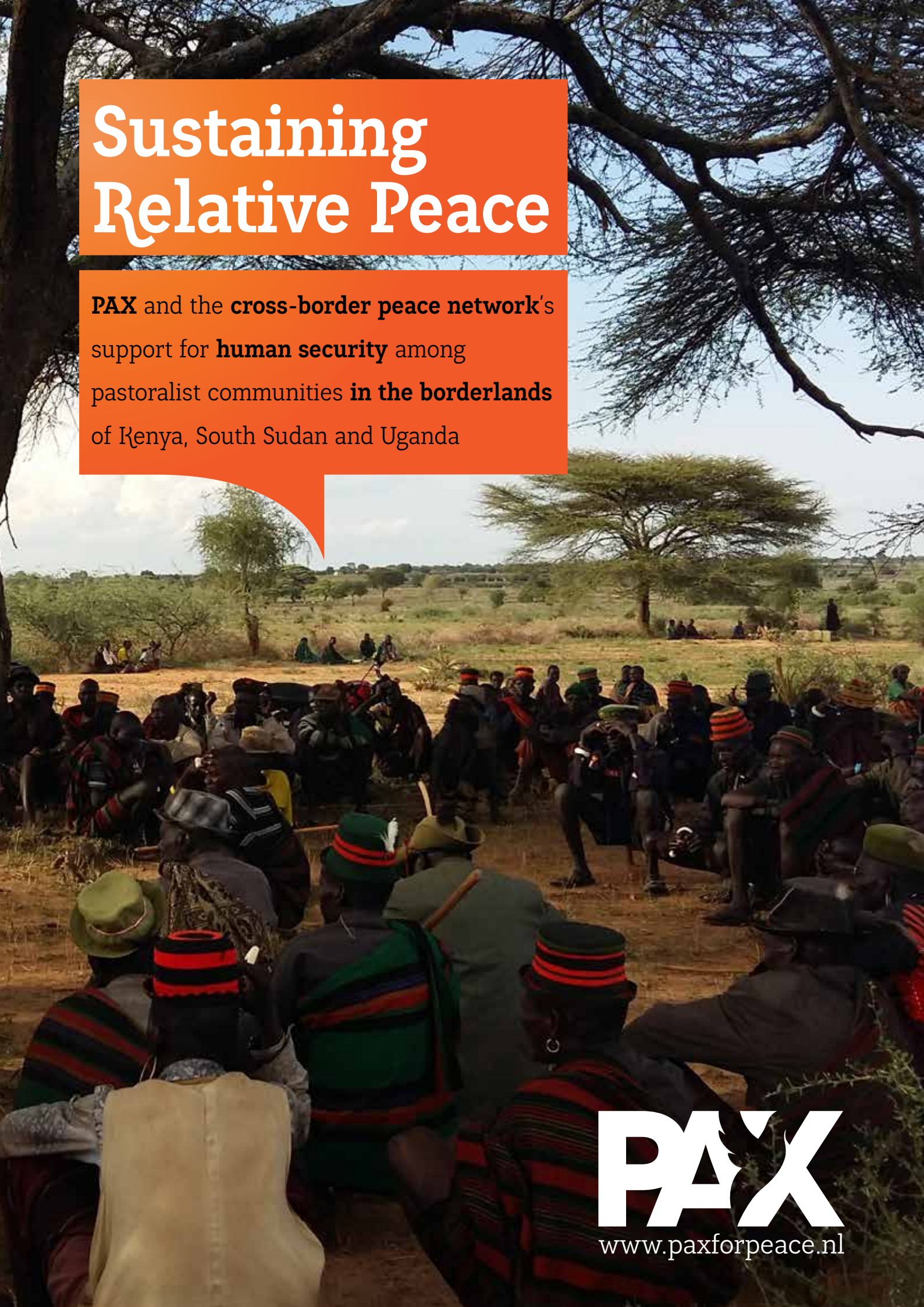

Sustaining Relative Peace

PAX and the **cross-border peace network**'s support for **human security** among pastoralist communities **in the borderlands** of Kenya, South Sudan and Uganda

PAX

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Colophon

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July 2017

ISBN: 978-94-92487-16-2 NUR 689
PAX serial number: PAX/2017/08
Photo cover: Inter-community peace dialogue in Kotido, Uganda.
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About PAX

PAX works with committed citizens and partners to protect civilians against acts of war, to end armed violence, and to build just peace. PAX operates independently of political interests.
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Preface

In June 2016, PAX and partners came together in Naivasha, Kenya, to reflect on ten years of cross-border peace work in the borderlands of South Sudan, Uganda and Kenya, one of PAX's longest-standing peacebuilding programmes. Over the course of three days, we discussed a broad array of subjects, from the most relevant shifts in context and key moments in the development of the programme, to peacebuilding methodologies and the main successes and challenges. Immediately afterwards, we reflected upon the same issues in a two-day meeting together with authorities and security actors from the three countries in Kapoeta, South Sudan. This report is the outcome.

In general, the report captures key moments in time in both the context and the programme development, and key lessons learned. A lot happened in those ten years, especially in the dynamic early years. Digging into people's memories, structuring information and making implicit knowledge explicit was not an easy task. In addition, over time some people left or passed away and new people joined, whereby some knowledge was lost. We therefore do not claim to provide an exhaustive picture in this report. We do hope we have done justice to all our partners and their work, or at least the highlights. If there are any omissions or misrepresentations of any kind, PAX takes full responsibility.

That said, we wish to note three things. First of all, the cross-border peacebuilding work as supported by PAX actually consists of two, formally separate, programmes: the Cross-border Peace Programme as it evolved from the Peace and Sports Programme, and the Reconstruction Programme, through which we support the local governance and peacebuilding activities in the Kidepo Valley, South Sudan. However, in practice all peacebuilding work done in the borderlands of South Sudan (including Kidepo Valley), Uganda and Kenya, is closely connected through the cross-border peace network. In this report we do not deal with the two programmes separately, but we do want to acknowledge here the important work that our partner the Justice and Peace coordinator of the Diocese of Torit has been doing in the training of Boma councils in Budi, Ikwoto and Torit counties in former Eastern Equatoria State.

Secondly, the description in the report of the current conflict dynamics is based on the situation as it was up until June 2016. Sadly, in July 2016, two weeks after the meeting in Naivasha and Kapoeta, violence broke out again in Juba, South Sudan, quickly spreading to the rest of the country and this time also greatly affecting the southern part of the country, the Equatorias. The war in the country and consequent violence, which is still ongoing, had major repercussions for the communities, especially in the western counties of former Eastern Equatoria State. It remains to be seen how the highly volatile political situation will affect the borderlands. The description of intercommunity relations and conflict maps in this report therefore do not fully reflect the current situation. However, even if the conflict map is a 'snapshot' of a particular constellation at a particular moment in time, it is still a valuable tool for reflecting on general shifts and dynamics over the past ten years.

Thirdly, although the report distinguishes the names of different ethnic and cultural groups, the emphasis during the peace and mediation work of PAX partners has always been on one people, one diocese, brothers and sisters focusing on unity rather than division along ethnic lines.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to all the people involved in the reflection process and the creation of this report. We would like to thank our consultants Lotje de Vries and Laura Wunder for facilitating the meeting in Naivasha, recording the discussions and writing the major part of this report. We are also grateful to the representatives of the local authorities and security actors of the three countries present at the cross-border leaders' meeting in Kapoeta for their input and dedication. Finally, we thank the partners in the cross-border peace network for their participation and their input during this reflection process. More importantly, we wholeheartedly want to thank our partners for their dedication in the peace work they have been doing and continue to do every day, sometimes in the most difficult of circumstances. Work that is often not visible to many, but known to the beneficiaries for whose human security and dignity they work. This report therefore serves as a tribute to all the peacemakers, as their tireless efforts in building peace in their communities are an inspiration to us all.

