2008) | 63% | 30% |
| Literacy rate (UDHS 2006) | 67% | 11% |

Source: Analysis from (UNOCHA 2009) in Ayoo et al. (2013:p.4).

From the above table, Karamoja lags in terms of HDI and HPI in important sectors like education, life expectancy, access to sanitation and water, maternal and infant mortality rates, among others.

If the budget experts follow the allocation criteria mentioned earlier, Karamoja would be receive the highest amounts of funding. (Wells 2013) says that public goods (roads, electricity, schools) as capabilities should be developed to reduce marginalisation.

Table 8: Types and availability of roads

| Location | National Road (Paved) | | National Road (Unpaved) | | Feeder/ District Road | | Community Road | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|
| | 2012/13 | 2016/17 | 2012/13 | 2016/17 | 2012/13 | 2016/17 | 2012/13 | 2016/17 |
| Residence | | | | | | | | |
| Rural | 44.4 | 66.4 | 60.4 | 72.7 | 81.6 | 94.0 | 95.1 | 85.8 |
| Urban | 74.9 | 89.5 | 60.4 | 53.4 | 80.9 | 76.1 | 89.1 | 74.6 |
| Sub-regions | | | | | | | | |
| Kampala | 90.9 | 94.6 | 19.5 | 23.5 | 57.8 | 75.7 | 84.0 | 82.9 |
| Central I | 81.3 | 97.2 | 63.3 | 55.2 | 92.9 | 81.5 | 98.8 | 86.8 |
| Central II | 87.4 | 97.4 | 74.6 | 73.4 | 97.8 | 92.8 | 96.1 | 79.5 |
| Busoga | 40.2 | 58.4 | 80.9 | 71.2 | 85.0 | 84.1 | 94.2 | 36.2 |
| Bukedi | 6.4 | 97.9 | 30.9 | 98.3 | 84.2 | 99.5 | 87.3 | 100.0 |
| Elgon | 27.1 | 33.8 | 46.9 | 35.1 | 83.4 | 81.4 | 86.9 | 46.6 |
| Teso | 6.4 | 60.1 | 19.7 | 68.3 | 71.8 | 94.1 | 100.0 | 90.9 |
| Karamoja | 0.0 | 13.6 | 12.5 | 98.6 | 73.3 | 89.3 | 81.0 | 80.6 |
| Lango | 46.9 | 69.9 | 72.7 | 82.2 | 61.5 | 93.9 | 95.0 | 94.3 |
| Acholi | 13.9 | 74.5 | 90.4 | 73.4 | 49.5 | 68.7 | 87.1 | 75.4 |
| West Nile | 32.6 | 66.6 | 70.4 | 97.2 | 88.4 | 98.3 | 97.1 | 99.8 |
| Bunyoro | 36.6 | 54.4 | 66.1 | 95.5 | 62.2 | 95.2 | 88.7 | 93.5 |
| Tooro | 64.1 | 91.2 | 65.7 | 70.5 | 78.2 | 93.5 | 92.3 | 98.1 |
| Ankole | 74.6 | 45.4 | 70.0 | 33.3 | 98.1 | 93.8 | 100.0 | 95.3 |
| Kigezi | 83.6 | 61.5 | 55.4 | 60.7 | 95.5 | 90.9 | 93.2 | 85.9 |
| Uganda | 52.4 | 72.9 | 60.4 | 67.2 | 81.4 | 89.0 | 93.5 | 82.6 |

Source: Analysis from (UNHS 2016/2017: p.172)

From the above table, Karamoja recorded the highest percentage (99%) access to unpaved national roads and the lowest (14%) access to paved national roads. Regions with more access to pave national roads like Kampala, Ankole and Kigezi would imply a higher allocation of resources and vice versa.

Table 9: Household's fuel for lighting

| Characteristics | 2016/17 | | | | | | | Total |
|------------------------------|--------------|------------|------------------|-------------|-------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| | Type of fuel | | | | | | | |
| | Tadooba | Lantern | Grid Electricity | Solar | Dry Cells/ Batteries | Candles | Others | |
| Sex of Household Head | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 26.1 | 5.8 | 22.1 | 19.2 | 21.8 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 100.0 |
| Female | 30.5 | 7.0 | 21.9 | 13.8 | 20.4 | 2.5 | 3.9 | 100.0 |
| Residence | | | | | | | | |
| Rural | 33.8 | 6.4 | 8.3 | 20.7 | 25.9 | 1.1 | 3.7 | 100.0 |
| Urban | 11.3 | 5.6 | 57.2 | 9.3 | 9.7 | 6.1 | 0.8 | 100.0 |
| Sub-Region | | | | | | | | |
| Kampala | 0.9 | 3.2 | 85.8 | 0.5 | 1.9 | 6.9 | 0.8 | 100.0 |
| Central I | 17.0 | 7.0 | 51.8 | 11.8 | 7.0 | 4.4 | 1.0 | 100.0 |
| Central II | 19.5 | 12.2 | 26.6 | 22.5 | 15.0 | 2.6 | 1.6 | 100.0 |
| Busoga | 48.3 | 2.3 | 10.8 | 20.3 | 16.0 | 1.2 | 1.1 | 100.0 |
| Bukedi | 63.6 | 4.4 | 7.1 | 12.1 | 11.3 | 0.5 | 1.0 | 100.0 |
| Elgon | 57.5 | 12.7 | 17.8 | 7.9 | 2.5 | 0.3 | 1.3 | 100.0 |
| Teso | 23.4 | 1.3 | 4.9 | 12.1 | 55.4 | 0.3 | 2.5 | 100.0 |
| Karamoja | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 7.7 | 46.4 | 3.2 | 40.5 | 100.0 |
| Lango | 10.4 | 5.2 | 7.1 | 16.3 | 56.5 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 100.0 |
| Acholi | 39.7 | 4.3 | 2.9 | 14.8 | 30.6 | 1.8 | 5.8 | 100.0 |
| West Nile | 33.8 | 4.1 | 3.1 | 17.1 | 39.2 | 0.5 | 2.1 | 100.0 |
| Bunyoro | 18.4 | 3.4 | 11.4 | 37.6 | 22.9 | 3.6 | 2.7 | 100.0 |
| Tooro | 30.8 | 4.6 | 12.6 | 27.2 | 20.7 | 2.8 | 1.4 | 100.0 |
| Ankole | 26.6 | 9.4 | 21.1 | 23.2 | 14.6 | 2.6 | 2.5 | 100.0 |
| Kigezi | 22.5 | 10.0 | 13.2 | 16.9 | 29.7 | 3.2 | 4.5 | 100.0 |
| PRDP Districts | | | | | | | | |
| Sporadically Affected | 23.3 | 4.3 | 5.1 | 18.1 | 44.8 | 1.8 | 2.6 | 100.0 |
| Severely Affected | 23.9 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 12.6 | 38.7 | 2.0 | 16.8 | 100.0 |
| Spill-overs | 51.0 | 6.6 | 10.4 | 10.9 | 19.3 | 0.4 | 1.4 | 100.0 |
| Rest of the Country | 23.8 | 6.9 | 30.6 | 19.4 | 14.5 | 3.2 | 1.6 | 100.0 |
| Mountainous Areas | | | | | | | | |
| Mountainous | 38.1 | 9.3 | 20.6 | 12.7 | 13.9 | 1.5 | 3.9 | 100.0 |
| Non-Mountainous | 26.7 | 6.0 | 22.2 | 17.9 | 21.9 | 2.6 | 2.8 | 100.0 |
| Uganda | 27.5 | 6.2 | 22.1 | 17.5 | 21.4 | 2.5 | 2.9 | 100.0 |

Source: Analysis from (UNHS 2016/2017: p.129).

The table above shows at sub-regional level, Kampala recorded the highest percentage of grid electricity household usage of 86% and Karamoja had the lowest at 1% meaning it used other sources of energy more (41%).

"In most cases, government does not allocate adequate resources to the region as evidenced by poor roads network and lack of electricity in Karamoja although recently, electricity is being extended to some parts of Karamoja yet other regions received it several decades back. (James Loporon, Official of Merycorps Kaabong district).

5.1.1 Perceptions about resource allocation

An interview with an NGO staff revealed that much as Karamoja has low population and appears economically less viable, a high economic potential is in its minerals such as marble, gold and recently discovered oil.

