



A Fact-Finding Mission on Pastoralism



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About CELEP and the mission to Uganda

CELEP (Coalition of European Lobbies on Eastern African Pastoralism) is an informal policy-influencing coalition of European organisations, groups and experts working in partnership with pastoralist organisations, groups and experts in Eastern Africa. CELEP seeks to influence policymaking in Europe to explicitly recognise and support pastoralism (and the people who practise pastoralism: pastoralists) in the drylands of Eastern Africa. The members of the Coalition work together to lobby their national governments, European Union (EU) bodies as well as other policy-formulating bodies/agencies in Europe (e.g. the European Headquarters of the United Nations in Geneva and the FAO in Rome). Currently, CELEP is composed of 25 European member organisations and 7 Eastern African partner organisations. This close collaboration with pastoralist networks, experts, partners and organisations working in Eastern Africa is pivotal, since they provide grassroots information and are able to formulate the problems/needs of pastoralists. The Eastern African partner organisations lobby their own governments, the African Union (AU) and other regional African bodies.

CELEP focuses on four priorities:

1. Recognition of the role of pastoralism and pastoralists. Pastoralism should be recognised as a sustainable viable livelihood system that positively contributes to national/regional economies, food security, employment and sustainable management of natural resources;
2. Mobility as a crucial condition for sustainable pastoralism and for community security in (cross-border) conflict areas;
3. Access to and management of key natural resources, an aspect that among others will contribute to community security in (cross-border) conflict areas;
4. Climate change: the effects of climate change on pastoralism/ists and the (positive) contributions of pastoralism/ists on climate change.

The purpose of the visit of Mr. Neuser (Socialists & Democrats) and Mrs. Heubuch (Greens-European Free Alliance) to Uganda is to raise awareness on the challenges and opportunities of pastoralism in Uganda and in the entire Eastern African region. The impact from this high-level mission will be both in Uganda and in the EU. Regarding the EU, the mission will draw attention to the importance of having a coherent strategy of EU policies (domestic, development and humanitarian) to support pastoralist development in the Eastern African drylands. Locally, the mission is expected to raise awareness on the necessity to develop local policies and practices creating an enabling environment for Ugandan and other Eastern African pastoralists. The focus of the mission will be on the above-mentioned subthemes. Special attention will be given to maximising contact with local stakeholders and in particular representatives of local pastoralist organisations.

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1. Background

The Republic of Uganda is a landlocked country in East Africa. It is bordered by the Republic of South Sudan to the north, Kenya to the east, Tanzania to the south, Rwanda to the southwest and Democratic Republic of Congo to the west. The president of Uganda is Yoweri K. Museveni, who first came to power in 1986. The main political and administrative powers are concentrated at national and at district level. There are currently 111 districts and the Kampala Capital City Authority (July 2015).



Uganda has surpassed the 2015 MDG target of halving the poverty rate. However, Uganda remains a very poor country. Despite declining poverty rates, the absolute number of poor has decreased relatively little due to high population growth with Uganda's population doubling since 1990. Moreover, inequality is high by international standards (0.438), which could undermine the achievements in growth and poverty reduction (World Bank, 2015).

Real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth in Uganda averaged 7% per year in the 1990s and the 2000s, but from 2006 onwards, the country witnessed more economic volatility and GDP growth slowed to an average of just about 5% (World Bank, 2015). Services contribute about half of the GDP of Uganda, and agriculture and industry provide each about a quarter. More than 80% of the population works in the agricultural sector, often engaged in subsistence activities, with only a small proportion of agricultural workers engaged in the cultivation of high-value,

commercial crops. In the urban areas, a significant proportion of the population works in the informal sector (World Bank, 2013).

Livestock contribute 3.2% to the national GDP, according to IGAD (2012). Although Uganda's overall economy does not depend on livestock production to the same extent as does that of Sudan, Ethiopia and Kenya, it is essential to the livelihoods of people in certain parts of the country. One of the areas that do rely for a large extent on livestock is Karamoja.

Karamoja, roughly the size of Belgium, is a semi-arid savannah with a harsh climate and low annual rainfall in the northeast of Uganda. It forms part of the cattle corridor, running from the southwest to the northeast of the country. On development indicators, Karamoja scores low compared with the rest of the country, for example, in maternal health and literacy rates. The region is very different from the rest of Uganda in terms of climate, livelihoods and culture. Cattle are central to the value system of the Karamojong, being an important aspect of their identity and livelihood: pastoralism. Pastoralism is a rational, adaptable, tried-and-tested production system uniquely suited to the drylands. To cope with drought and limited resources, herders move across different grazing areas in search of good pasture and water. This mobile livestock production system is combined with small-scale subsistence crop farming.