Sara Ketelaar and Eva Gerritse, June 2017

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Introduction

In 2006, PAX (at that time Pax Christi) started a programme aiming at local peacebuilding between antagonistic cattle-rearing communities in the borderlands of Kenya, Uganda and South Sudan.[1] The borderlands between the three countries—Turkana county in Kenya, Karamoja province in Uganda and Eastern Equatoria State in South Sudan—are marked by long histories of cattle raiding, intercommunity competition and conflict over scarce resources, and by sheer underdevelopment. Levels of education are low, services, road networks and markets are limited and law enforcement remains a challenge across the borders. Overall, security and livelihoods in the border areas of Kenya, Uganda and South Sudan are permanently under threat as a result of the interplay of four interlinked sets of factors: vicious and recurrent cycles of intercommunal conflict, the presence of small arms and weapons and the availability of ammunition, the absence and/or inadequacy of state protection and response, and the absence of concrete economic programmes and opportunities.[2]

Nonetheless, the past ten years have shown some gradual shifts in developments in what is often called the Ateker cluster.[3] At the time PAX started its programming, large-scale cattle raids and intercommunal conflicts characterised the wider region. Hundreds of people were killed every year. Today, large-scale cattle raids have reduced significantly and multiple pastoralist communities have known some years of relative peace. The dynamics within and between the three countries too evolved over the decade. South Sudan gained independence in 2011, Kenya has had a new constitution since 2010, and Uganda has managed to disarm the unruly Karamoja region.

The work of PAX and its partners is thus situated within complex local, cross-border and national dynamics and relations.[4] The aim of this report is to reflect upon the work of PAX through its three separate but interlinked areas of intervention (see Textbox 1) and to contextualise its efforts in the wider context and in relation to the changes over time in the borderlands. Attempting to attribute the improved situation to the success of specific interventions or the role of PAX and the cross-border peace network would be extremely difficult. It would fail to appreciate the gradual shifts over time and intertwinement of collective efforts across boundaries and of a variety of state and non-state institutions. The report therefore does not seek to present an evaluation of PAX's activities in the borderland over the past ten years; instead, it draws more general lessons from the progress made in the area, connects this to the work of its partners and formulates ideas on how to expand this work into other regions that may be confronted with similar dynamics.

Report Structure and Methods

The report is based on a reflection meeting on ten years of cross-border peace work that PAX organised with its partners in Naivaisha, Kenya, in June 2016. With a total of 20 civil-society and church leaders, most of them longstanding partners, PAX reflected on major shifts in context and work during the past ten years, key moments in time, methods used in conflict analysis and daily peace work. The meeting also discussed the way forward. In addition to this first reflection meeting with partners, the cross-border peace network and PAX organised a second cross-border leaders reflection meeting in Kapoeta—hosted by the Diocese of Torit—in which 100 participants from the different authorities in South Sudan, Uganda and Kenya and security personnel from the three countries (the Sudan People's Liberation Army or SPLA, the Uganda People's Defence Force or UPDF, and the Kenya Defence Forces or KDF) were brought together to exchange and reflect on their role in the process over the past ten years. Academic literature on the Ateker cluster was also consulted, as well as PAX reports from the past ten years.

Following this brief introduction to the programme, the report starts with a first chapter that outlines the context in which the cross-border peace work is and has been taking place, such as the historical origins of the communities living in the area, some of the major shifts in terms of security and administration, and the role of the international borders. It will also give an overview of the peace and conflict dynamics among these groups over the past ten years. Chapter 2 gives insights into the work of PAX and its partner organisations. It focuses on the three result areas that PAX aims for in its cross-border peace programme by looking at prevention and intervention activities and their relations with important actors like government authorities and security agencies. This chapter ends with a timeline covering key moments in the context, shaping security and insecurity in the borderlands, and key moments and activities in the cross-border peace work. In a concluding Chapter 3, the main lessons learned and recommendations are outlined while looking ahead on how to further promote human security in the borderlands.

1 In 2007, Pax Christi merged with IKV (the Dutch Inter-church Peace Council) under the name IKV Pax Christi. In 2014, IKV Pax Christi was renamed PAX.

2 IKV Pax Christi (2011), Human Security in the Borderlands, pp. 4-5.

3 The Ateker Cluster, sometimes called Karimojong Cluster, refers to the culturally and linguistically connected ethnic communities living in the borderlands of Uganda, Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia.

4 Partners: Holy Trinity Peace Village Kuron (HTPVK), Catholic Diocese of Torit (CDoT), Losolia Rehabilitation and Development Association (LRDA) and Kapoeta Development Initiative (KDI) in South Sudan; Kotido Peace Initiative (KOPEIN), Dodoth Agropastoralist Development Organisation (DADO) and Catholic Diocese of Kotido (CDoK) in Uganda; Lotus Kenya Action for Development (LOKADO), Lokkichoggio Peace Organisation (LOPEO), Catholic Diocese of Lodwar (CDoL) and Seeds of Peace Africa (SOPA) in Kenya.

Textbox 1: PAX's Three İnterconnected Result Areas

The cross-border peace network of PAX and its partners aims to address three result areas, developed together with the partners from the start, in different geographical locations at the same time:

1. Bring together antagonistic communities by changing perceptions of violence and ending hostility via dialogue and local and regional peacebuilding.

2. Create a network and develop mechanisms to effectively deal with conflict and promote compliance with human rights.

3. Enhance the social contract between actors who are tasked with the well-being of the people and the provision of security and law and order in the communities.

PAX's working definition of the social contract: "A social contract is the agreement between a state and society based on mutual trust and cooperation with, as its main objectives, the guarantee of security and the provision of basic services by means of which society legitimizes the state through a constant renegotiated political process".[5]

The Origins of the Programme

PAX's Cross-border Peace and Sports programme for youth warriors started in 2006 on the initiative of the South Sudanese Emeritus Bishop Paride Taban.[6] One of the basic assumptions was that youth warriors played a vital role, both as perpetrators and as victims of intercommunal violence and cattle raiding. The first step taken was the training of youths from the same target communities in conflict analysis, conflict transformation, mediation and leadership, and in how to use sports for relation building and peace education.[7] These newly trained Peace and Sports Facilitators (PSFs) became responsible for the linkages between the programme and the kraals, facilitating football matches and simultaneously peace conversations between youth warriors from different communities.[8] With the establishment of a network of PSFs, a basic early warning system came into being. The gradual build-up of confidence and trust among warriors from different groups resulted in slowly improving relations among certain groups of people across the border. The efforts culminated in an important international cross-border peace conference in 2008 in Kapoeta, South Sudan. The meeting brought together 500 participants from the pastoralist communities, mainly youth warriors, kraal leaders, community elders, women and diviners, and local government representatives.

In the years that followed, the activities of the cross-border peace network expanded. Peace committees were established at the village level, usually consisting of elders and women representatives, and they stayed in touch with participating kraal leaders and youth warriors. Together with the PAX partners, they maintain a system of cross-border conflict monitoring, early warning, rapid response and cattle recovery. Within their communities, the peace committees and PAX partners lobby for a different understanding of raiding and violence and for more individual accountability. In 2011 the Peace and Sports Programme evolved into the Human Security in the Borderlands Programme of PAX and its partners. Regular intercommunity, intracommunity and at times cross-border peace meetings and conferences continued to be organised, providing important platforms for building and maintaining relationships and lobbying the relevant government actors/security agents. From 2012 onwards, the programme focused its efforts again on the South Sudan-Uganda border, including the Ateker neighbours of the Didinga, Logir and Buya communities, strengthening relations between communities and state actors in and around the Kidepo Valley.

Expansion

The Cross-border Peace and Sports programme marked the start of a wide range of evolving cross-border peace activities. It has resulted in a solid network of peace organisations—some of them community based, others organised around the Catholic dioceses—of people who have worked together in close collaboration for a decade. A few of the initial Peace and Sport Facilitators have joined the ranks of the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs) as programme managers. Some PSFs changed jobs, initially working in Turkana, Kenya and later using their capacities in Kuron, South Sudan, or vice versa. Some of the peace organisations grew significantly.[9] An important actor that has been involved since the beginning of the activities is the Catholic Church, through the Justice and Peace departments and some border parishes in the Dioceses of Torit (South Sudan), Lodwar (Kenya) and Kotido (Uganda). Some of the individual fathers, too, have been involved from the outset.

Over the years, the nature of PAX's activities has shifted in terms of the approach, the geographical focus and the relations with PAX's partner organisations. PAX and the key partner organisations have evolved from a collection of separate CBOs and churches, each working on their individual areas, towards a network of people that closely collaborate in the cross-border peace structures (see Annex 1 for an overview of the partners in the network). With the establishment of a network of trustworthy partner organisations that obtain their legitimacy from the communities they represent, PAX's role has gradually shifted from being an implementing agency in the region that focused on strengthening the capacities of different peace actors and facilitating the establishment of a network to having a more distant, advisory role. As a result, now, ten years later, a substantive cross-border network of civil-society organisations and church actors are jointly involved in peace work; they are present on a daily basis within and close to the communities inhabiting these borderlands. ♦

5 IKV Pax Christi (2013), *(De)signing the social contract*.

6 Seeds of Peace Africa/IKV Pax Christi (2009), A practical experience of a peace-building program targeting the pastoralists youth: Cross-border Peace & Sports Programme for Youth Warriors Sudan/Uganda/Kenya. Thematic Paper, Kenya Pastoralist Week.