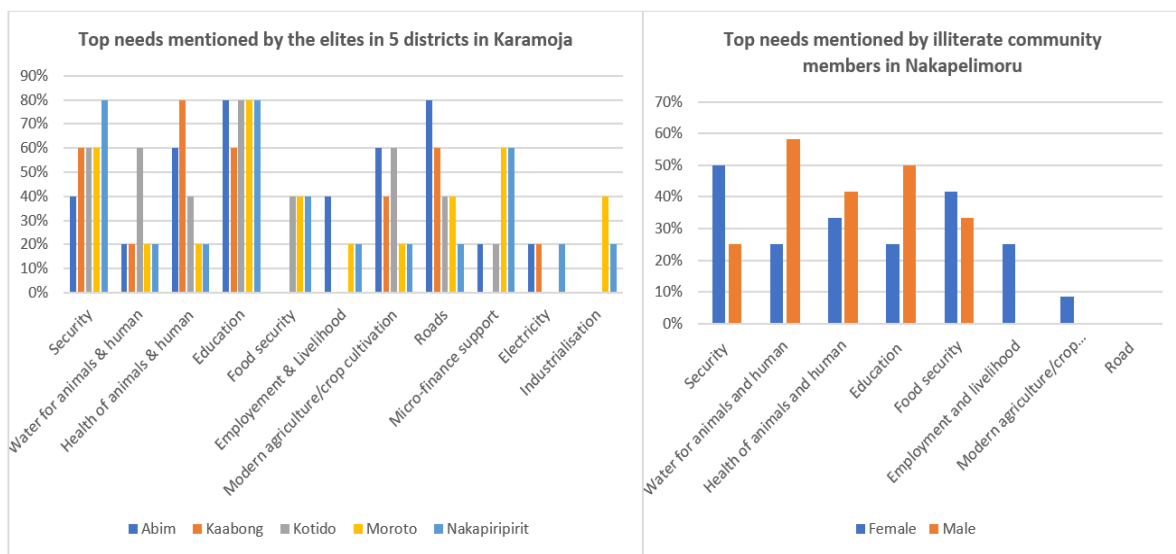
"I think resource allocation is really minimal compared to what the government fetches from Karamoja in terms of minerals. A large chunk of land has been gazetted for mining but limited royalties and under declaration of extractives such as marble are realised. But people who call themselves experts argue that Karamoja's population is low to attract huge funding from the government and a few number of vehicles on

its roads cannot attract big investments in terms of tarmac” (Samson Okwir, Official of Resource Rights Africa, Moroto district). This is in line with (Gatzweiler et al. 2011)’s assertion that marginalised people are denied access to resources.

“Yes, decentralisation brings services nearer but there is a need for full decentralisation. Government says there is decentralisation, yet resource allocation and guidelines are done at the centre making the districts to operate with tight hands. (Sam Ayen Okello, politician and retired local government official in Abim district).

This means that the districts do not have the freedom to plan for the utilization of the available resources to alleviate poverty in the communities because of stringent control from the centre. It is proper to state that decentralisation and state bureaucracy influence resource allocation just as (Pavanello 2009) posits.

Table 10: Priority needs for resource allocation



Source: Own analysis based on interview data.

The table above revealed that 80% of government and NGO officials (elites) mentioned top most need for education in Abim, Kotido, Moroto and Nakapiripirit, 80% mentioned security in Nakapiripirit, and 80% in Kaabong and Abim prioritized health of animals/human and roads respectively. The least mentioned needs were 20% for water for animals in Abim, Kaabong, Moroto and Nakapiripirit. On the righthand side of the table, the community (village) members of Nakapelimoru were most concerned about water for animal and human needs with 58% and 25% of Male and female respectively, 50% of female mentioned security against 25% mentioned by male, 50% and 25% of male and female mentioned education respectively. Females were more concerned about security than male.

The thinking of officials is quite different from that of the local community. The officials prioritized long term infrastructural development approach of road construction, electricity alongside the much-needed education and security while the local community members cared most about their immediate pastoral livelihood needs (water for both livestock and human

use, health of the livestock and food security): *"We need a big dam like Kobebe ⁵for our animals"* (Longoli Lotuman, Nakapelimoru community member). Like (Leavy and Howard 2013) and (Kabeer 2006) hinted, the marginalised community members do not have a say (voice) in decision making.

Figure 3: Karamojong herd

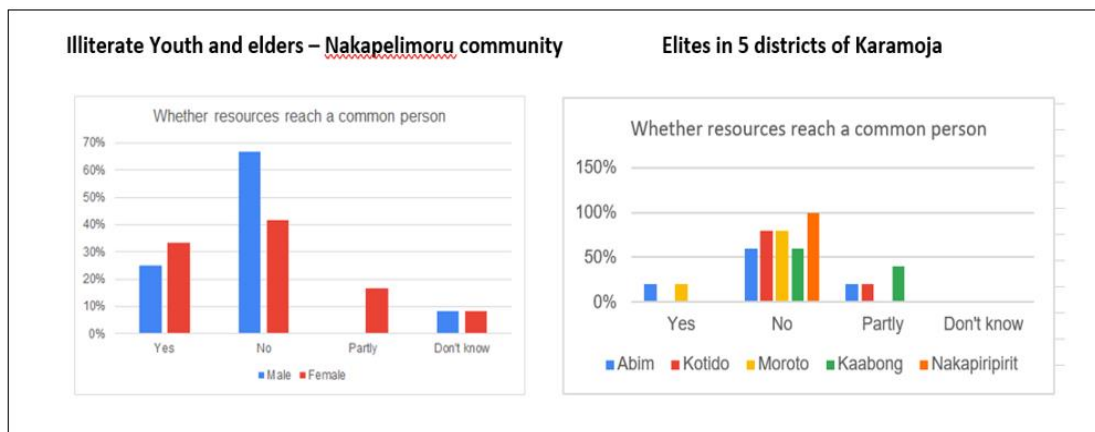


Source: Climate Home News: <https://www.climatechangenews.com/2018/11/28/valley-dams-offer-half-hope-drought-hit-ugandan-herders/>

The above figure illustrates a dry spell situation in Moroto district. The pastoralists become more worried and bothered especially when they need water and pastures for their livestock.

⁵ Kobebe is one big artificial water dam in Moroto district

Table 11: Whether resources allocated reach a common person



Source: Own analysis from field interview data.

Table above shows that 25% of male and 33% of female members of Nakapelimoru community revealed that the resources allocated reach the common person (intended target), 67% of male and 42% of female said resources do not reach the common person, 17% of female and 0% of male partly agreed and 8% of both male and female don't know. From the elites perspective (righthand side of the table), in Abim, 20% of the elites mentioned that the resources allocated reach the final beneficiaries, 60% didn't agree and 20% partly agreed, in Kotido, 80% were not in agreement and 20% partly in agreement, Moroto presented 20% in agreement and 80% not in agreement, in Kaabong, 60% said no and 40% partly agreed and in Nakapiripirit, 100% said no.

The most mentioned reasons for resources not reaching the beneficiaries were corruption, illiteracy and ignorance of the community members.

“Leakages occur on the way between the Local Government’s intermediaries and procurement process and a bigger percentage of people don’t have the capacity to know how much has been allocated to them. So, if the allocated services reach, they are not in equal measure as they were released. (Joseph Ayen Ongom, Former official - Caritas Kotido and businessman in Abim town council)

In agreement with (Leavy and Howard 2013), the community members lacked key information pertaining what is allocated, what they are entitled to and criteria for allocation. This gives room for the elites to misappropriate public resources. A case in point is the NUSAF3 scandals in Abim district in (2020) which saw the interdiction of Chief Administrative Officer Mr Ismael Ochengel from office for allegedly creating ghost projects, embezzlement of Covid-19 funds and sanctioning fraudulent deals with contractors⁶. The 18 Friesian cows under the OWC which were meant for the identified peasant beneficiaries were allegedly shared among some district politicians in Abim.⁷ By the time of writing this paper, a team from the Inspectorate of Government were investigating several corruption scandals in the

⁶ <https://ugandaradionetwork.net/story/abim-cao-interdicted-over-corruption-allegations>

⁷ <https://www.newvision.co.ug/news/1531330/abim-nusaf-money-stolen>, Operation wealth creation is one of the national poverty alleviation programs.

district and possibly the result would see more district officials interdicted from service or arrested to face corruption and abuse of public office charges.