Development Indicator	Figure
Poverty Rate	24.5 %
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.46
HDI Rank	164 out of 187
Life Expectancy at birth	54.5
GDP Growth Rate	4.2 %
Par capita Income	450 USD
<i>Source: UNDP 2014</i>	

Data comparing Karamoja with Uganda as a whole		
Figures	Karamoja	Uganda
Surface	27,200 km ² 11% of the Ugandan surface	241,038 km ² (of which 43,938 km ² water)
Population (UBOS, 2014)	988,429 ¹ 2.8% of the Ugandan population	34,856,813
Cattle population (UBOS, 2009) ²	2,250,000 20% of total cattle in Uganda	11,400,000
Goat population (UBOS, 2009)	2,000,000 16% of total goats in Uganda	12,500,000
Sheep population (UBOS, 2009)	1,700,000 50% of total sheep in Uganda	3,400,000
% of population in severe poverty (MPI)	79% of Karamojong	38% of Ugandans
Adult literacy rate (UNICEF, 2014)	12% of Karamojong	73% of Ugandans
Infant Mortality Rate	105 per 1000 live births (UNICEF, 2008)	44 per 1000 live births (UN Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation, 2013)
Annual Rainfall	500–800mm	855 – 1003 mm



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¹ Abim (109,039), Amudat (111,758), Kaabong (169,274), Kotido (178,909), Moroto (104,539), Nakapipiripirit (169,691) and Napak (145,219)

² Stakeholders in the Karamoja livestock sector (i.e. veterinary doctors, specialised development partners and district veterinary/production officers) believe this is an overestimation. However, they are the only official figures available.

2. Pastoralism in Karamoja

In Karamoja, rainfall distribution is often inadequate for crop production; failed or poor crops have occurred approximately one out of every three years, caused by prolonged dry spells and flash floods. Because rainfall is inadequate for crop farming, livestock products are essential for sustenance (FAO, 2014). Therefore, the dominant livelihood in Karamoja is agropastoralism (practised mainly in the area indicated in yellow/brown on the map below³). In the west of Karamoja is the so-called green belt, named so because there is more abundant and reliable rainfall, which allows for regular crop farming.

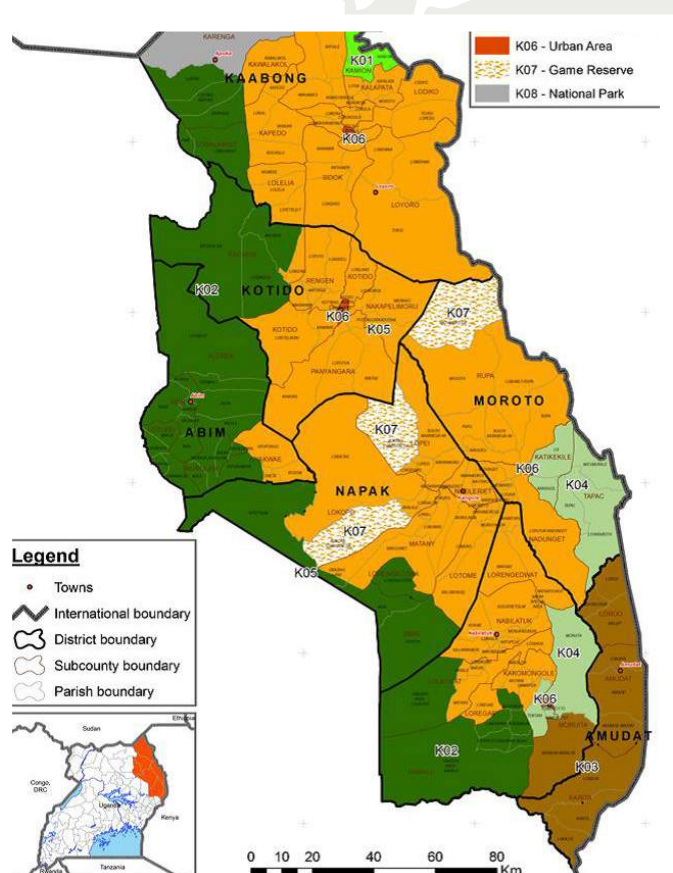


Figure 1: Map of Karamoja (Source: FEWSNET)

a. Mobility as key element of the pastoralist production system

The key element of pastoralism is mobility – a rational livelihood strategy to cope with the harsh ecological realities in the region. In Karamoja, a system of transhumant agropastoralism dominates, which consists of two major activities. Herds are

moved between kraals in two or more seasonal pasture areas; this is done mainly by men. Crops are grown in fields within easy reach of the settlement (manyatta); this is done by women. A small part of the herd is held at the home base for immediate use or as a way to spread risk of livestock loss. Kraals and settlements are linked, and exchanges between the two are common. For instance, the kraals provide livestock products such as ghee, meat, skins and milk and, in return, kraal-based members obtain cereals, pulses and local beer from the settlements (FAO, 2014).