7 Seeds of Peace Africa/IKV Pax Christi (2007), Peace and Sports Manual.

8 Kraals are seasonal cattle camps.

9 LOKADO, for instance, used to be a small community-based organisation in Turkana with three staff members when PAX started working with LOKADO in 2006, but has now become a local NGO with 150 staff serving the whole of Turkana County. As their NGO status allowed them to attract more funding, PAX stopped providing annual funding in 2011. However, PAX and LOKADO are still actively collaborating within the cross-border peace network.

Program Area: the Borderlands of South Sudan, Uganda, Kenya and the Partners of the Cross-border Peace Network

* On this map the Nyangatom are placed in Ethiopia, but a significant number of them also live across the border in south-east South Sudan around Kibish and in the Ilemi Triangle.

** The Ilemi Triangle is the disputed border area between Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia. This map shows Ilemi as Turkana area, but in reality the Toposa, Nyangatom and Dassanech also use it for grazing their cattle during the dry season.

South Sudan

Murle

Kachipo

BOMA

Jie

KASSANGOR

KURON

HTPV Kuron

LOTIMOR

Nyangatom*

Ethiopia

KIBISH

Toposa

Buya

Ilemi Triangle**

Lopit

KDI

KAPOETA

LRDA

Dassanech

OMORATE

Lotuko

Kidepo Valley

NARUS

TODONYANG

TORIT

Didinga

NATINGA

LOPEO

CDOT

CHUKUDUM

LOKICHOGGIO

Acholi

IKOTOS

Lango

LOTUKEI

LOKADO

Madi

OROPOI

KAKUMA

Lake Turkana

Dodoth

KARENGA

KAABONG

Kenya

CDOK

Turkana

DADO

Jie

LODWAR

KOTIDO

LOKIRIAMA

CDOL

KOPEIN

Uganda

MOROTO

Legend

- Key town
- Country border
- State / County / Region border
- PAX' partner organisation

1. Contextualising Peace Work in the Borderlands

Toposa herd of cows going for drinking in riverbed. Kuron Peace Village, South Sudan.

The Ateker Cluster: between Peace and Violence

The tri-border region of Karamoja in Uganda, Eastern Equatoria in South Sudan and Turkana in Kenya, together with the lower Omo Valley of Ethiopia, is one of the most remote and marginalised regions in the world. Its sheer underdevelopment and neglect by the national governments is epitomised in the extremely low density of schools, health care and infrastructure and the relative absence of markets and trade opportunities. Economic development has stalled and residents suffer from chronic food insecurity.[10]

These remote but vast areas form the homelands of various pastoralist communities, most of whom belong to the Ateker ethnic cluster—the Turkana in Kenya, the Jiye and Toposa in South Sudan, the Dodoth and Jie in Uganda and the Nyangatom in Ethiopia.[11] The Ateker groups share a common ancestry, language, cultural characteristics and traditions, which to a certain extent have similarities with those of neighbouring, non-Ateker communities.[12] The borderlands are characterised by arid and semi-arid savannah and shrubland and several mountain ranges with more fertile soil and patches of pasture.[13] The nomadic pastoralists move around these lands epicyclically, freely crossing borders and moving in and out of each other's territories in the search for water and pasture for their livestock. The necessity of these movements makes competition over grazing lands and access to water a central aspect of intercommunity relations and often of hostilities and conflict.

While animal husbandry is still the dominant form of livelihood and most efficient way to deal with the erratic climate, in recent decades the pressure on resources has risen. The human population and the heads of cattle have increased, while in some areas access to grazing land and water points has become more difficult in certain periods due to instability and insecurity (e.g. during the disarmament in Karamoja) and in recent years also due to land acquisition for mineral resource extraction, nature reserves and individual land claims. Especially in times of drought and climatic extremes, the effects of these processes can exacerbate intercommunity competition and conflict over resources.

10 Inhabitants are to a large degree dependent on relief food and humanitarian services, especially in times of drought. In 2016, relief aid was again needed in Turkana, as in 2015 the rains failed, leaving around 440,000 people destitute (see http://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/440000-need-food-relief-after-rains-fail).

11 Ateker, in the language of its members, means a 'descendant group' or a 'clan'. As a signifier of unity and shared cultural roots, the term was introduced in the early 2000s and has a political connotation, although it is not a territorial concept. In this report, the term is used only to refer to the culturally and linguistically connected cluster of ethnic communities living in the borderlands of Uganda, Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia. According to anthropologists, the Ateker are part of a group that migrated from present-day Ethiopia in around 1600 AD and split into two branches: one branch moved to present-day Kenya to form the Kalenjin group and Maasai cluster, the other branch, called Ateker, migrated westwards.

12 These include the Lango and Lotuho in South Sudan, who are also pastoralists. The Didinga, Buya and Murle in South Sudan are Surma speakers and agro-pastoralists, but share a culture of cattle raiding. The Dassanech in Ethiopia are Kushites related to the Oromo and Somali; they practice animal husbandry similar to the Ateker. The Ik, foragers who live mainly off game and wild honey, belong together with some remaining groups to a pre-Ateker cluster. In Kenya, the Pokot cattle herdsmen are neighbours of the Turkana further north.

13 Such as the Didinga and Buya Mountains, the Eastern Uplands, Mogila Range, Loima Hills and Losolia Mountains.

In addition to seasonal or longer-standing conflicts over scarce resources and access to these resources, the main threat to human security in the borderlands is from cattle raiding and the vicious cycles of attacks and counter-attacks that it can spark. Cattle are essential not only to the pastoralists' livelihood strategies, but also to socio-political and cultural life. They form the fundamental source and symbol of wealth and prosperity and provide food, savings, insurance and bridewealth. The significance of cattle to the pastoralist communities has historically placed them at the centre of confrontations between communities; cattle raiding has been a long-standing cultural tradition. In the traditional warrior culture of the Ateker groups, cattle raiding is considered a rite of passage for young men and—especially in the light of inflated bridewealth prices—a way for them to secure a marriage. At the same time, raiding has been seen as a legitimate way of acquiring wealth, which the community then shares. From the 1970s onwards, this raiding culture became ever more deadly and destructive as the region saw a continuous influx of small arms and light weapons (SALW). The traditional weapons from the past (spears and knives) were increasingly replaced by easily available guns, mainly AK47s. In some areas, SALW gained the status of a currency and became the object of a lively cross-border trade, often embedded in other economic activities. The proliferation of SALW increased the number of fatalities and has driven the constant need for communities to be armed so that they can defend themselves against neighbours who are also armed.

In this way, and in the context of an inadequate or even totally absent state response and security provision, attacks and counter-attacks (sometimes as revenge for issues that are long past but for which there has never been compensation), can lead to intercommunal conflicts spiralling into cycles of violence that are very hard to break. Increasingly women and children have also been targeted, which did not use to happen in the past.[14] Atrocities involving women and children are especially prone to result in revenge attacks. However, in general it is difficult to determine to what extent current conflict dynamics and enmities can be traced back to specific incidents in the (recent) past and to what extent they lie in so-called 'tribal' rivalries.

Furthermore, explaining raiding only as a rite of passage for young men organising their marriages that subsequently leads to revenge killings fails to do justice to the importance of the more politicised and economic dynamics to raiding. First of all, raiding can be a strategic method of 'filing' land claims, whereby the deliberate spreading of insecurity to 'depopulate the area' is used to push back the indistinct borders of the tribal grazing land.[15] Here, political interests such as the creation of new administrative boundaries, the formation of a tribal homeland or a homogenous electoral base can become entangled with the practice of raiding. [16] Indeed, many of the young warriors do not herd their own cows; rather, they herd the cattle of local and national elites that may have certain political or economic interests in sustaining animosity between communities and in expanding the boundaries of grazing lands.[17] In South Sudan, some of the cattle-owning elites also have access to guns which they pass on to the youth for the protection of their animals.[18]

14 Conversations with participants, peace conference at Chorokol, February 2015, and discussions with PAX partners, Naivasha reflection meeting, June 2016.

15 LRDA Director, conversation in Torit, March 2015.

16 Greiner, C. (2013), 'Guns, Land, and Votes: Cattle Rustling and the Politics of Boundary (Re)Making in Northern Kenya'. In: African Affairs. 112/447. pp. 216-237.