5.2 Representation

Persistent poverty in Karamoja is aided by further exclusion and discriminations when it comes to top political appointments.

“The Karamojong do not have the capacity and voice to push for their interests at policy levels. The minister of Karamoja affairs comes from Ibanda district in western part of Uganda, he is not a Karamojong and he does not know the interests of the people of Karamoja” (Joseph Ayen Ongom, former official - Caritas Kotido and businessman in Abim town council).

According to (Uganda Radio Network 2016), the appointment of John Byabagambi and Moses Kizige as Karamoja Affairs Cabinet Minister and State Minister for Karamoja respectively in 2016 were met with protests from Karamoja. They claimed that the appointees were not familiar with their problems. The predecessors in the same office (2011 to 2016) were First lady Janet Museveni and Barbara Oundo Nekesa who hailed from western and eastern regions, respectively.

“Most people working in the ministry responsible for Karamoja affairs are not Karamojong. As a result, they are to a larger extent ignorant about appropriate solutions and problems we face in Karamoja” (Godfrey Angela aka muzee G, radio presenter and aspirant Mayor Moroto Municipality).

In an independent survey by (Observer 2013) of a list of 129 influential government jobs like cabinet ministers, statutory bodies, department heads, and permanent secretaries, it was found that western region had 48 slots and central 38 taking the lion's share. In cabinet, western had 13 out of 30 available slots and central held 8 slots while the north and east held 3 and 4 slots, respectively. No one from Karamoja was a full cabinet minister. In terms of political relevance as pointed in (Raleigh 2010) and (Czuba 2019), western and central regions are more influential and relevant than Karamoja.

The inadequate or lack of representation in top government positions is worsened by the anti-pastoralist policy superintended by the central government.

"Pastoralist agenda doesn't fit well into the national agenda; it is given low priority. The Karamojong are considered a minority group, people who don't matter, their interests are not considered and in most times the authority responds to their plight after they have made a lot of noise (Joel Achilla Programmes Manager ADP - Abim district)

The biasness in policy is a political dimension of marginalisation because the state ceases to be a neutral agent in enhancing basic human rights making the dominant classes to run the society (Bhalla and Lapeyre 1997). The biased policy also accelerates little resource allocation and ethnic discrimination of the Karamojong as backward and uncivilized (Winant 2000)

The Karamojong feel that they are poorly represented by their local leaders.

"To a larger extent, there is no effective representation, effective representation ended way back during times of leaders like the late Hon. Choudry of Kaabong, Hon. Paul Pulkol of Moroto and the late Hon. Omwony Ojwok of Abim. The three leaders were able to push for the Karamoja agenda at the national level.

Since the current leaders from Karamoja rarely raise issues of national importance in parliament, then how would you expect them to raise issues of Karamoja?.....political representation is totally poor! If leaders would raise the problems facing Karamoja, roads would be tarmacked, electricity would've been extended all over the region and marble from Moroto would not be taken for processing in factories outside Karamoja like Tororo and others in Kampala." (Isaac Woyima, Abim district resident and Health Official).

However, the elected leaders said that they do their best to represent the interests of the region.

"Government handles Karamoja affairs, especially in regards to pastoralism through the ministry of agriculture. We also liaise with various development partners and NGOs to serve the region" (Aleper Margaret, MP -Woman Representative Kotido district).

This becomes complex to analyze but a look at the political interference and dominant behaviour of the NRM ruling government in the region is worth considering:

"Due to political interference, we feel that MPs of Karamoja are bribed to prevent them for saying what they are supposed to say for their poor people and in most cases they don't turn up when invited to attend advocacy meetings intended to guard the rangeland or grazing land for the pastoralists yet we expect our MPs to table in parliament resolutions from such meetings but it is not their interest" (Samson Okwir, Official at Resource Rights Africa, Moroto district).

In a study to understand the politics in Karamoja, (Czuba 2019) reports that the NRM ruling party use the local leaders (as conduits) to extent stay in power by rewarding them with wealth, to ensures no formal existence of opposition politicians. The author justifies his claim by citing an interview he made with a councillor in Karamoja:

"I was the only member of opposition on the district council. They used to put a lot of pressure. They wanted to arrest me, said that it was treason, that I wanted to overthrow the state. In 2016, I had to join the NRM, for the safety of my life, for the safety of my position, and for the safety of my people. Because they vowed they wouldn't give any services to the people of [my community] if I stayed in opposition. So I joined the NRM and became the NRM flag bearer" (Czuba 2019: p.9)

Table 12: List of MPs from Karamoja

| List of MPs from Karamoja 2016 -2021 | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| Name | Constituency | District | Political Party |
| Okori-moe Janet Grace Akech | District Woman Representative | Abim | NRM |
| Ayepa Michael | Labwor | Abim | NRM |
| Adome Bildad Moses | Jie | Kotido | NRM |
| Aleper Aachilla Margaret | District Woman Representative | Kotido | NRM |
| Lokii Peter Abrahams | Kotido Municipality | Kotido | NRM |
| Lokeris Samson | Dodoth East | Kaabong | NRM |
| Lokodo Simon | Dodoth West | Kaabong | NRM |
| Lokwang Hillary | Ik | Kaabong | NRM |
| Nakwang Christine Tubo | District Woman Representative | Kaabong | NRM |
| Akello Rose Lilly | District Woman Representative | Karenga | NRM |
| Angella Fred | Moroto Municipality | Moroto | NRM |
| Atyang Stella | District Woman Representative | Moroto | NRM |
| Lokii John Baptist | Mathaniko | Moroto | NRM |
| Achia Terence Naco | Bokora | Napak | NRM |
| Nome Stella Nyomera | District Woman Representative | Napak | NRM |
| Kipterit Christopher Akorikimoi | Upe | Amudat | Independent but (NRM) leaning |
| Nauwat Rosemary | District Woman Representative | Amudat | Independent but (NRM) leaning |
| Acia Remigio | Pien | Nabilatuk | NRM |
| Anyakun Davinia Esther | District Woman Representative | Nakapiripirit | NRM |
| Lokeris Peter Teko Aimat | Chekwi County (Kadam) | Nakapiripirit | NRM |

Source: Own analysis from Parliament of Uganda website: <https://www.parliament.go.ug/find-an-mp>

The table above shows that out of the 20 MPs from Karamoja, 18 are affiliated to the ruling NRM and only 2 are independent but NRM leaning. This implies that there is no competition between political parties in Karamoja. In the 2016 presidential elections, NRM candidate (Yoweri Museveni) garnered 97% and 93% in the poor Karamoja districts of Amudat and Napak respectively (The Observer 2016). This confirms the outcome of a study done by (Rupasingha & Goetz 2007) which found that there are lower poverty rates in counties with more competition between political parties and that poverty rates are lower when the voting is balanced and in the sense that elections were closer.

5.3 Engagement of the local people

A larger section of participants interviewed confessed that most people in Karamoja do not have access to vital information pertaining development and poverty alleviation because of illiteracy, lack of access to radios and televisions, hoarding of information by elites, poor road network limits travels, and lack of access to phone and internet services. A few said that some people get access to information through radios, NGOs (feedback sessions and toll-free calls) and others get by chance.

“Communication is a big problem in Karamoja. Out of the 9 districts, only 4 (Abim, Kotido, Moroto and Nakapiripirit) have access to FM radio networks. In cases where flyers, billboards are used, the information is written in English instead of pictorial illustrations for IEC (Information, Education and Communication) materials despite the high illiteracy rate. When a few get information, they get it very late when other people in other parts of the country have moved on. A bigger portion of the region don't have mobile phone network coverage or internet and the few areas which have are very poor, spottied and unreliable” (James Loporon, official Mercy Corps Kaabong district).

According to the data about ownership of ICT devices as reported by the (UNHS 2016/17), no one owned a television individually in Karamoja while 42% held in Kampala, 3% in Kigezi, 2% in Teso, Bukedi, Acholi and 1% reported in West Nile. Karamoja reported 3% individual ownership of computer/laptop against 13% in Kampala.

The community members of Nakapelimmoru mentioned that they get such vital information when they go to the trading centre or town because they stay in the villages to graze their animals and do some seasonal crop cultivation.

“If people knew about the existence of such information, they would have owned it, people look at survival in terms of what to eat and drink only. Radios are talking about development services but people aren't asked what they want” (Isaac Woyima , Health Officer and Abim Resident)

The remote setup of Karamoja, hoarding of information, illiteracy make it challenging for people to get information about poverty alleviation, (Bird et al. 2002) and (Leavy and Howard 2013) share this assertion.