The reality is that, in the drylands, the rainy season can quite literally miss you by a few hundred metres (Krätli, 2015)

Pasture management varies from north to south of Karamoja according to the climatic and edaphic conditions and cordiality of the relationships between ethnic groups. Karamojong pastoralists are very much aware and knowledgeable about their environment, using this vast experience to combine environmental preservation with an optimal use of land and water for their livestock. They use certain grazing patterns to avoid depletion of the grass and to allow it to recover (FAO, 2014). Cattle, sheep, goats and occasionally camels and donkeys graze jointly, adjusted to match browse and grass type, as some species are mainly grazers (e.g. sheep and cattle), while others are better browsers (e.g. goats and camels). Diversifying in this manner also reduces risk from disease or extreme environmental conditions (FAO, 2013). Regular visits are also paid to mineral-rich areas beneficial for livestock health (FAO, 2014). Pasture plants are more nutritious at a specific stage of development, usually just before germination. The high levels of variability in the drylands (rainfall patterns, soils, condition of the terrain) mean that not only are there a variety of plant species with different nutrient peak cycles, but also the same plant species start their cycle at different times in different areas – even areas relatively close to each other. As a general

³ Livelihood patterns are dynamic and are hard to represent on maps, as continuous changes take place. However, this is the most accurate and widely accepted map of the region's livelihoods.

rule, herders are more concerned with the quality of the diet of their livestock than the overall quantity of standing vegetation. The better the diet, the faster the herd reproduction rate and the better the milk. Livestock cannot compensate for poor quality by consuming more (Krätli, 2015). Besides, the mobility of the Karamojong pastoralists allows them to evade diseases and, to a certain degree, insecurity.

b. A climate change adaptation mechanism

Drylands occupy 70% of the Horn of Africa, ranging from 95% of Somalia to approximately half of Tanzania (Kirkbride & Grahn, 2008).

Karamoja is generally characterised by poor rainfall distribution, prolonged dry spells and flash floods. The annual rainfall ranges from 500 to 800mm per year. There is one main dry season, from November up to March. The following rainy season is often interrupted by a dry spell in June/July. However, this is nothing more than a rule of thumb, which is hard to rely on. The reality is that, in the drylands, the rainy season can quite literally miss you by a few hundred metres (Krätli, 2015). Large amounts of rain in a very short period can destroy crops, or wash away the soil. Although variability in weather is characteristic to the region, the magnitude, frequency and severity of these hazards have increased over the past decades due to climate change. Therefore, it becomes ever more difficult to rely on these patterns, especially for crop farming (FAO, 2011). Pastoralists, on the

The current year, 2015, is once more an example of how variable the weather patterns are in Karamoja, and how risky it is to rely solely on crop farming. The rainy season started in April, when expected. However, it stopped rather abruptly in May, and rain has been almost completely absent up to the current date (early September). Almost everywhere in Karamoja, crops have failed and famine is looming. Livestock, on the other hand, still have good body condition, providing those households that own livestock with a reliable way to cope with this prolonged dry spell.

other hand, have a unique capability to deal with this variability, using their mobility (including across national boundaries) and knowledge of the environment to adapt to the reality of the drylands.

Contrary to the intensive livestock industry in most developed countries, the pastoralist system has a much smaller ecological footprint. Fodder is not cultivated at the other side of the world and then transported; indigenous species emit less greenhouse gases and relatively little water is used by the drought-resistant indigenous livestock.

Besides, dryland ecosystems themselves are valuable and unique. They are able to maintain soil fertility, hold water and maintain water and air quality, control erosion, protect against storms and landslides, and also sequester carbon. These complex systems harbour key natural resources including species adapted to dryland conditions. The degradation and / or loss of these resources would reduce climate adaptation and resilience options (CEPSA, 2008).



Karamoja, © VSF-Belgium

c. Value of pastoralism

The Livestock Policy Initiative of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) conducted a study in 2012 to calculate the contribution of livestock to the Ugandan economy, based on data from the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS). It was estimated that Karamoja, although hosting less than 3% of the Ugandan population, produces a fifth of the nation's livestock wealth. The total contribution of livestock to GDP in Uganda for 2009 was estimated at 3.2% of the national GDP compared to 1.7% by official estimates. This is larger than the GDP derived from

Karamoja, although hosting less than 3% of the Ugandan population, produces a fifth of the nation's livestock wealth.

cash crops or fishing (IGAD, 2012).

The discrepancy in these figures derives from the different approach that IGAD takes, starting from a production perspective. Conventional GDP accounting may ignore some of the benefits that people derive from livestock in subsistence-oriented economies, where production for home consumption (or for informal local exchange and consumption) is frequently unrecorded in official marketing statistics. Therefore, the study assigned monetary values to the non-marketed goods and services provided by livestock, and estimated the contribution of livestock to the wider national economy – as exports, as inputs into manufacturing industries, and as a component of household consumption (IGAD, 2012).