17 The Deputy Governor of Turkana County summarised the political dimension to the raiding in very clear terms during the Kapoeta meeting in June 2016: "It is common knowledge: no son goes to war without the leadership. So who are these leaders?"

18 de Vries, L. (2015), 'The Government Belongs to Other People: Old cycles of violence in a new political order in Mundri?' In: M. Schomerus (ed.) Conflict and Cooperation in the Equatorias, South Sudan. Juba, USAID/AECOM.

Turkana cattle herders with their weapons. Turkana, Kenya

Secondly, it is the increasing commercialisation of cattle (for consumption) that provides an important incentive for both warriors and elites to engage in cattle raiding and trading. This is in turn facilitated by the proximity of the international borders, as this makes it harder to retrace stolen cattle.[19]

Although violence and conflict are serious and recurring concerns, it is important to understand the simultaneity and coexistence of both peace and conflict between different sections of the different groups. The main ethnic groups are subdivided and organised in clans, which are based in specific areas. Issues such as the election of chiefs, migration, mobilisation and intercommunal alliances are usually agreed upon on a clan basis. While two clans may have made a peace deal and graze together in one specific 'corridor' (a geographical area where two or more ethnic groups interact, e.g. the Toposa-Turkana corridor along the Kenya-South Sudan border), further along the same corridor other clans of the same groups might not feel bound by the agreement and live in hostility towards one another.[20]

Basically, while on the one hand there is competition, on the other hand the recurring dry season creates a level of interdependency, which forces the cattle herders to find ways to coexist peacefully. As well as recurrent conflicts, there are long histories of alliances, intermarriage, locally negotiated agreements of non-aggression and (temporary) sharing of resources among

19 At the same time, the presence of organised and secured cattle markets is considered to contribute to breaking the cycles of violence, since it allows antagonistic communities to make exchanges in a regulated and neutrally protected environment.

20 Conflict between clans of the same ethnic group is not common, although instances have been reported in recent years, especially in Turkana County.

specific groups or clans. Ad hoc coexistence may occur around shared water points and grazing land. In this way, it is the shared, collective interest in preserving their livelihoods which provides pastoralist communities with the opportunities for peace.

Also, the situation with the free reign of firearms and their trade is slowly changing. The pastoralists in Karamoja have largely been disarmed and the Kenyan government has started to at least register the existing firearms in Turkana. Turkana grazing in Karamoja are being told to leave their firearms behind in Kenya and the UPDF does not shy away from intervening if they fail to do so. Although there is a suspicion that there are still many weapons in the area and that Karamojong have hidden their firearms across the border or somewhere in the bush, this does suggest that the free usage and carrying of arms can be subject to change in certain parts of the borderlands. [21]

National Developments in the Last Decade

The efforts of PAX and its partners to promote and consolidate cross-border peace among pastoralist communities and their neighbours stretch beyond the boundaries of nation states. In many ways, the borderlands are more closely connected to each other than to their national centres, especially in cultural and economic terms. Nonetheless, Kenya, South Sudan and Uganda all encountered different (national) developments in the years during which PAX and its partners' activities took place. Despite the occasional tensions arising around elections, Kenya and Uganda have seen economic growth and relative stability compared to South Sudan, which returned to war within a few years of gaining independence in 2011.[22] Also, because of the interconnectedness of the borderlands, specific developments, situations or policy decisions in one of the countries potentially impacts its neighbours, whether positively or negatively.

In Kenya, the 2010 Constitution offered a new, decentralised system of government, which had and continues to have a clear impact on the governance of the Turkana pastoralist communities. With the new constitution, a new government structure was created in addition to the central level of government that also has its representatives operating in the regions. The newly established county governments have administrative responsibility for the county and receive large sums of government funds for development purposes. Security, on the other hand, remains the responsibility of the national government, the army and the administration police. Although the new system has been in existence for six years, confusion over tasks and responsibilities still arises, resulting in competition between various levels of authorities and delays in an effective response in the case of cross-border and other forms of insecurity.[23]

On the Ugandan side, the main development has been the forced disarmament of the Karamojong, which has had great implications for the communities inhabiting the borderlands of the three countries involved. In the early 2000s, the UPDF started with the first major attempts to disarm civilians, often using disproportionate force. At the height of the disarmament campaign (2006–2008) the UPDF was bombing the Karamojong kraals, and even Turkana kraals inside Kenyan territory were not spared.[24] The fierce resistance of the Karamojong led to a warlike situation. Local resistance to handing in weapons has been high across the entire region, as people feel they need weapons as a means for protection against their neighbours. Disarmament could therefore only be successful if the government was able to provide the Karamojong with protection. So despite the many years of heavy-handed attempts to disarm civilians, this was only fully completed in 2011 when the government in Uganda was able to offer real protection in return. Local Defence Units (LDUs), who were trained and armed by the UPDF, were stationed along the border, while the UPDF actively protected the unarmed Dodoth and Jie from incursions and raids from Kenya and South Sudan.[25]

The violent but successful disarmament of the Ugandan side of the Ateker cluster greatly altered the conflict dynamics in the borderlands. Neighbouring raiders now had to fight the UPDF and their Local Defence Units in order to access cattle. At the same time, the disarmament of the Karamojong also contributed to a sense of safety among the Kenyan Turkana and South Sudanese Toposa and Didinga communities. The Ugandan disarmament campaign shows that the government can provoke major shifts in local dynamics, on condition that they provide protection in return.[26]

Providing protection is exactly what the young South Sudanese government failed to do in the years after it gained independence in 2011. During the years of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2005-2011), the country experienced some relative peace and stability. People who had been displaced during the long war returned to their homelands, cattle herds grew and local authorities were established in many areas. However, given its unruly past and the long history of internal struggle among Southerners that was not dealt with, it was little surprise when civil war broke out in December 2013.[27] Renewed war had great repercussions on the country as a whole and although the home areas of the Toposa remained largely untouched, the fragile South Sudanese economy went into free fall, which heavily impacted food security, including in the borderlands. The government focused all its efforts on containing the war, spending all of its decreasing supply of oil revenue on security. In August 2015, a peace accord was signed, but renewed fighting in Juba in July 2016 between the two partners demonstrated the fragility of the situation in the country. Civil war continues to the present date.

21 In the context of ongoing national conflict and instability in South Sudan, disarmament is highly unlikely to be a topic here in the coming years. Instead, at the moment an increased proliferation of weapons can be seen all over the country.

22 See http://data.worldbank.org/country/uganda and http://data.worldbank.org/country/kenya.

23 See Chapter 2.

24 Before 2001, numerous government-led disarmament initiatives of varying scales had been launched in Karamoja, including in the years 1945, 1953, 1954, 1960, 1964, 1984 and 1987. The disarmament programme envisaged by Uganda's President Museveni in 2001 was to be executed in three phases. First, the UPDF was to be deployed in the region to gather intelligence and, through local leaders, persuade the communities to hand over their weapons voluntarily. In the second phase, the government would form and arm a local cadre that would continue disarming their own communities after the departure of the military. If these two phases failed, the UPDF would be deployed for an unspecified period to conduct military sweeps and armed patrols to target specific sub-tribes and counties. In 2006, the disarmament entered this phase of heavy-handed forced disarmament; despite an apparent groundswell of opinion against military solutions, the UPDF began to launch what would later be termed 'cordon and search' operations. See also IKV PAX Christi & partners - Updates Peace & Sports Program 2008: UPDF kills Turkana pastoralists, civil society being denied to mediate, Nairobi, 22 August 2008; UPDF strikes again, Turkana kraal bombed on Kenyan territory, Nairobi, 5 September 2008.

25 Stites, E., Howe, K., Redda, T. and Akabwai, D. (2016), A Better Balance: Revitalized Pastoral Livelihoods in Karamoja, Uganda, Feinstein International Center.

26 In addition to providing protection, the Ugandan government also promised to promote development in the Karamoja region, which is still largely yet to be realised.

27 Following Vice President Riek Machar's declaration that he would run for presidency during the next general election, conflict erupted between factions of the South Sudanese Army (SPLA) loyal to President Salva Kiir and factions aligned with the opposition around Riek Machar (SPLA-IO). Wholesale war broke out, especially in the capital of Juba and in the northern states where the important oil fields are situated and which are the homelands of the two largest ethnic groups, the Dinka and the Nuer, who were mobilised by Kiir and Machar respectively. Several ceasefires and peace deals were negotiated under the aegis of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and a fragile Peace Agreement was signed in August 2015. However, in July 2016 fighting broke out again (see Preface).