5.4 Conclusion of the chapter

Political decisions take precedence as far as resource allocation and appointments to top government positions are concerned. Factors such as political relevance of the ethnic group and lobbying powers of the local leaders are key. Karamojong's lack of voice in poverty alleviation initiatives is due to elite capture, illiteracy/ ignorance and these worsen the poverty situation.

Chapter 6: Reluctance and unresponsiveness towards insecurity in Karamoja

6.1 Gun holding

Figure 4: Armed Turkana warriors of Kenya



Group of Turkana warriors, karacuna, from Kenya sitting together in the shade

Source: (Simonse 2011:p.31)

The above picture is of the Turkana showing the illegal possession of firearms. AK47 guns appear like walking sticks in such communities.

Table 13: Estimated illegal firearms holdings in selected pastoralist regions

| Area/region | Estimate gun holding | Population | Guns holding per 10,000 |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| Karamoja Uganda | 15,000 - 200,000 | 1,000,000 | 150 -2,000 |
| Kenya (Northern) | 530,000 - 680,000 | 2,657,572 | 1,994 - 2,559 |
| Somaliland | 500,000 | 2,300,000 | 2,174 |
| South Sudan | 720,000 | 1,207,000 | 5,965 |

Source: Analysis supported by data from (Wepundi 2014:p.3)

Above table shows that Karamoja had the lowest estimate of 150 to 2000 guns per every 10,000 as per the population in 2004, followed by Northern Kenya which comprised of (Turkana, west Pokot, Isiola and Garisa counties) as per 2019 population had 1,994 to 2,559 guns per 10,000 people⁸, Somaliland Somalia had 2,174 per every 10,000 as per 2013⁹ and South Sudan had the highest of 5,965 guns holding per 10,000 people (Toposa and Dinka) as per 2008 population¹⁰. Disarmament of the Karamojong warriors between (2001 to 2006) possibly led to the reduction in the number of firearms and the highest concentration of guns in South Sudan explains its instabilities and it is a supply source of firearms to Karamojong.

⁸ Population of pastoralists in Northern Kenya <https://kenya.opendataforafrica.org/msdpnbc/2019-kenya-population-and-housing-census-population-by-county-and-sub-county>

⁹ Population of Somaliland Somalia <https://www.unicef.org/esa/media/2236/file/UNICEF-2013-Sampling-mobile-pastoralists-Somalia.pdf>

¹⁰ Estimate population of Toposa and Dinka pastoralists https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_South_Sudan

6.2 Drivers of persistent insecurity

Table 14: Drivers of persistent insecurity

| Unresponsiveness/reluctance from government | Other factors |
|---|--|
| Failure to protect the locals from both external and internal attacks from armed cattle raiders | Poverty |
| Presence of illegal guns in the communities | Illiteracy |
| Porous borders with armed neighbors | Cultural practices |
| Ignoring peace agreement as an approach | Weak implementation of peace agreement |
| Failure by police/judiciary to try the arrested raiders in courts of law to discourage others | Role of elites/political leaders and businessmen |
| | Idleness among the youth |

Source: Own construction from interview data

The table above categorises drivers of persistent insecurity into reluctance and unresponsiveness from government and other factors.

The government is blamed for failing to solve insecurity problem in the region.

“There is negligence from the government to protect the lives and property of the Karamojong. No soldiers are deployed at the border points to prevent the Turkana of Kenya from attacking the Karamojong. Frequent raids by the Turkana have inspired rearmament in Karamoja as the last resort to defend themselves since the government army has failed to contain such external attacks or raids. (Samson Okwir, Official of Resource Rights Africa, Moroto district)

A similar response was obtained in Nakapiripirit that:

“The police live in towns and trading centers along the major highways but very few are deployed in villages which are far from towns. The army deployment is on and off since most of them are taken to Somalia to fight the Al-Shabaab terrorists. The LDUs in the barracks are few and some are not trustworthy because it is rumored that they connive with raiders, sell ammunitions to raiders ” (Lokiru Paul, Nakapiripirit district).

Karamoja insecurity urgency is low to the state as evidenced by inaction to provide security at boarder points, attending to international peace keeping missions at the expense of its people suffering from cattle raids. This is the reason why (Simonse 2011) made the point that solving insecurity in Karamoja is a low priority for President Museveni’s government.

The weak and unreliable state security in the communities has therefore given greenlight for raiding and counter raiding as remarked by one participant: *“Our cows are prone to thieves because they are not protected from neighboring raiders so the owners do their best to reposess them through counter-raids” (Amunyo Ritab, Nakapelimoru community member)*

The community members of Nakapelimoru also pointed out that the security forces delay responding to their calls to assist in recovering their raided animals.

“When our animals are raided, we urgently report to the security forces, but they tell us that they don’t have fuel in their vehicle to locate the whereabouts of the raiders. At times, we end up hiring motorcycles on our own to quickly coordinate recovery of the stolen animals. We don’t have guns to fight the raiders so what can we then do?” (Lopuli Apamerimug, elder in Nakapelimoru community).

In Abim, recovery of the raided livestock has become the only strategy in place used by the security forces. They wait to be told that the warriors have raided a kraal then they swing to action. As government forces, more is demanded from them in stopping the armed raiders.

Most participants interviewed agreed to the fact that there are still many illegal guns in the hands of the Karamojong warriors much as they do not move openly with them. The disarmament program of 2001-2006 was not comprehensive according to one interviewee in the village:

“The disarmament was unbalanced, government disarmed only the Jie and left the neighboring Mathenikos and Dodoth with guns, which they have used to attack us on many occasions” (Aduko Lomorimoe, Nakapelimoru community member).

Other respondents said rearmament is also contributing to the increasing illegal guns in the region. People are rearming to protect their livestock and lives.

The respondents also mentioned that the government does not take peace talk among the pastoralist communities seriously, yet it is a better approach to mitigate pastoral conflicts. The NGOs and some few CSOs try to mobilize communities for peace talks much as they have limited funding and support from government. Even in the communities, other subtribes do not obey peace talk resolutions. A member from Nakapelimoru community mentioned that peace agreements are easily broken/abused by ethnic subtribes in Karamoja making it very hard to have a sustained peace.

Three respondents from Nakapelimoru community mentioned that the police do not take those arrested for cattle raiding to be tried in courts to discourage others from the vice:

“whenever we catch a raider and hand to government or police, they are released after few days and they come back to the community and resume raiding, so they take it as a normal thing. We are even tired of tracking raiders because they are not punished for the wrong things they do”(Lopuli Apamerimug, Nakapelimoru community member).

On the other hand, Karamoja’s insecurity is a complex one involving facilitation from some dubious political leaders and businessmen.

“Karamojong cattle rustling has evolved a lot. In the past 30 years, it was purposely for wealth and these days, its perpetuated by conflict entrepreneurs who earn a living through settling conflicts. This is within the elite wing, also raiding is now seen as a lucrative business and this can be brought down by setting spies

like the GISOs¹¹ at community levels to root out such syndicates” (Loki Peter Abrahams MP Kotido Municipality)

They said that some elites and businessmen sponsor raids, local leaders conceal raiders and illegal guns in their villages because they fear losing political support from their constituencies if they reported.

Cultural practices/beliefs like raiding to obtain dowry for marriage, raiding to have respect/prestige contribute to the persistent insecurity:

“Raids have always been part of us, and I don't have any concrete idea of how they should be addressed” (Naburo Mary, Nakapelimoru community member), “People here have greed for cows. If you see your rich neighbour and you are poor, you feel like to also own those cows by all means” (Longoli Lotuman, Nakapelimoru community member).

Idleness among the Karamojong youth was mentioned as a key contributor to insecurity. This is because the youth are the active participants in raiding and since most of them are illiterate and have no other employment engagements, they turn to raiding as an occupation to earn a living:

“People are not interested in raiding but idleness makes the youth and even students to join raiding in order to earn a living” (Isaac Woyima, Health Official and Abim district resident).