Some of the benefits that are hard to calculate and are seldom included in official calculations are benefits from animal power (i.e. transport and traction for ploughing), manure as fertilizer, financial services such as savings, credit and insurance, social and cultural significance and the nutritious value of blood consumption. The financial benefits of livestock are very important in Uganda, because formal-sector financial services are unavailable or expensive in rural areas. The credit benefits of livestock derive from the ability of livestock owners to 'cash in' on the value of their animals at the time they choose. This flexibility gives livestock owners access to money without the need to borrow and is therefore an additional financial benefit of their livestock (IGAD, 2012).

The insurance aspect of livestock is of major importance in Karamoja. Selling livestock is not a well-established practice by the Karamojong. Livestock, especially cattle – which have a very high cultural value – used to be sold only in urgent situations such as for medical costs or to buy food during prolonged dry spells. However, this is slowly changing and livestock owners are more and more willing to sell

their animals. This is probably being stimulated by the rising demand for livestock from neighbouring regions (including South Sudan and Kenya).

Consumption of animal products is rising all over the world. Where in some regions this consumption is skyrocketing and causing various types of problems, from contribution to climate change to cardiovascular diseases, in many developing countries it has an important role to play thanks to the high nutritious value of animal-based food products.

Livestock are crucial for food security in Karamoja. Since crop farming is too unreliable due to the variable weather patterns, livestock provide a more secure source of nutrition. First, there is the nutritious value of milk. Milk contains numerous nutrients and it makes a significant contribution to meeting the body's needs for calcium, magnesium, selenium, riboflavin, vitamin B12 and pantothenic acid (vitamin B5). Several studies have shown the beneficial impact of milk to improve young children's health in a developing context (FAO, 2013). According to the IGAD calculations, the annual milk production in Karamoja would come to over 187 million litres⁴. Most of the milk produced is for own consumption. Whereas in the rest of the country about a third of the milk is sold, in Karamoja sub-region only 6.4% is sold (UBOS, 2008). On top of that, the Karamojong often mix milk with cattle blood, to increase its nutritious value. Secondly, as stated above, livestock



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can be used as an insurance mechanism. A commonly used strategy by Karamojong to cope with the lean season, especially when harvest at the settlements fail, is the selling of livestock to buy additional food to complement the household's diet.

3. Land Tenure Systems

At first glance, the vast lands of Karamoja appear vacant and unexploited. In reality, they are not. The land is used by pastoralists, and it is communities – not individuals – that manage the land under a system of customary tenure (Datzberger & Malagala, 2015).

a. Communal Land System

In pre-colonial Karamoja, political power was exercised over people and not over land or territory. In other words, the nature of semi-nomadic societal life rendered the whole notion of individual land ownership almost irrelevant. Any territorial claims would have endangered the very basis of survival for most pastoral communities. Land was managed in a communal way and recognised as an asset that belonged to the community, not to individuals (Datzberger & Malagala, 2015).

The introduction of formal land ownership conflicts with this traditional system. Customary land tenure is recognised by the constitution, but it lies in a grey zone, lacking legal proof of ownership. Customary ownership can be formalised into a Certificate of Customary Ownership (CCO). However, this procedure

involves costs and a number of bureaucratic stages that favour, in practice, settlers and town dwellers. The formalisation of communal and opposed to individual ownership of land is even more costly and complicated. There is a lack of general information, as well as high costs of registration and a low capacity of local administration (Krätli, 2010). Above all, the question rises if the issuance of certificates is even possible in a region where literacy rates are so low (on average, 11%). Indeed, who will handle the certificate? This lack of legal proof of land ownership puts the Karamojong in significant jeopardy of experiencing rights abuses as land encroachment increases.

b. International borders

The Karamoja region in Uganda is part of the



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Karamoja cluster, which stretches along the borders with South Sudan and Kenya, up to the south of Ethiopia. There are great similarities between the people of the Karamoja cluster, both in livelihoods and in socio-cultural terms. The borders are porous, allowing for interaction and movement between the different ethnic groups. The pastoralists of the different countries cross borders in search of pasture and water, hereby exchanging and trading amongst the various ethnic groups.

These cross-border movements are increasing due to the relative peace in Karamoja. After decades of insecurity, the Turkana from Kenya are crossing the border again into Uganda. The Turkana live in a harsher climate, where finding water and pasture

⁴ 160 million litres from cattle, 21 million litres from goats and 6 million litres from camels

is more difficult in the dry season than in Karamoja. They are encouraged to leave their weapons behind so as to preserve peace. These cross-border movements provide for unique exchanges culturally, socially as well as economically. Whereas Karamojong pastoralists are rather reluctant to sell cattle, the Turkana pastoralists from Kenya sell livestock more easily. This makes it easier for the Karamojong to enlarge their herds, or acquire livestock for meat consumption. Merchants in the trading centres of Kaabong and Kotido are eager to buy livestock, hereby increasing livestock commercialisation.