In addition to the protracted conflict, the government's decision in October 2015 to further divide South Sudan's ten states into 28 (32 as of January 2017) became a source of tensions between local and national government and the communities involved, and caused competition between the new administrative levels, for instance over boundaries and the division of resources and assets.[28] In some places such conflicts have taken on an ethnic dimension, causing relations to deteriorate between groups that formerly coexisted in the same administrative units in moderate peace.

To the Toposa, the new administration does not seem to make much of a difference for the moment because Kapoeta—in the heart of Toposaland—became the capital of the new Namorunyang State (which in early 2017 was renamed Kapoeta State). Furthermore, the government—whether with ten states or with 28 or 32 states—has always been largely absent in people's daily lives. However, here too the further division leaves the already quite weak state and county administrations with fewer resources, making it even more difficult for them to respond to cross-border and other security alerts. Civilian disarmament, which in the long term is a necessity for peacebuilding is therefore not a feasible issue at this point. Instead, communities have reportedly been further arming themselves since the outbreak of the conflict in 2013.

Although the pastoralist borderlands form the hinterlands of the three states, the above-mentioned examples show that the areas are nonetheless part of and affected by policies and shifts at the national levels. The next section will highlight how being situated on the periphery of the nation state, at the border, impacts the lives of the pastoralist groups in the area.

The İmpact of İnternational Borders

The presence of the international borders is a key component in the lives of the Ateker people, even when national governments demonstrate little interest in their territorial integrity. On the one hand they facilitate the connectedness of the respective areas: the borders have always been porous and pastoralists have always moved and operated across them. Licit and illicit trade in goods, cattle, gold and guns flourishes in the borderlands. Also, these remote areas were of strategic importance during the South Sudanese wars; they provided emergency supply lines and often functioned as safe havens for insurgency movements and rebel groups. South Sudanese refugees found security on the other side of the border, either with relatives or in refugee camps such as Kakuma in Turkana. The current insecurity in certain areas in South Sudan repeats this pattern. At the same time, Ugandans and Kenyans are migrating to the South Sudanese side of the border to find employment or start businesses.[29]

On the other hand, over the last ten years, the borders and their integrity have been gaining in importance for national and regional players. Borders are not demarcated and nations disagree on where the boundary lines are exactly in certain parts. With exploitable resources emerging as economic and political drivers in the borderland, state authorities have become more willing to stake their claim to territory and to enforce national border regimes.[30] At the same time, clear border demarcation is difficult since the only records to work with date from colonial times and even then borders were not necessarily fixed. At present, a border commission has been set up to discover as much as possible about the exact locality of the borders between Uganda and South Sudan and between Kenya and South Sudan, using colonial records in Great Britain and elsewhere.[31] Especially contentious is the area called the Ilemi triangle, which is claimed *de jure* by both South Sudan and Ethiopia and occupied *de facto*, at least in part, by Kenya. To date, the area serves as a dry-season grazing area for the neighbouring Turkana, Toposa, Nyangatom and Dassanech, but if oil were to be found in this region, the impetus of the three states to access this remote area might increase and could even lead to conflict in a larger political arena.[32] In the face of hardening national borders, pastoralists will see their livelihoods threatened (e.g. through difficulties in accessing seasonal grazing lands) if they fail to formulate their claims effectively. Despite the many hostilities that characterise the relations between communities, the big collective interest in preserving their livelihoods may provide opportunities for peace.

Relative Peace across the Borderlands

The relations between the different Ateker groups vary across time and across space: some areas are now experiencing relative peace whereas ten years ago conflict was still prevalent, while other areas appear to have seen no change. This section provides a non-exhaustive overview of how the relations have evolved. As stated above, relations are characterised by rapidly shifting alliances between various sub-groups, and peace and conflict can occur simultaneously. However, medium and longer term changes can be pointed out. Generally speaking, there has been a decline in the past ten years in the prominence of big cross-border cattle raids involving large groups of warriors and often resulting in massive killings.

The relations between groups in Uganda (the Jie and Dodoth) and their Turkana neighbours in Kenya and Toposa neighbours in South Sudan have visibly improved over the last ten years. The Dodoth in Uganda and Didinga in South Sudan were among the first groups to agree on a lasting peace as a result of the efforts of the peace network and local government (the Kawalokol Peace Agreement of 2009). The Jie in Uganda and most Turkana clans in Kenya enjoy a similar peace, which was established after the first Moruanayece celebration in 2010 (see Textbox 3). Efforts to include the Dodoth and Matheniko (Karamojong who live in the south of Karamoja) in the peace accords followed in 2011, including a number of commemorations and traditional healing and compensation ceremonies for atrocities committed as far back as 30 years ago. In 2014, the Moruitit Agreement (see Textbox 4) was implemented between these communities to strengthen the peace. As a result, the relations between the Dodoth, Jie and Matheniko are generally good and stable: the groups engage in shared grazing, for instance.

28 Schomerus M. and L. Aalen (eds.), 'Considering the state: Perspectives on South Sudan's subdivision and federalism debate', London: Overseas Development Institute, August 2016. https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/resource-documents/10837.pdf.

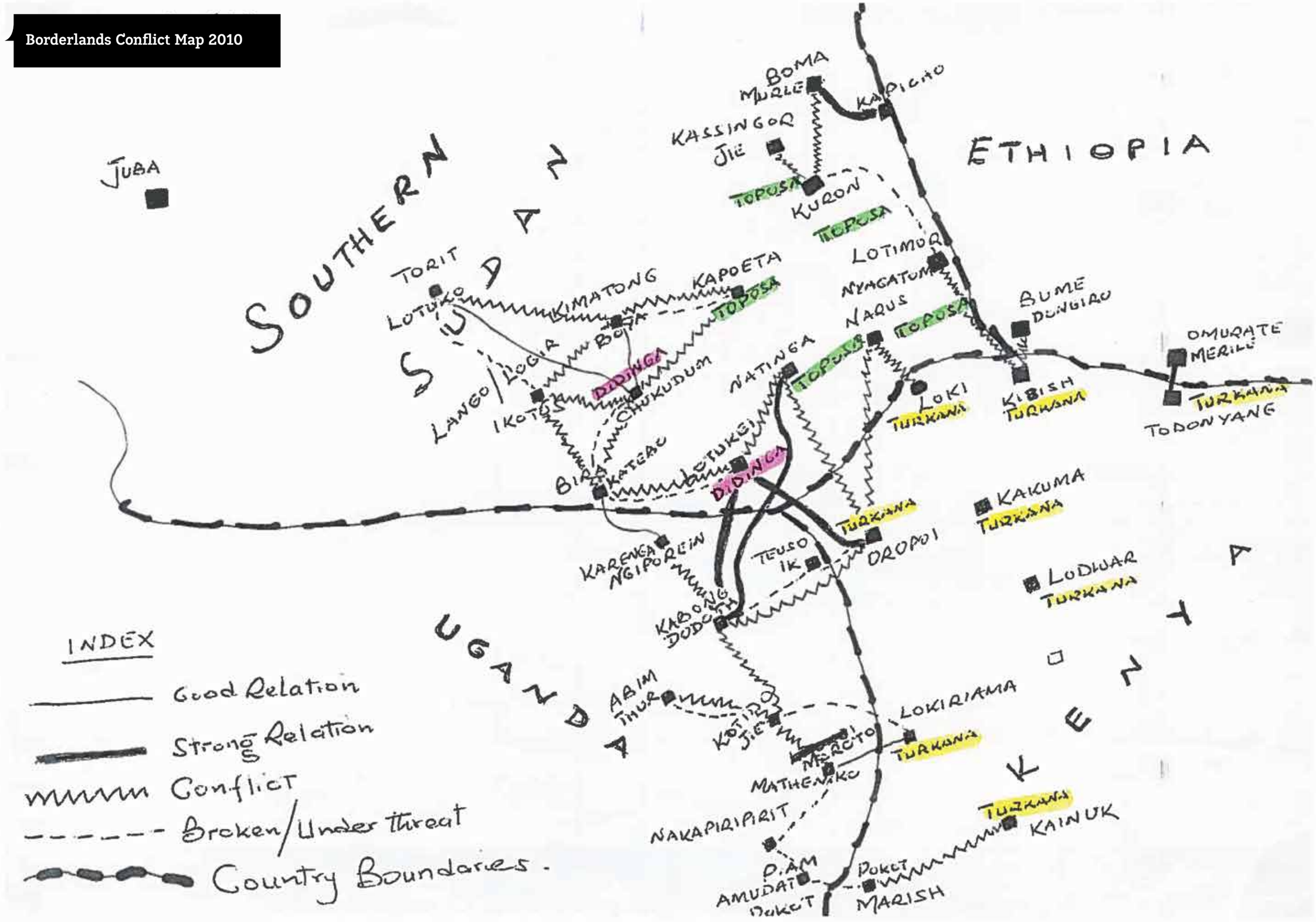
29 Interestingly, this is not perceived as problematic by the Toposa (whereas it is by other groups). That means they can readily differentiate between for example a Turkana coming to work in a school or NGO, who is perceived as a friend or even relative, and the Turkana warriors, the traditional 'enemy'.