Karamoja’s high illiteracy and poverty rates also contribute to raiding. *“Illiteracy is a major cause of the raids, people think by raiding, they can attain a given life standard” (Napaja Andrew, District Chairperson, Moroto).*

6.3 Conclusion of the chapter

The government's reluctance, and unresponsiveness to insecurity crises in Karamoja contribute to persistent insecurity. There is no political will to provide a long-lasting solution because Karamoja’s insecurity does not threaten the government in anyway like a rebel group would do. There is a history of cooperation between the state army and the Karamojong warriors for example when LRA rebels attacked Morulem dispensary in Abim on 28/12/1998, the warriors fought alongside the state army and defeated the rebels. However, to a smaller extent, other factors such as poverty, illiteracy, idleness of the youth and role of the elites also contribute to the persistent insecurity. Persistent insecurity limits capabilities of Karamoja and ensures marginalisation and persistent poverty.

¹¹ GISOs stands for Gombolola Internal Security Officers. Their role in Uganda is to boost intelligence and support mainstream security agents like army and police to detect insecurity threats.

Chapter 7: Poverty alleviation and development challenges

6.1 Marginalisation from central government

Most responses from government and NGO officials working in Karamoja pointed to marginalisation from government as the major hindrance to all efforts being put on the ground to alleviate poverty and achieve development in Karamoja. The most mentioned indicators for marginalization were limited resource allocation to the region, lack of appointment in top government positions, biased attitude towards pastoralism in the national policy and ineffective representation by the local leaders.

“Representation of the interests of Karamoja is wanting. Our leaders do not complain about the exploitations being done in Karamoja like carrying its marbles and gold to develop other places, something leaders from other regions would not allow to happen in the area. But during campaigns, these leaders make promises that they cannot fulfil when voted into office. Could it be they fear oppression from government?” (Peter Cromwell Okello, MP aspirant Labwor county).

The local leaders would achieve what they want for their people if the government wants them to do so. The above response posed a question whose answer is given by (Mosse 2010) that electoral politics may not serve the interests of the constituents but the political system.

7.2 Dependency syndrome

“There are so many players in Karamoja with different approaches. For example, USAID does not recommend giving handouts to the people yet some of its partners support giving handouts such as seeds. This makes people not to plan for their own. Some organisations give people allowances for attending meetings moreover in their communities or homes and those partners who do not give such allowances are not preferred by the communities. Overall, The UN WFP promoted dependency to the extent that some people would not want to go to the garden because they are assured of free food. Government has become very reluctant to avail services to the people of Karamoja. It has transferred its role and responsibility to the NGOs” (Joel Owilli Achilla, Programmes Manager, ADP - Abim district).

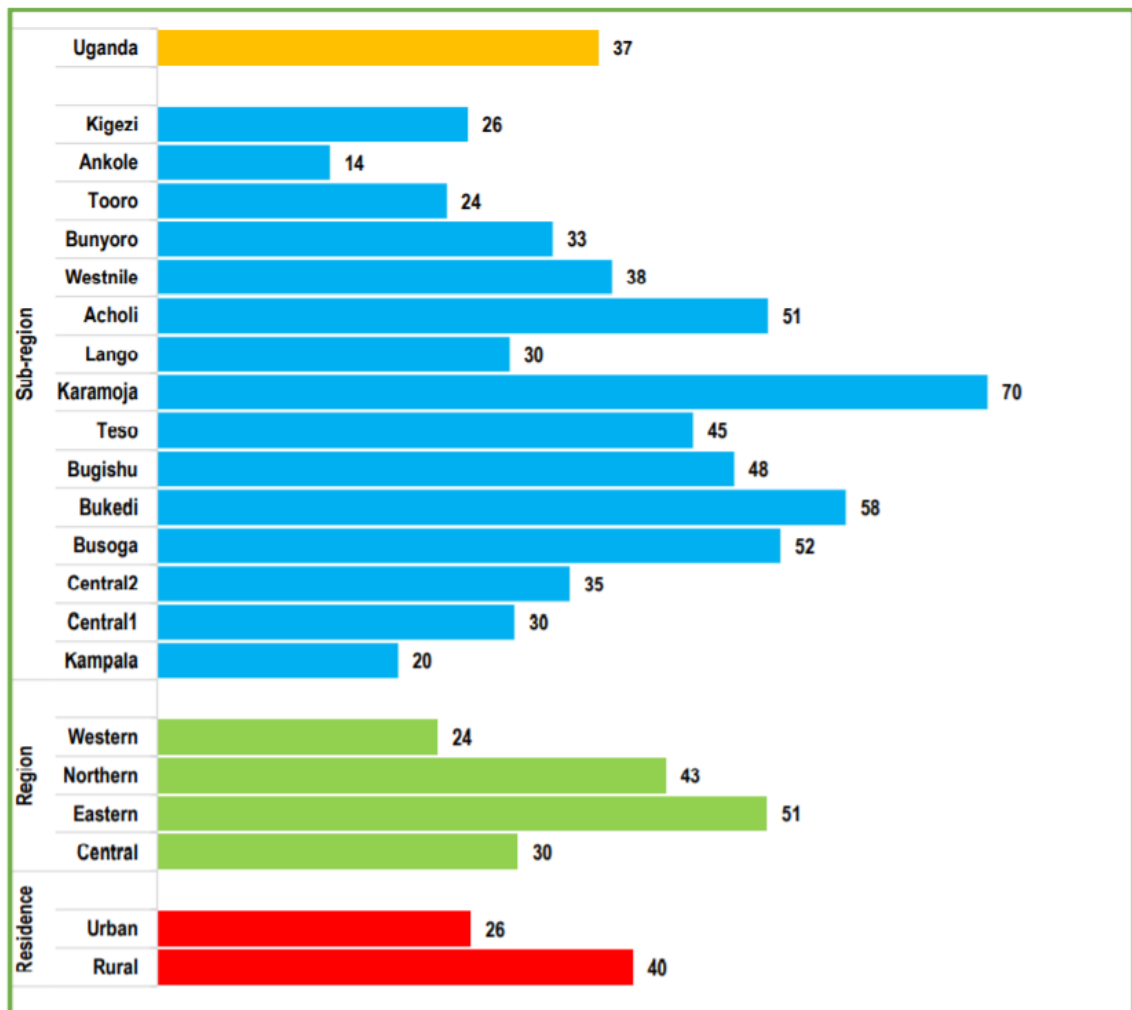
The village members mentioned lack of food as a big challenge. One member admitted that the villagers are reluctant to participate in food for work programmes run by an NGO because they are used to receiving free food instead of working for it.¹²

“People here are reluctant to engage in food for work with NGOs, they always want something for free, which sadly is not the case for every program” (Naroo Alice, Youth in Nakapelimoru community).

The biggest challenge NGOs have created is dependency. The above two responses show that the local people got used to free food and other physical items. The Karamojong are in an engineered state according to (Matunhu 2011) i.e. they have been made to be dependent hence sustaining high food poverty in the region.

¹² Food for work is an approach used by some NGOs in Karamoja where abled persons are expected to perform community works in order before they are given food aid.

Table 15: Food poor households by Location (%)



Source: Analysis from (UNHS 2016/17: p.80)

The table above indicates the situation of food poverty in Uganda in 2016/17 with (37%) representing the national household food poverty and in terms of regional distribution, Karamoja recorded the highest case of household food poverty (70%) followed by Bukedi (58%) and the lowest cases were recorded in Ankole (14%).

6.3 Persistent insecurity

For a short time, Karamoja's security situation improved after the disarmament programme in the early 2000s. The situation today is worsening. Illegal guns have reemerged, because the Karamojong warriors easily obtain guns from their South Sudan and Kenyan neighbors. These guns are used to conduct cattle raids. Community members said that their animals and their lives were not safe.

“My husband sold all the animals we had because we don't want the Turkana or the Bokoro to raid them for free or even kill us since we don't have the guns to protect ourselves at home” (Achia Nyangan, Nakapelimoru community member).

6.4 Limited interaction with the local people

Both the government and NGOs agents who implement poverty alleviation and development programmes have low interaction with the local people in Karamoja. Lack of adequate interaction with people leads to misunderstanding of the intentions behind development projects particularly projects that involve or need land. This is because the local people guard their grazing land jealousy and are always suspicious of whoever talks about land. Some respondents reported lack of trust and confidence in the operation of NGOs and CBOs in Karamoja: They mentioned lack of involvement of community members in the design of the projects,

“Most NGOs carrying out development programs are business oriented; they don't involve natives in their senior positions and the few employed at lower levels are instead exploited. (Irar Peter Abraham, Deputy District Speaker - Kotido).