However, there is an inadequate legal framework to regulate cross-border movements for pastoralists, as for example exists in West Africa, where the ECOWAS Transhumance Protocol facilitates cross-border movement across 16 countries⁵.

4. Land-related challenges

Since decades, the proliferation of small arms in Karamoja and neighbouring countries has exacerbated cattle raiding and cross-border conflicts in the region. This forced pastoralists to abandon traditional grazing patterns and to concentrate herds around the protected kraals, managed by the Ugandan army (UPDF), thereby depleting the environment in those areas⁶. Following the disarmament operation conducted by the Government of Uganda from 2001 until 2007, although there were many human rights abuses, the security situation has improved and the area is now seen as relatively stable. Karamojong pastoralists are returning to their traditional sustainable grazing patterns. However, these pieces of land seem vacant at first sight and the grazing areas are under threat from extractive industries and extension of agricultural and conservation areas. Limited access to land has severe implications for the sustainability of the pastoralist system, which requires mobile and flexible use of land to be able to balance environmental and socio-economic interests.

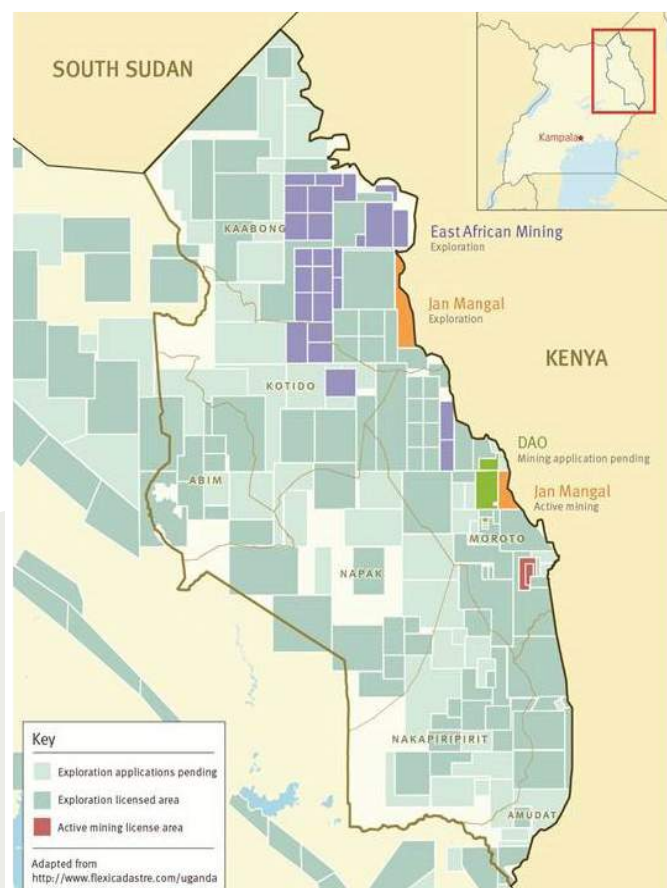


Figure 2: Mining Licensing in Karamoja
Source: Human Rights Watch⁸.

a. Extractives

Although there is no updated geological survey about Karamoja⁷, the Department of Geological Surveys and Mines acknowledges that Karamoja is home to unevaluated deposits of gold, marble, phosphates and other mineral deposits of economic volume (Rugadya et al., 2013). Out of the total land area of Karamoja, 17,083 km² (62%) of the 27,700 km² total land area of Karamoja region is licensed for mineral exploration and exploitation activities: 51 foreign and Ugandan companies with 136 mining concessions are currently exploring or mining in the region. There are currently two companies in Karamoja actively engaged in mining: DAO Marble Ltd (a Kuwait-based group) for marble, and Tororo Cement Ltd. for both marble and limestone. Further, Jan Mangal Uganda Ltd (a Ugandan subsidiary of an Indian jewellery

⁵ Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo

⁶ There were other negative side-effects to this system: lower productivity due to insufficient feed by limiting livestock movements; increased livestock mortality due to the spread of diseases; cases of malnutrition amongst children increased, since families were alienated from their livestock, which is their main source of nutrition.

⁷ The Government undertook an Airborne Geological Survey in 2006 and produced a Mineral Assessment Map of the Country, which covers 80% of the country, leaving out 20% of the land area covering the Karamoja region due to hostilities. ⁸ Mineral information for Karamoja is as old as 1960/61 (Rugadya et al., 2013).