30 In 2012, the Kenyan government announced oil had been found in Turkana. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-17513488.

31 PAX partner meeting, Lokichoggio, March 2015.

32 Mburu, N. (2003), 'Delimitation Of The Elastic Ilemi Triangle: Pastoral Conflicts and Official Indifference in the Horn Of Africa'. In: African Studies Quarterly. 6:4. p. 17. See also a forthcoming PAX report on the Ilemi Triangle (expected publication in 2017).

Borderlands Conflict Map 2010



Borderlands Conflict Map 2016

* On this map the Nyangatom are placed in Ethiopia, but a significant number of them also live across the border in south-east South Sudan around Kibish and in the Ilemi Triangle.

** The Ilemi Triangle is the disputed border area between Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia. This map shows Ilemi as Turkana area, but in reality the Toposa, Nyangatom and Dassanech also use it for grazing their cattle during the dry season.

South Sudan

Murle

Kachipo

Jie

Nyangatom*

Ethiopia

Toposa

Buya

Ilemi Triangle**

Lopit

Dassanech

Lotuko

Kidepo Valley

Didinga

Acholi

Madi

Lango

Lake Turkana

Dodoth

Kenya

Turkana

Jie

Uganda

Legend

- Country border
- State / County / Region border
- Good relation
- Conflict
- Broken relation

The strong relations between groups in Uganda and across the border helped facilitate a fragile peace between other groups. The alliance between the Jie and Turkana resulted in Jie elders and church leaders repeatedly playing an intermediary role between the Turkana and the Dodoth. Turkana-Dodoth relations have remained fragile over time due to continued raiding (albeit on a small scale) by Dodoth and Turkana factions, but the relatively well-functioning peace structures in this corridor have prevented the situation from escalating.

On the South Sudan side, the Toposa have had strained relationships with most of their neighbours for the past decade, with the exception of the Dodoth with whom they have a longstanding alliance, intermarrying and in the past also organising joint attacks. To their west (the eastern flank of the Kidepo Valley), the Toposa have historically lived in animosity with the Didinga and Buya. In May 2007, violence culminated in the Ngauro massacre in which 58 innocent Didinga were killed by Toposa warriors. Since then, CSOs and churches have tried to stimulate peace dialogues, but relations remain fragile.[33] Relations between the agro-pastoralist Didinga, Buya, Lotuho and Lango in the Kidepo Valley have also historically been strained, with frequent large-scale inter-ethnic cattle raids and high levels of distrust.[34] Over the last few years, sustained peacebuilding interventions by the churches have led to an improvement in the security situation in the Kidepo Valley and a reduction in the number of raids and killings to a very low level.

In the northern part of Toposaland, around Kuron and towards Boma in former Jonglei State, most relations are marked by conflict and recurrent raiding between the Toposa and Jie, and the Toposa and Murle. This part of the borderlands is very isolated, with no government presence, extremely poor infrastructure and no phone communication network. Kuron Peace Village is effectively the only service provider and connection between communities and government.

Cyclical shifts between shared grazing and cattle raiding also mark the relations between the Toposa and the Kachipo to their east, on the border with Ethiopia. On the other hand, the Toposa and the Nyangatom who live on the Ethiopian border enjoy a stable alliance (they traditionally refer to each other as cousins) and engage in joint grazing.

The relations between the Toposa and Turkana remain difficult and conflictual. Both are large groups with extensive manpower and weaponry and big herds of cattle, camels, sheep and goats. Especially at the start of the programme in 2006, a lot of activities were organised to facilitate and build good relations. However, relations remained fragile and over the following years there was evidence of mutual animosity, mostly in the form of occasional cattle thefts. Over the last year and a half (2015-2016), animosity has escalated again to the level of full-scale raiding.[35] At present, the border between South Sudan (Toposa) and Kenya (Turkana) is the only corridor where the situation seems to have deteriorated over the past ten years. This deterioration in relations seems to be due to a variety of factors, including the war in South Sudan, devolution in Kenya and disputes over the location of the border.

Furthermore, the troubled eastern part of this corridor (the large swamp area called Moruangipi) is very isolated. There is hardly any infrastructure and it has been difficult to access for the peace actors, who are based relatively far away geographically (Narus-Kapoeta in the west and Kuron in the north)[36]. The difficulty of covering the vast and remote Moruangipi area means that the peace work remains fragmented in this corridor.
Further deteriorating relations between Toposa and Turkana can impact on the peace between other groups, e.g. between the Dodoth and the Turkana, as the PAX partners have warned repeatedly. The animosity between the Toposa and Didinga in South Sudan can have similar effects.

As becomes clear from the above, generally the relationships between the pastoral communities have been improving over the years. However, stability remains fragile. Incidents can always happen. With large parts of the communities well-armed, much depends on the willingness of the communities to appease situations or on the contrary to add fuel to the fire. The cross-border peace network continues to play a vital role in bringing antagonistic communities together and networking and lobbying for the stronger involvement of government and security actors. Chapter 2 sheds light on the local peacebuilding efforts by PAX and its partners during the ten years of the programme. It pays specific attention to the actor groups that are targeted, as well as to the methods and techniques used by the partners in the cross-border peace programme. ♦

33 The Chief of Namorunyang, bordering Lauro in Budi County, conversation in Kapoeta, March 2015.

34 Simon Simonse, internal PAX report on Kidepo Valley, August 2014. Lango is a collective name for the Logir, Imatong, Lokwa, Dongotono, Lorwama and Ketebo, living on the southwestern flank of the Kidepo Valley.

35 This description of the Turkana-Toposa corridor is of the situation in 2015 and the first half of 2016. In the second half of 2016, the peace actors in this corridor (LOPEO in Lokichoggio, Kenya and LRDA in Narus, South Sudan) invested heavily in building peace between the different Toposa and Turkana clans along the border, with the support of PAX. At the moment, the security situation seems to be improving, with a functioning structure of peace committees on the ground and a considerable drop in attacks.

36 The only real infrastructure is the road from Kapoeta, via Narus, to Kuron and further north, which is being completed at the moment thanks to the lobbying efforts of Emeritus Bishop Taban and Kuron Peace Village.

2. Ten Years of Peace Work in the Borderlands

This chapter explains the various aspects of the peace work by PAX and its partners in the three result areas: strengthening peaceful coexistence, creating and operating a peace network and enhancing the social contract between state actors and citizens. The different civil-society organisations and church leaders, which together form the peace network, all operate at different levels of engagement in order to pursue different aspects of these three result areas (see also Textbox 1 in the İntroduction). Together they cover and illustrate the nature of the activities in the field of conflict prevention and intervention. Although the three areas are treated separately here, they overlap in everyday practice. As an addition to this chapter, we have included a detailed timeline of key moments in the development of the programme in the period 2006-2016.

Result Area 1: Bringing Together Antagonistic Communities

The first aim of PAX's interventions in the borderlands of Kenya, South Sudan and Uganda is to bring together antagonistic communities by advocating peace within countries and the building of strong and resilient relationships across the borders. To this end, the peace actors organise dialogue meetings, help monitor the resolutions on different sides of the border, and try to raise awareness of the importance of peace among the different segments of societies. The efforts seem to have changed the popular perception of raiding and contributed to improved relations, e.g. between the Jie and Dodoth and the Turkana. The organisations in the cross-border peace network have developed specific messages and strategies for the different segments of society, who each potentially play a separate role in the persistence of violence or the message of peace.