Interestingly, one respondent mentioned that understanding poverty in the context of Karamoja is different from other regions and this means it is only after a sufficient engagement with the local community members that one will get to understand the needs of these pastoralists.

“There are different and unique opinions on what poverty may mean for the people in Karamoja, for example, a Karamojong warrior walking naked is not poor but a man in suit might be” (Joel Achilla, Programmes Manager ADP - Abim district)

6.5 Disunity among subtribes and local leaders

“We don't walk the talk as Karamoja leaders and stakeholders. We need to support the security forces to curb the raids and so that peace prevails by voiding the ‘kimuk ekile’ strategy used to cover wrong doers from facing consequences of their actions but rather find ways to a good and peaceful Karamoja” (Ewaru Noah, Mayor Moroto Municipality)¹³

The subtribes and leaders in Karamoja are disunited. The Jie of Kotido are not at peace with the Bokora of Napak, Bokora are not at peace with the Matheniko of Moroto, The Ethur of Abim do not trust the Jie and accuse them of endlessly raiding their livestock and so on. Disunity makes leaders fail to lobby resources or at times fail to safeguard what belongs to their people.

“MPs of Karamoja have differences among themselves, they are not united, and this makes it hard for them to speak the same language when it comes to concerns about poverty reduction. People outside Karamoja at times benefit more from projects meant for Karamoja. A case in point is the recent 2020 vaccination program against foot and mouth disease allocated for Karamoja which ended up going to some cattle keeping communities in western Uganda. The Karamojong are not in position to keep eyes on what belongs to them. Designs for interventions can be for Karamoja but practically end up in other regions.” Samson Okwir, Official of Resource Rights Africa, Moroto district)

Disunity of leaders creates a favourable atmosphere for the central government to apply divide and rule to achieve its vast interests as the region continues to be marginalise.

¹³ ‘Kimuk ekile’ is Ngakaramojong phrase meaning to cover up a man who has done something wrong or illegal.

6.6 Weak CSOs and political interference

“Politicians look as those who sensitise people about their rights and entitlement as a threat to their vast political interests and as people who instigate voters against them (Joel Achilla, Programmes Manager ADP - Abim district).

The CSOs involved in pastoral advocacy in Karamoja are few and weak (some organizations are brief case in nature) and some of them are detached from the pastoral needs of the local people as observed by (Pavanello 2009). Political interference further weakens the CSOs. Government agents intimidates activists through issuing threats of deregistering their organizations. The local leaders are also not comfortable with the activities of the few CSOs on the ground. This makes the local people less empowered to ask for their entitlements and express their needs to address persistent poverty.

6.7 Cultural practices and negative mindsets towards development

The respondents mentioned some cultural practices and beliefs like cattle raiding for paying dowry, pastoral patriarchy (domestic violence, women lack voice in the societies, female genital mutilation), high expectations from NGOs, and poor attitudes towards formal education as major challenges.

“Entrenched negative mindsets towards development programs, ignorance and illiteracy makes it difficult for our people to transform themselves in the first place ... before we even start blaming others” (Apiet Andrew, Information Officer, Nakapiripirit district).

The poor attitudes towards formal education was developed during colonial rule where the Karamojong buried a pen to symbolize rejection of formal education: They claimed the colonialists used a pen to register names of abled men to fight in the second world war where some of them never returned and the pen was also used to write names of potential tax payers hence a curse for whoever uses a pen or comes to any leadership position through a pen (Saminsky 2010) and (Owiny 2006).¹⁴ ABEK programme later changed pastoralist's minds and the pen was reportedly exhumed in another symbolic ceremony in 1995 because of the attractiveness of the alternative education they viewed as flexible and trustworthy (learning was in the local language, children learned as they graze animals, facilitators were members of the community), (Krätli 2009), (Carr-Hill & Peart 2005) and (Datzberger 2017).¹⁵

An interview (Rose Akullo, Principal of Kotido Teacher's college) and (Rosemary Oyollo Akech, Official at Ministry of Education and Sports) who were part of the pioneer team of the ABEK programme revealed that the well intentioned programme that had attracted a considerable number of children/ learners collapsed because of challenges like lack of facilitation for the ABEK facilitators, lack of integration with programmes under the

¹⁴ This was part of the social policy provisioning mapping essay assignment i authored and submitted to ISS in 2019 entitled “Non-formal education in Karamoja sub-region of north eastern Uganda – the Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK).

¹⁵ ABEK was designed to meet the education needs of the mobile pastoralists and had some elements matching with the main formal curriculum (Also part of social policy provisioning mapping essay assignment 2019)

ministry of education hence unclear administrative reporting (since it was an idea started by UNICEF and dominantly implemented by NGOs).

“ABEK is said to be functioning but it has died” (Rose Akullo, Principal of Kotido Teacher’s college and pioneer - ABEK)

Figure 5: ABEK class



Source: (Krätli 2009:p.25-26).¹⁶

The figure above shows ABEK learning centres. Children learn as they perform routine domestic activities. Learning centres were next to the homesteads or in the grazing fields. The collapse of ABEK means school enrolment in Karamoja will remain at the bottom as compared with other regions in the country.

¹⁶ (Also used in the social policy provisioning mapping essay assignment i authored and submitted to ISS in 2019 entitled “Non-formal education in Karamoja sub-region of north eastern Uganda – the Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK).

Table 17: Primary and secondary School Enrolment Rates and Gender Parity (%)

| Characteristic | Enrolment rates | | | | | | Gender Parity Index |
|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|
| | Gross enrollment ratio | | | Net enrollment ratio | | | |
| | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | |
| Residence | | | | | | | |
| Rural | 119.1 | 116.2 | 117.7 | 77.0 | 78.8 | 77.9 | 0.97 |
| Urban | 112.7 | 114.8 | 113.8 | 84.8 | 85.7 | 85.3 | 1.05 |
| Sub-region | | | | | | | |
| Kampala | 104.5 | 111.4 | 107.6 | 88.2 | 87.3 | 87.8 | 0.85 |
| Central I | 108.4 | 105.9 | 107.1 | 82.5 | 84.0 | 83.3 | 1.07 |
| Central II | 111.3 | 106.4 | 109.0 | 80.0 | 81.4 | 80.7 | 0.86 |
| Busoga | 124.8 | 124.8 | 124.8 | 81.9 | 84.0 | 83.0 | 1.07 |
| Bukedi | 135.1 | 131.3 | 133.2 | 86.3 | 88.0 | 87.2 | 1.00 |
| Elgon | 126.9 | 117.4 | 122.1 | 81.0 | 81.3 | 81.2 | 0.95 |
| Teso | 142.1 | 135.2 | 138.6 | 84.8 | 89.1 | 87.0 | 0.97 |
| Karamoja | 62.0 | 49.5 | 55.6 | 37.4 | 33.7 | 35.5 | 0.84 |
| Lango | 130.3 | 119.5 | 124.6 | 78.9 | 75.8 | 77.3 | 1.02 |
| Acholi | 131.8 | 123.6 | 127.4 | 77.7 | 76.9 | 77.2 | 1.08 |
| West Nile | 136.1 | 124.4 | 130.5 | 80.4 | 80.2 | 80.3 | 0.83 |
| Bunyoro | 113.5 | 125.4 | 119.1 | 81.2 | 81.2 | 81.2 | 0.99 |
| Tooro | 103.5 | 109.7 | 106.5 | 69.9 | 77.1 | 73.4 | 1.02 |
| Ankole | 103.0 | 114.0 | 108.5 | 71.1 | 79.2 | 75.1 | 1.11 |
| Kigezi | 126.8 | 128.2 | 127.5 | 84.5 | 84.3 | 84.4 | 1.13 |
| PRDP Districts | | | | | | | |
| Sporadically Affected | 132.9 | 125.6 | 129.3 | 80.8 | 79.8 | 80.3 | 0.90 |
| Severely Affected | 106.9 | 97.9 | 102.1 | 63.8 | 63.0 | 63.4 | 1.03 |
| Spill-overs | 135.7 | 126.9 | 131.2 | 84.4 | 85.7 | 85.1 | 0.97 |
| Rest Of The Country | 111.2 | 113.8 | 112.5 | 78.9 | 81.9 | 80.4 | 1.02 |
| Mountainous Areas | | | | | | | |
| Mountainous | 120.5 | 106.4 | 112.9 | 75.6 | 79.1 | 77.5 | 1.05 |
| Non Mountainous | 117.5 | 116.8 | 117.2 | 78.9 | 80.5 | 79.7 | 0.99 |
| Uganda | 117.7 | 115.9 | 116.8 | 78.7 | 80.3 | 79.5 | 0.99 |