⁸ Human Rights Watch (2014). "How can we survive here?". The impact of mining on human rights in Karamoja, Uganda. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/report/2014/02/03/how-can-we-survive-here/impact-mining-human-rights-karamoja-uganda>

company) stopped recently its gold-mining activities. Others are still in exploration or speculation stage. The area's huge mineral deposits have the potential to revitalise the local economy and improve the living standards of the population. However, the region's natural resources have fortified suffering, abject poverty, structural violence and human rights abuses instead (Rugadya et al., 2013; Datzberger & Malagala, 2015). In the past couple of years, several reports have been written by human rights NGOs such as Human Rights Watch and Avocats Sans Frontières, emphasising the lack of consultation, adequate compensation and information for the local communities.

There is a big information gap between the local communities, the Government and mining companies operating in the region. Governments have a duty, and companies have a responsibility, to consult and cooperate with indigenous people to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources. Although Uganda's mining law requires negotiating a surface rights agreement with landowners before mining begins and payments of royalties once revenues flow, the law does not require any communication or consent during exploration work (Human Rights Watch, 2014). In Karamoja, the local community is not informed about minerals, their prospecting, exploration and mining activities and therefore feels left out. Investors and private companies are taking advantage of the community's ignorance, poverty and illiteracy to confuse communities with partial or incomplete information in order to acquire land in the area (Rugadya et al., 2013).

In Uganda, communities have surface rights, whereas the government owns the minerals. The legal framework stipulates the ratios for sharing royalties as follows, to be paid to the Commissioner of the Geological Survey and Mines Department: 80% on gross value mined or quarried is remitted to national government, 17% goes to the local government and 3% to the land owner. However, in the case of Karamoja, almost no-one has ever received this 3%. The lack of formal evidence of land ownership has been acknowledged by the Mines Department as the key reason why communities or individuals haven't received compensation or royalties arising out of

mining activities in Karamoja. Communities are unable to secure proof or formal recognition of their rights in land in order to bargain for their involvement and claim their royalties (Rugadya et al., 2013).

Recently, the Ugandan government removed the taxes on oil, gas and mining exploration, to boost investment in the sector (Ojambo, 2015). Taxes will have to be paid only at the start of production. This poses a serious threat to the mineral-rich Karamoja, which has weak enforcement of regulations and principles of prior consultation and consent. This threat is even stronger due to the low education levels in the Karamojong communities.

Many Karamojong communities are engaged in artisanal gold mining to complement their income. They often lost livestock during the decades of insecurity and had to resort to alternative livelihoods. The sealing of exploration areas, upon conclusion of exploration, disadvantages the artisan miners, depriving them from this source of livelihood. The employment opportunities in the large-scale mines are limited, underpaid and under severe criticism



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for their insecure and harsh labour conditions. Often, the companies work through brokers for local employment, thereby shifting responsibility for labour conditions to them.

Karamoja's dominant livelihood is agropastoralism, which encounters problems of restriction in movement of animals when extensive acreage is devoted to exploration. This is especially true when mining concessions carry with them restrictions on animal movement and large areas for grazing are cordoned off upon construction of beacons. Besides, the gold mining company that used to operate in Nakabaat, Moroto District, deprived the local population of water by using huge amounts of water in a water-scarce region. There are also pollution risks. Numerous cases all over the world demonstrate that, when extractive industries do not adhere to stringent environmental regulations, they can leave behind a degraded, polluted environment, unsuited for any productive activities⁹.

Besides, mining leads all over the world to social conflict and human rights violations (The Guardian, 2015).

b. Conservation areas

The colonial government placed 94.6% of Karamoja under reserved status as conservation areas. This situation persisted till 1998, when the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) reviewed it and reduced the size of the reserve. The current figures for coverage by conservation areas are under discussion, but the majority of the sources estimate the land under conservation (both wildlife and forest areas) to be around 50% of the surface of Karamoja¹⁰ (Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, 2013; Rugadya et al., 2013).

Whereas the inherent value of wildlife and forest conservation is not contested as such by local development actors, many communities have never been properly sensitised on this and feel that wildlife's wellbeing prevails over the people's wellbeing. However, when these initial misunderstandings are overcome, opportunities for collaboration arise. After several community dialogue meetings, it was acknowledged by the elders that the cutting of

trees for charcoal and cropping were incompatible with the goals of the UWA and the National Forest Authority (NFA), and as such should not be practised in natural reserves. Livestock herding was seen as less damaging, and according to certain studies (e.g. from Savory Institute), this could even be beneficial for environmental conservation. A continuous dialogue and further study on the possible contribution of herding livestock to environmental conservation would prove valuable to cope with these issues.

There are also more tangible benefits for the communities, such as the sharing of revenues from touristic activities by the UWA and regulated harvesting of medicinal plants in forests under the NFA.

c. Cultivation

Karamojong systems for managing the balance



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between herding and cultivating had been disrupted by years of insecurity. Once peace was consolidated, the pattern of land use changed. Cultivators had expanded to the seemingly vacant land, partially motivated by promotion of crop farming by government and development actors in the region, growing crops on grazing corridors traditionally used by pastoralists. This led and is still leading to disputes, since the pastoralists see their mobility restricted. However, the Karamojong have traditional ways of settling these kinds of conflicts, through the systems of Etem and Akiriket (KART, 2013). By respecting and using these traditional systems, solutions could be found to identify and preserve the grazing corridors

⁹ Some of the examples are Ok Tedi Mine in Papua New Guinea and Baia Mare in Romania.