YOUNG MEN—YOUTH WARRIORS—KARACUNA

The young men of the Ateker communities are responsible for the care and protection of the large herds of cattle. They tend the animals in their own herd or their father's or paternal uncle's herds by continually moving to find water and pasture. Decisions are often taken jointly, although each kraal elects a leader and a few assistants from its midst. Such a leader is usually considered a great warrior who possesses spiritual and political powers and has some wealth. In times of greater conflict, war leaders are appointed. When young men look after the cattle, becoming a warrior is part of the traditional rite of passage. At the same time, raiding is also a way of acquiring your own herd and the necessary number of cows to pay the dowry and marry. The heads of cattle for bridewealth vary a lot from group to group, but in recent years the amount has risen in many places.[37] A large part of the hostility between the various pastoralist communities thus originates in the cattle camps where youngsters seek ways to display their bravery and manhood and secure their marriage. Importantly, however, some form of implicit consent from the elders of the community often plays a part too. Mostly targeting neighbouring kraals, the youth warriors are the key perpetrators and victims of cattle raiding at the same time. In all PAX's efforts towards building peace among the communities of the Ateker cluster, the youth warriors have formed a vital target group, especially during the first four years of the programme. The PAX partners trained young men to become Peace and Sports Facilitators and sports-for-peace leaders, thus establishing direct contact within the warriors' age set and building the basis for trusted and consistent cooperation. Through sport tournaments, the young men of different Ateker groups were brought together to get to know 'their enemies' and establish cross-border relationships. In recent years the young men, represented through their kraal leaders, have formed part of the local peace committees and participated in the intercommunal peace meetings and conferences. Some of the CBOs and faith-based organisations within the peace network try to complement the peacebuilding work by promoting income-generating activities other than cattle keeping. Kuron Peace Village has built a vocational training centre in which young Toposa learn carpentry, tailoring skills and basic mechanics.

ELDERS

The male elders are very important within Ateker society and thus also for the peace activities. The councils of elders are respected for their age, wisdom and accumulated wealth. As former youth warriors, elders are also often involved in taking decisions regarding warfare and the realisation of peace with other communities.[38] When peace agreements are made between communities, elders usually interact with their fellow elders of the opposing community. They are also involved in negotiating access to natural resources elsewhere and the recovery of stolen cattle. They own large parts of the herds and are thus affected directly by the herds' well-being or misfortune and by losses. Often, elders also own and control the SALW given to the young men to protect the herds. At the same time, raided cattle or cattle gained through the marriage of daughters are traditionally distributed amongst fathers and paternal uncles. Elders can therefore profit from raiding as much as they can lose from it. As a result, the peace endeavours by PAX and the cross-border peace network target the elders as well, especially in peace committees and

37 For example, young Buya warriors at the peace conference in Chorokol claimed that whereas in the past the dowry used to be five cows, now it is dozens (peace conference, Chorokol, February 2015). For young Toposa the amount has risen from 30 heads of cattle 10 years ago to 50 now. Older men need to pay even more (HTPVK peace worker, personal communication, June 2015).

38 Müller-Dempf (2008), 'The Ngibokoi Dilemma: Generation-Sets and Social System Engineering in Times of Stress - an Example from the Toposa of Southern Sudan', Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Working Paper no. 106.

Inter-community meeting between elders and peace committee members of the Jie, Matheniko and Turkana. Kotido, Uganda.

during peace conferences. Since the elders stay in the villages—rather than the cattle camps—their influence is not absolute. It is often argued that with the proliferation of small arms among warriors, the influence of the elders has reduced.[39] However, thanks to the Ugandan disarmament that dynamic has partly been reversed. Elders are thus an integral part of efforts to shift local perceptions of raiding as a part of everyday life to an offence committed by a few young men that jeopardises the whole community.

WOMEN

Women are excluded from the *Akiriket*, the traditional (social, political and religious) assembly of initiated men where important issues are being discussed. Women, especially the illiterate, are regarded as an important labour force. Young wives and girlfriends often join their men in the kraals. Women and girls may contribute to the culture of violence by encouraging young men to go on raids and bring back a dowry for their family. In order to increase the participation of women in community peace processes and counter the role they can play in encouraging the violence, members of the cross-border peace network like LOKADO have involved women in peace dialogues or peace activities, for example through peace choirs. Theatre and songs are used for example in Kuron to raise women's awareness of human rights, women's rights, and the ills of negative cultural practices (e.g. gender-based violence and early and forced marriages) at the community level. In some communities, the older women have become organised in women's groups through the initiative of the peace actors. Some of the groups are formally recognised and included in the peace committees and in the peace dialogues. In Budi and Ikwotos Counties for example, the peace partners have organised and mobilised women's groups from different ethnic communities, who then visit the major kraals and deliver messages of peace to the kraal leaders and youth warriors. Making the women part of the peace endeavours thus also helps strengthen the women's position within their communities.

DIVINERS AND SEERS

In addition to these targeted audiences of the peace efforts by PAX and its partners, there are other institutions in the Ateker societies that play their part in the relationships across communities. 'Diviners' (those who receive their knowledge through dreams) and 'seers' (those who read messages and make predictions with the help of intestines and/or tobacco) are among those mentioned most often. Diviners and seers are consulted when important decisions are taken in a kraal. For instance, when kraals plan to migrate to unfriendly territory, the diviners and seers are asked for advice. They also are often consulted when warriors plan raids or attacks. Their authority clearly derives from the spiritual component to their knowledge and advice. The partners in the peace network perceive the role of diviners and seers in the conflict dynamics as ambivalent, as they can be potential peace disrupters. In 2006 for example, one of the peace partners in Karamoja was trying to dissuade Jie raiders from attacking the Turkana. The partner was then stopped by the Jie diviner, who said "Don't interfere with my office!", as he was the one endorsing the raid. On the other hand, in 2011, during a period of attacks by the Jie on the Matheniko, this same diviner was the one proposing the purchase of two bulls, one for the Jie elder and one for the Matheniko elder, to make peace and to symbolise the beginning of the restocking of Matheniko herds by the Jie. In this way, diviners and seers can also bring appreciated traditional spiritual elements into peacebuilding processes.

CHIEFS

Another important set of actors is the village chiefs. The British colonisers introduced the chieftainship system to the Ateker groups. Nowadays, chiefs are often referred to as part of the traditional authorities. As such they have been legally recognised in South Sudan, Uganda and Kenya. Chiefs are an integral part of the governance system in the three countries. Generally, chiefs are highly respected within their communities and potentially have decision-making powers such as jurisdiction and often execution at the lowest administrative level. The importance of the chiefs is reinforced by the relative absence of other government structures, especially in South Sudan. Just as the systems of government differ, so the role and mandate of chiefs differ in the three countries. Generally, chiefs are the brokers between the community and outside institutions such as the army, government authorities and strangers.[40] This function is particularly important in places where suspicion towards government authorities reigns, like South Sudan. Chiefs may open up opportunities for peace, as this quote illustrates: "If they want to make peace, the Kenyan government usually sends a chief to Nadapal in order to meet a chief of South Sudan. Then after they agree, then also youth warriors, they meet there in the kraal, they discuss among themselves. Then they make peace."[41]

Similarly, the chiefs form an important entry point to the community in the work of the peace actors. Information channels often run through the chiefs, both from town to village and from village to kraal. Training sessions for chiefs on conflict resolution and on community security monitoring are part of the peace actors' activities. Cattle recoveries and the payment of compensation are also usually organised with, at the least, the authorisation of the chief. As chiefs are the interlocutors

39 Stites et al. (2016).

40 See Leonardi (2013), Dealing with Government in South Sudan. Histories of Chiefship, Community and State, Woodbridge: James Currey.

41 Young Toposa man, group discussion in Lolim, March 2015.

Toposa women in community gathering. Kuron Peace Village, South Sudan.

between the community and the state, their involvement combines PAX's result areas 1 and 3.

The partners in the cross-border peace network have developed a number of methods and techniques for approaching the different actor groups within the communities and bringing them together with their antagonistic counterparts. Among the most notable intervention techniques in this result area are the formation of local peace committees and the organisation of peace meetings and conferences.

LOCAL PEACE COMMITTEES

Partners have developed strategies to collectively involve the various segments of the community in the peace work via the creation of peace committees at different local levels. Through the formation and training of local peace committees, the cross-border peace network is extending the support base for peace efforts within Ateker society and among some of its neighbours. In Budi, Ikwoto and Torit Counties, the peace committees are formed at the parish level and usually consist of elders, community leaders and sometimes women representatives, and are in contact with kraal leaders and youth warriors. In Karamoja and Turkana, the committees are formed at the kraal and sub-county levels and consist of key community and kraal leaders. Here, the chiefs play an advisory role. Around Kuron, the chiefs are on the peace committees.

By trying to establish raiding as a crime committed by specific warriors, the committees seek to prevent the distribution of raided cattle and revenge taking for crimes committed by other groups. The peace committees are also responsible for tracking and recovering stolen cattle, through communication with the cross-border peace network and with its help. See Textbox 2 for an example of the work of the Jie peace committee in Karamoja.