| Characteristic | Gross enrollment ratio | | | Net enrollment ratio | | | Gender Parity Index |
|--------------------------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|
| | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | |
| | Residence | | | | | | |
| Rural | 32.5 | 32.0 | 32.3 | 21.3 | 24.6 | 22.9 | 0.94 |
| Urban | 61.3 | 52.5 | 56.6 | 46.1 | 42.3 | 44.1 | 0.97 |
| Sub-region | | | | | | | |
| Kampala | 70.4 | 60.8 | 65.0 | 56.9 | 51.0 | 53.6 | 1.08 |
| Central I | 57.8 | 52.8 | 55.3 | 46.9 | 46.2 | 46.6 | 0.94 |
| Central II | 38.4 | 49.2 | 43.7 | 30.0 | 42.8 | 36.2 | 1.20 |
| Busoga | 40.7 | 30.3 | 35.0 | 27.2 | 24.9 | 26.1 | 0.71 |
| Bukedi | 35.1 | 24.8 | 30.0 | 21.0 | 15.3 | 18.2 | 0.68 |
| Elgon | 37.8 | 42.1 | 39.8 | 22.0 | 29.7 | 25.5 | 0.95 |
| Teso | 30.9 | 43.1 | 37.0 | 16.2 | 29.5 | 22.9 | 1.39 |
| Karamoja | 19.4 | 14.9 | 17.5 | 13.8 | 5.1 | 10.1 | 0.58 |
| Lango | 28.1 | 22.9 | 25.6 | 16.4 | 15.5 | 16.0 | 0.77 |
| Acholi | 31.1 | 17.9 | 24.5 | 18.0 | 13.8 | 15.9 | 0.57 |
| West Nile | 18.8 | 15.1 | 17.1 | 11.6 | 9.5 | 10.6 | 0.69 |
| Bunyoro | 33.2 | 29.0 | 30.9 | 24.1 | 24.1 | 24.1 | 1.01 |
| Tooro | 38.0 | 31.6 | 34.9 | 22.4 | 25.2 | 23.8 | 0.79 |
| Ankole | 49.0 | 49.2 | 49.1 | 31.6 | 36.5 | 34.3 | 1.19 |
| Kigezi | 40.1 | 42.0 | 41.1 | 30.1 | 28.1 | 29.1 | 1.14 |
| PRDP Districts | | | | | | | |
| Sporadically Affected | 23.8 | 19.1 | 21.5 | 14.1 | 13.8 | 14.0 | 0.74 |
| Severely Affected | 28.0 | 19.7 | 24.1 | 18.2 | 11.4 | 15.0 | 0.63 |
| Spill-overs | 34.4 | 38.0 | 36.1 | 19.5 | 25.5 | 22.4 | 1.04 |
| Rest Of The Country | 45.5 | 43.5 | 44.5 | 33.2 | 35.8 | 34.5 | 0.99 |
| Mountainous Areas | | | | | | | |
| Mountainous | 39.4 | 43.0 | 41.0 | 25.6 | 30.0 | 27.6 | 0.85 |
| Non-Mountainous | 38.7 | 36.7 | 37.7 | 26.8 | 28.9 | 27.8 | 0.96 |
| Uganda | 38.7 | 37.1 | 37.9 | 26.7 | 29.0 | 27.8 | 0.95 |

Source: Analysis from (UNHS 2016/17 :p.31-32)

The table above indicates that primary school net enrolment ratios at a regional level were highest in Kampala (88%), Bukedi (87%) and Teso (87%) while Karamoja recorded the lowest (36%) and with gender parity index of (0.85%) in favour of boys, and the right hand side of the table presents Kampala with the highest secondary school net enrolment ratio of (54%), Bukedi (18%), Lango (16%) and Karamoja with the lowest at (10%) and (0.58) gender parity in favour of boys.

Disaggregation by sub-region shows that Kampala (54%) had the highest secondary school net enrollment ratio while Bukedi (18%), Lango (16%), West Nile (11%), and Karamoja (10%) had the lowest. Disaggregation of the gender parity index by sub-regions shows that, Kampala (1.08), Central II (1.20), Teso (1.39), Bunyoro (1.01), Ankole (1.19) and Kigezi (1.14) had a gender parity index in favor of girls while the rest like Central I (0.94) and Bukedi (0.68) among others had a gender parity index in favor of boys.

Other challenges mentioned were:

- Corruption
- Poor roads

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Recommendations

This paper agrees that many factors explain the persistent poverty in Karamoja but disagrees with the dominant literature that tend to emphasize ecological factors and downplay political marginalisation in understanding Karamoja's persistent poverty. For example (Ayoo et al. 2013) posits that environmental factors account for 47%, insecurity 44% and Political marginalization 9% as underlying causes of poverty in Karamoja. However, this study examined how political marginalisation contribute to the persistent poverty in Karamoja through a qualitative approach and employed a range of theories such as marginalisation, racial (ethnic discrimination), modernisation, dependency, and capability approach.

The paper fronted resource allocation, representation, and engagement of local people as major ways to examine circumstances of political marginalization in Karamoja. The responses from people interviewed indicated the following: First, resources allocated to Karamoja are misguided, too scanty and get embezzled by elites right from central government to district levels yet (Gatzweiler et al. 2011) says access to sufficient resources enables development of capabilities. Secondly, the Karamojong are not appointed in top government positions, the state is anti-pastoralist policy wise worsened by prejudices about Karamojong, and lack of effective representation from the local leaders. Thirdly, the local people lack information about poverty alleviation programs because of illiteracy, lack of access (radios and television) due to its remoteness and hoarding of information by the elites. But voice is a key dimension of poverty. (Kabeer 2006). The paper argued that the state considers Karamoja as politically irrelevant since it cannot mount any pressure to demand for increased resource allocation, policy representation or voice in poverty reduction and development initiatives and therefore proceeds from its potentials such as minerals and game park (tourism) will be redirected to other regions (priorities).

Drivers of persistent insecurity in Karamoja were found to be complex. State reluctance and unresponsiveness to the insecurity were mentioned in terms of failure to stop both external and internal cattle raiding due to lack of strategy, failure to disarm the warriors, failure to man security at the border points hence allowing flow of illegal guns into the region, ignoring peace talk as an approach to conflict and Judicial failure to prosecute armed raiders normalised raiding. On the other hand, internal factors like poverty, illiteracy, idleness of the youth, illegal guns in the communities, cultural practices like raiding for payment of dowry or pride and elites/leaders/businessmen who sponsor raids or conceal raiders contribute to the persistent insecurity. The study takes a stand that persistent insecurity is the state's negligence to protect Karamojong. Had it been that the armed Karamojong were interested in overthrowing the current government, an immediate response would have been launched to restore security just the way the state crushed FOBA, LRA and ADF rebels. Nevertheless, Internal causes cannot be ignored. The study position is similar to (Simonse 2011)'s claim that security for Karamoja has never been a priority of the current government. No sound poverty alleviation and development programme can succeed in the region if insecurity reigns. Therefore Karamoja's persistent poverty is caused by political marginalisation compounded in many ways.

Finally, the study found out that Karamoja face several challenges has it tries to pull itself out of poverty. Government maintains a bad policy attitudes towards Karamoja in terms of resource allocation for poverty alleviation and other marginalisation angles, limited interaction with the local people by experts make them fail to understand what the region takes as poverty, disunity among the sub tribes/elites affects lobbying for development, weak CSOs that are detached from people's needs and cultural practices such as negative attitude to education and collapse of ABEK which had helped to increase school enrolment. The paper states that it is not only the state which has failed Karamoja but also the international NGOs. Much as the study gives NGOs some praises, they have entrenched in the local population a dependency mentality (leading to high food poverty) and the paper wonders the next step change agents should take to develop the region.