¹⁰ The National Land Policy states 53.8%; Rugadya et al. (2013) state 40.8% for wildlife and 11.6% for forest conservation.

without prohibiting the expansion of cultivation in the areas suitable for this. Pastoral and cultivation systems should not clash. An important indicator is that the majority of Karamojong are themselves combining the two systems. Interaction between the two systems brings several benefits: the presence of animals on croplands after harvesting reduces the need for ploughing and it adds natural fertilizer, which improves the soil quality (Savory Institute, 2015).

5. Policy environment

a. General

At global level, international institutions such as the UN and World Bank have recognised the inherent variability of drylands and the productive role pastoralism plays in them. However, in Uganda, the perception by the general public and policymakers seems to remain mainly negative.

This negative attitude is caused by a lack of knowledge of the pastoral production system and the fact that governments underestimate the contribution of the livestock sector to national income and food security across the region. Successive governments both colonial and post colonial have often referred to “pastoralism as backward and focus on sedentarising the Karamojong” (Vidal, 2011). Indeed, for most non-pastoralists, the practice of mobile livestock production is viewed as archaic and has repeatedly been blamed for underdevelopment of the region. They often compare Karamoja with other parts of the country, which – though dry by Uganda standards – have favourable climatic conditions to sustain arable farming including perennial crops. Unsurprisingly



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therefore, development interventions in Karamoja have aimed to promote the abandonment of pastoralism in favour of settled crop farming (KDF, 2015). If livestock in Karamoja are considered by the government, it seems to be mainly by promoting an intensive production system. Ranches are promoted, together with the introduction of high-yielding cattle breeds like Friesians. However, this does not take into account the reality on the ground. These cattle need high levels of care, a lot of inputs (including water) and are not resistant to the difficult environmental conditions.

Politicians, leaders and policymakers have largely failed to realise that pastoralism contributes to the economy, increases food security and provides adaptive measures to deal with climate change. The skills pastoralists have learned over centuries to adapt to these harsh environments could be of huge value to countries in the frontline of climate change (Vidal, 2011). Because the economic value of pastoralism and the pastoralists’ ability to cope with changing climatic conditions are not recognised, there is still an asymmetrical allocation of resources by the government and development actors in favour of crop cultivation or alternative livelihood activities, with only minimal support given to pastoral livelihood activities (KDF, 2015). Taking into account the stable security situation, great opportunities arise for a green economy based on the pastoralist livelihood system, tackling food insecurity and creating added value.

b. EU policies regarding pastoralism in Eastern Africa

On the whole, the EU has a fairly positive evaluation of pastoralism in Eastern Africa and, through its legislation, programmes and projects, seems to be committed towards its development. In the “Agenda for Change”, for instance, one of the primary goals of EU development aid mentioned is to reduce developing countries’ vulnerability to global shocks such as climate change and resources degradation and to improve their resilience (European Commission 2011b:4). In order to achieve this goal, EU development policy supports ‘those sectors that have a strong multiplier impact on developing countries’ economies and contribute to

environmental protection, climate change prevention and adaptation, notably sustainable agriculture and energy' (European Commission 2011b:8). Therefore, in agriculture, the EU aims to strengthen sustainable initiatives, such as the protection of ecosystem services and prioritise local practices by focusing on smallholder agriculture and rural livelihoods. Though not explicitly mentioned, it is to be assumed that pastoralism is included in this reference to smallholder agriculture.

Several resolutions of the European Parliament and communications of the European Commission are also considered to be clear indicators for the EU's appreciation for pastoralism as a whole and in Eastern Africa in particular. Though not necessarily binding parliamentary resolutions provide a much needed space to raise awareness on the importance of pastoralism in the African arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs). One of the most recent resolutions regarding pastoralism was adopted by the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly (JPA) in 2013. The resolution evolves around the social and environmental impact of pastoralism in African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries and was adopted after a JPA meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. It urges ACP and local authorities to modify their national, regional and local policies according to the AU Framework on Pastoralism, with the involvement of pastoral communities, and calls upon the EU to acknowledge pastoralism's value and support ACP countries in their implementation of the AU Framework (ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary

Assembly 2013:1-4). In March 2014, the Commission published a follow-up note to this resolution, in which it affirmed its support for the AU framework for pastoralism and elaborated on the implementation strategies. Another important resolution of the European Parliament, adopted in March 2015, strongly condemns issues of land grabbing in Tanzania. Explicit references to pastoralism are included in the resolution: *"(...) whereas pastoral communities, which represent about 10 per cent of the population, are in particular strongly affected by the negative consequences of land grabbing in Tanzania; whereas pastoralists, including the Maasai people, continue to face a massive loss of their land due to the selling out of land without adequate knowledge about the legal and practical consequences, corrupt and illegal allocation of land to foreigners, and the classification of land as trust land, reserve and national park by the authorities; whereas some pastoral communities have reportedly been victims of killing, displacement, detention, the destruction of their villages, and the confiscation of livestock related to land grabbing operations (...)"*. References to pastoralism in communications of the European Commission are included in recent communications on food security (2011), resilience (2012) and nutrition (2013). The European Commission is also working on a technical note on pastoralism, which should become a reference document for the Commission's policies regarding pastoralism.

Pastoralism is also included in the 11th European Development Fund (EDF) – the EU's main instrument for providing development aid to ACP countries and to overseas countries and territories (OCTs) – and in the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI). In the latter case, explicit references are made to pastoralism under the global goods and challenges programme: *"recognising the decisive role of agriculture and livestock-keeping in climate change policies by promoting smallholder agriculture and livestock farming as autonomous adaptation and mitigation strategies in the South due to their sustainable use of natural resources such as water and pasture"*. The EDF is made operational through National Indicative Programmes (NIP), which define the focus of the development aid under the EDF for each recipient country. In the NIPs of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, pastoralism is either directly or indirectly mentioned in one of the



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three focal sectors that were identified. In the case of Uganda, pastoralists are explicitly mentioned in the first objective under the sector “Food Security and Agriculture” to promote development and resilience as an incentive for stability in the fragile regions of Northern Uganda and Karamoja. Next to national programmes, the EU has also funded cross-border programmes concerning pastoralism in Eastern Africa such as the “Regional Livestock Initiative in Support of Vulnerable Pastoralists and Agro-Pastoralists in the Horn of Africa” (RISPA) and the “Supporting Horn of Africa Resilience” (SHARE) programmes. These programmes are also clear indications of the EU’s commitment to support pastoralism in Eastern Africa.

The support of the EU for pastoralism in Eastern Africa also relies on the implementation of the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), which is a process under the guidance of the AU and forms the general framework for structuring national development policies on agriculture and livestock. According to the CAADP guidelines, countries’ national and regional policies must incorporate a more comprehensive understanding of the numerous values of drylands and pastoralism, looking beyond commercial production. Additionally, policies have to be harmonised across national boundaries to support the regional nature of pastoral ecosystems (NEPAD 2012:8). According to a answer to questions raised by the JPA following the resolution on pastoralism, *“the Commission stands ready to deepen the political dialogue with the AU and foster convergence between the CAADP and the Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa (PF4PA)”*.



6. Conclusion and recommendations

Agropastoralism is the dominant livelihood of Karamoja. This production system is highly adapted to the semi-arid context with variable weather patterns. The key aspect is mobility: this allows herders to make the best of the drylands. By moving around with their herds, they evade diseases and lead their livestock to good pasture and water. Pastoralists have always been dealing with variability and uncertainty, and have excellent knowledge and capacity to deal with climate change, since variability is inherent to its system. It has the potential to increase food security in the region and to improve the overall economic situation.

However, through the years policies in Uganda have never been favourable towards pastoralism, which has been seen as a backward and unproductive system. Successive governments both colonial and post colonial have tried to sedentarise the Karamojong and to change their livelihoods towards crop farming. This has a very negative effect on the food security and overall economic performance of the region. Crops fail in one out of every three years, due to the variable weather patterns. Stigmatising the Karamojong as backwards has a negative impact on their rich culture and strongly cattle-oriented identity. Trends of land encroachment have exacerbated this, threatening ever more Karamojong pastoralism and its crucial factor: mobility. Extractive industries, nature conservation,

crop farming and land grabbing by speculators jeopardise the future of the Karamojong. Indeed, without access to land, pastoralists cannot use their major asset: mobility.

Policymakers should therefore shift from an approach oriented to crop farming towards creating a favourable environment for pastoralists. This starts with recognising pastoralism as a valuable land-use system. Support should be given to allow pastoralism to grow and thrive. Mobility should be seen as an asset, and a progressive legal framework should be put in place, allowing cross-border movements and guaranteeing access to land, based on the traditional land-management system. To keep the livestock in good shape and increase their productivity, animal health services should be made widely available, preventive vaccination should be practised and access to water should be improved, for example, through dams or rainwater catchment.

The EU, as a major donor and supporter for pastoralism in Uganda and in the region, has the possibility to raise awareness on the importance of pastoralism and assure its recognition as a valuable livelihood system and a way of life. A more coherent approach towards pastoralism and a clear line on how pastoralism should be supported in Eastern Africa would definitely assure its further development.



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