Recommendations

Government

- a) The alternative livelihood sources like crop cultivation, mining and others should just be integrated to support pastoralism instead of condemning it.
- b) Strategically planning for sustainable development of Karamoja rather than delegating its core role to the international NGOs. Top priority is extending education to the children in kraals through restoration of ABEK to reduce on illiteracy. This is done by allocating sufficient resources.
- c) Affirmative actions for Karamoja should be strengthened to enable the local people in Karamoja participate in decision making and appoint Karamojong to top state offices.
- d) Provide lasting solutions to insecurity by advocating for total disarmament of the pastoralists in both east Africa and horn of Africa.
- e) District local government should coordinate and bring on board all development partners through proper planning to agree on approaches and prevent duplication of programs
- f) Engagement of the local people through timely and wider sensitisation about existence of poverty alleviation and development programmes.
- g) Support Akiriket leaders and CSOs in peace building through funding
- h) Terminate employment contracts and prosecute corrupt public officials

International NGOs

- Strengthen advocacy and extending funding to the CBOs or local NGOs implementing pastoral related programmes.
- Focus on other sustainable development approaches that promote self-reliance.

Local NGOs/CBOs

- Empower communities to demand for accountability from their leaders during public meetings (barazas).
- Promote peace and reconciliation among the subtribes in Karamoja and external pastoralists (Turkana of Kenya and Toposa of South Sudan).
- Since they have a better understanding of the dynamics of the region, they should own up the responsibility to drive a more sustainable (local development) and self-reliant approach to livelihood by discouraging dependency.

Elites

- Should champion sensitisation of the local people about the need to embrace education as one key step to fight ignorance and illiteracy.
- Should put behind their differences and personal interests to unite to speak with one voice about the continuous marginalisation from central government even though the incumbent NRM party comfortably enjoys mass support in the region.

Local community

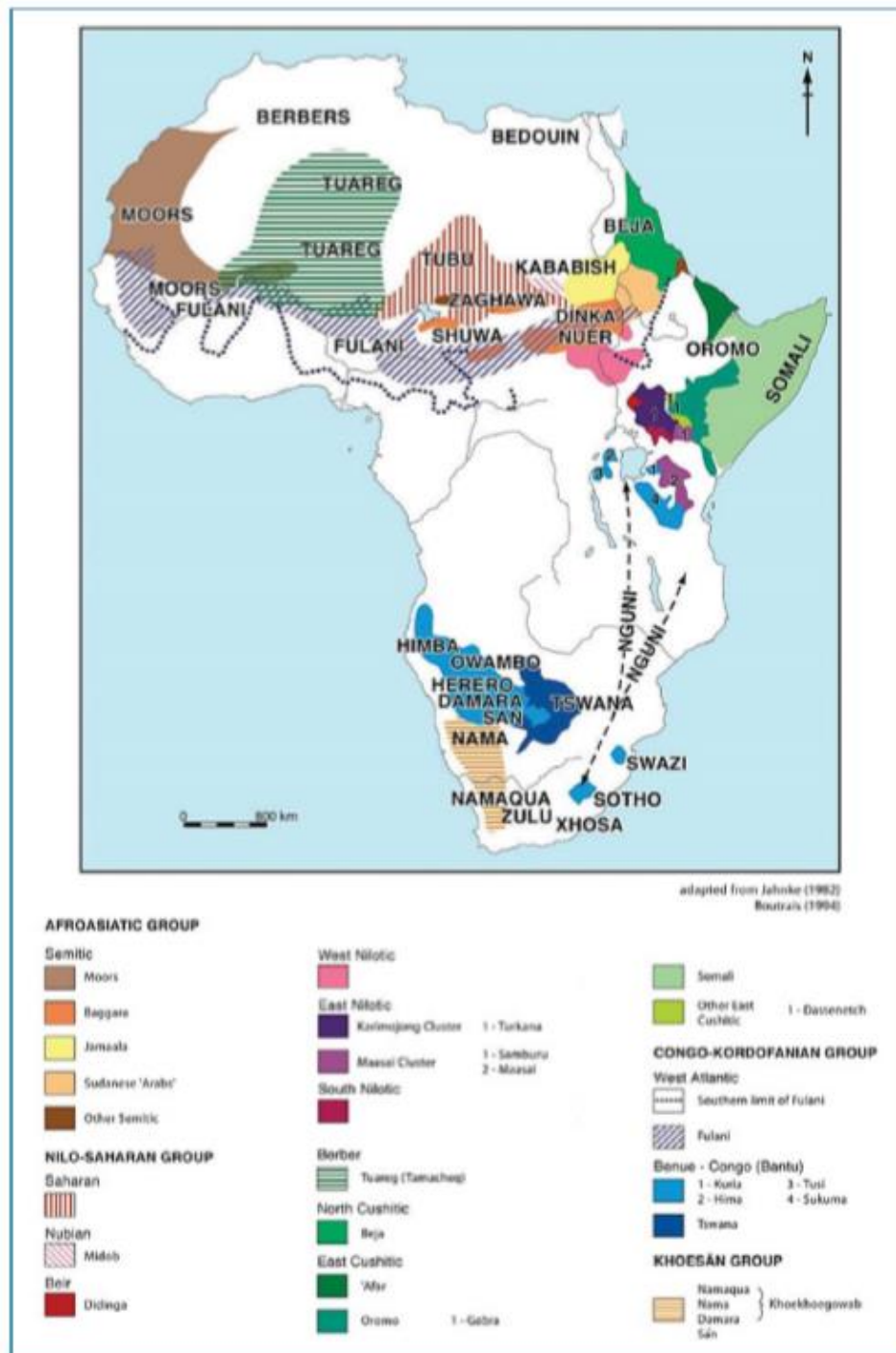
- Promote peace and reconciliation
- Form themselves into groups and advocate for their voice to be heard in all political and poverty alleviation programmes.
- Should own up development of their places by not sabotaging efforts from government and development partners and strive for self-reliance.

Map 1: Location of Karamoja sub region



Source: (Egeru et al. 2020:p.5). Nabilatuk and Karenga are recently created districts, curbed from Nakapiripirit in 2018 and Kaabong in 2019 respectively.

Map 2: Pastoral areas and ethnic groups in Africa



Source: (Homewood and Randall 2008) in (Pastoralism in Uganda Theory, Practice, and Policy 2019:p.10)

Interview questions

1. Government and NGO officials (Key informants)

| Resource Allocation | Representation | Engagement of the local people |
|---|---|--|
| <p>1. How would you describe resource allocation (funding) for development by central government to Karamoja as compared to other regions in Uganda?</p> | <p>4. To what extent do you think the interests of the Karamojong (e.g pastoralism) are represented at policy levels as far as development programmes are concerned?</p> | <p>8. Do you think that majority of people in Karamoja have access to information about existence of poverty alleviation programmes and development services? If No, explain why..</p> |
| <p>2. What do you think are the 4 urgent and key development needs for Karamoja and in terms of resource allocation or funding and how would you prioritize them?</p> | <p>5. Why is insecurity in Karamoja (e.g cattle rustling and road thuggery) persistent and How would Karamoja leaders and government permanently address insecurity problems in the region?</p> | <p>9. To what extent do you think majority of people in Karamoja express their voice about their region's development needs in comparison with people in other regions in Uganda?</p> |
| <p>3. Do you think the resources/funds allocated for Karamoja development reach the common person in Karamoja? If No explain why.</p> | <p>6. What challenges are faced while advocating for poverty alleviation and development needs in Karamoja?</p> | <p>10. In what ways can the voice of the Karamojong be made effective to influence policies geared towards development of Karamoja?</p> |
| | <p>7. How would service delivery be improved in Karamoja?</p> | |

2. Nakapelimoru community

| Resource Allocation | Representation | Engagement of the local people |
|--|--|---|
| 1. Are you satisfied with the poverty alleviation programs allocated to your community by the government and development partners? | 4. To what extent do you think your interests (e.g pastoralism) are considered by government, your local leaders and development partners while implementing development programmes in your community? | 7. Do you think that people in your community have access to information about existence of poverty alleviation and development services? If No, explain why. |
| 2. Do you think the resources/funds allocated for Karamoja development reach the common person in your community? If No why? | 5. Why is insecurity in Karamoja (e.g cattle rustling) persistent and How would Karamoja leaders and government permanently address insecurity problems in the region? | 8. How do you get information about poverty alleviation or development programmes in your community? |
| 3. What do you think are the 4 urgent and key development needs for your community and how would you prioritize (rank) them? | 6. What challenges does your community face while advocating for poverty alleviation and development needs? | 9. Do people in your community express their concerns (voice) about what they feel should be done in order to reduce poverty? If No, explain why. |

Figure 1: Field pictures



Source: Field pictures.

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