The peace committees have had varying degrees of success and they are often influenced by external factors as well (e.g. non-response by the relevant authorities, or weak law enforcement with regard to perpetrators). In contrast to the PSFs and their youth warrior tournaments in the past, no regular exchanges or meetings with the peace committees across the border have developed yet, other than the peace dialogues and conferences.

Textbox 2: The Jie Peace Committee

The Jie Peace Committee (Kotido District, Karamoja) serves as a good example of the role of peace committees in the peace work and of their importance as a connector between the peace actors, communities and authorities.

In early 2016, tensions were building up in Kotido, as some persistent Jie thieves were regularly stealing animals from the Turkana kraals which had settled along the border. This was putting pressure on the good relationship between the Jie and the Turkana. The Jie peace committee took the initiative to meet up with the Turkana who had come to KOPEIN to file their case. A meeting was convened, facilitated by KOPEIN, to discuss the way forward in keeping the peace between the communities. Information and intelligence was shared and it was decided to launch joint village-to-village searches for the stolen animals. A committee task force of 12 people, together with representatives of the Turkana kraals, went to the Jie villages where the animals were suspected of being held.
The task force was endorsed by the UPDF Brigade Commander of Kotido District, who issued additional instructions directing all UPDF detachments in Kotido to support the task-force members whenever they needed assistance in their search mission. In one of the villages, the task force met with resistance from some Jie when they identified stolen animals. With the use of mobile phones and motorbikes and the endorsement letter from the Brigade Commander, the task force was able to reach the UPDF detachments in the area to get emergency assistance. The UPDF presence boosted the committee's progress in retrieving the stolen animals.
The two-week search mission was concluded with a large community meeting, also attended by the district officials and UPDF. The Jie peace spoilers were warned by their own leaders against stealing from the Turkana and the meeting was concluded with the handover of the animals to the Turkana. This meeting was followed-up by other community peace sensitisation meetings, to "help the people of the affected sub counties to remain in solidarity as they point out the few bad elements that tend to bring a bad name to their sub-counties".

According to KOPEIN, these joint operations of the peace committee together with the leaders and security actors encourage and strengthen the current peaceful coexistence between the two groups.[42]

42 KOPEIN report on the search by the Jie Peace Committee task force for Turkana animals stolen by Jie, 2016.

PEACE MEETINGS, CONFERENCES AND COMMEMORATIONS

The efforts for the peaceful coexistence of antagonistic communities are formalised through peace meetings and conferences. They vary in scope from local, short-notice peace meetings, aimed at responding to a recent deterioration in relations between two communities, to large-scale conferences in which hundreds of warriors, elders and women from several Ateker groups and neighbouring communities are involved as well as security and government officials.

Regular intercommunal and occasional cross-border peace meetings and conferences have continued to be organised since the large Kapoeta conference in 2008. Such meetings provide an opportunity to personally get to know each other and build relationships among communities and between communities and local authorities. The resolutions agreed upon at the conferences are communicated to the maximum extent possible to the villages and kraals. While the effectiveness of these peace resolutions is sometimes questionable considering the persistence of regular 'spoilers', they are nonetheless an important step in trying to establish consensus for peace within a society that accepts cattle-raiding violence as a legitimate action. They also enable communities to formulate claims to peace dividends and the provision of security and law and order, aimed at their respective governments.

As was often mentioned during the two meetings in June 2016 (in Naivasha and Kapoeta), it is vital that agreements and resolutions are owned locally. Peace agreements or gestures are sometimes reinforced through commemorations, enhancing their legitimacy, and symbolic events which involve the use of traditional peacebuilding approaches such as shrines, ceremonies and symbolic compensation. Commemorations can remember crimes committed in the past and involve formal apologies, such as the Nao commemoration of a devastating raid in 1982, which caused many casualties among the Jie, Bokora, Matheniko and Turkana. Commemorations can also celebrate successful peace accords and shared cultural roots. The commemoration of peace agreements such as Moruanayece (see Textbox 3) and Lokiriama are important avenues for traditional leaders to commit to the agreements made, but also for the PAX partners to lobby and advise community representatives and the authorities.

Despite periods of relative peace between communities, the risk of conflicts flaring up continues to persist. In addition to awareness raising and local peace agreements, civil-society organisations and church leaders are involved in a set of activities that revolve around the management of incidents and minimising the effects of persisting insecurity and theft. Monitoring, early warning and cattle recovery are examples of such activities. In collaboration with the local government and security agencies, CBOs and church leaders support the tracing of stolen cattle, as is elaborated in the next result area.

Textbox 3: The Moruanayece Peace Celebrations

On 21 December, the Ateker celebrate their common heritage and commitment to peace by remembering 'the great Grandmother' (Nayece).

The name Moruanayece literally means 'The Hill of Nayece'. Nayece was a woman who was born in today's Ḳotido District, Uganda. She is said to have been the first person who settled the caves (Aturkan) in Turkana land, and hence the people and the land became known as Turkana. Since Nayece came from the Jie, the Turkana people view the Jie as 'Amuro ka Ata', which translated means 'The Thigh of the Grandmother' or 'The Pillar of the Grandmother'. There is a belief that before Mother Nayece passed on, she had decreed that there be no conflict between the Turkana and the Jie, warning that if this did occur, the two groups should always come to her graveside and perform the ceremony of Forgiveness.[43]

The celebrations take place in Ḳotido District in Uganda and nowadays attract more than 5000 people from the Jie, Dodoth, Turkana, Toposa, Nyangatom etc.[44] Starting in 2010, the celebrations now mark one of the most important peacemaking accords, owned by all the Ateker groups and promoting their shared roots and culture.

43 https://thelearnedmediator.com/2015/07/10/peace-agreements-lessons-learned-from-local-peace-agreements/.

44 http://www.turkanaguardian.com/over-5000-ateker-people-to-attend-moruanayece-peace-accord/.

Result Area 2: Expanding the Network

PAX's second result area focuses on the creation of a network of peace actors and other collaborating institutions to effectively deal with conflicts in the borderland. A functioning cross-border peace network is of paramount importance to the strategies of prevention and intervention mentioned above. Clearly, peace conferences and local peace committees have helped to ease tensions between communities. These efforts were accompanied by another set of activities, involving a wider network of actors. Intercommunal prevention and intervention mechanisms such as early warning, monitoring and cattle recovery can hardly be organised without the help and information of cross-border contacts. Such activities thus need strong relations not only with the communities but also with all the partners involved and the government authorities and security agencies. These are essential to ensure the implementation of peacebuilding efforts.

PAX'S PARTNER NETWORK

A strong and expanding network of CBOs and churches has been formed during the ten years of the PAX peace programme. The dioceses of Lodwar (Kenya), Kotido (Uganda) and Torit (South Sudan) are involved through their peace facilitation programmes and connected by the Inter-diocesan peace and cross-border evangelisation programme.[45] With PAX's support, the CBOs LOKADO and LOPEO in Kenya, KOPEIN and DADO in Uganda and HTPVK, LRDA and KDI in South Sudan formed links with the church partners. There are many international and national NGOs and humanitarian agencies in northern Uganda, northern Kenya and South Sudan. However, most of these NGOs and humanitarian agencies are based in the larger regional nodes such as Juba, Torit, Kakuma or Lodwar. Their presence drops dramatically in the more remote areas that are difficult to access. The partners in the cross-border peace network, by contrast, are renowned for their presence, both physically and through regular communication, in the villages and kraals. This is a great strength of the peace programme. More or less all of the activities within the three result areas rely on the cross-border peace network, the information received and advocacy voiced through it. Joint lobbying and advocacy was formalised when the Cross-border Peace Coordination Committee (CPCC) was established in Lokichoggio in 2014. The partners gained strength by jointly putting pressure on local government authorities, the army and police to take responsibility for improving the human rights and human security situation in the borderlands of South Sudan, Uganda and Kenya.

MONITORING, EARLY WARNING AND RAPID RESPONSE

From 2008 onwards, the peace actors developed a system of monitoring, early warning and rapid response in order to prevent intercommunal conflicts around cattle raiding from escalating and thereby to break the cycle of violence. Each of the partners in the peace network uses slightly different methods, depending on capacities, available infrastructure, security etc. Essentially, a functioning monitoring, early warning and rapid response system relies on the effective linking of reliable grass-root contacts within kraals and villages with cross-border peace partners through constant communication, kraal and community visits and involvement of the authorities.

45 The inter-diocesan cross-border peace and conflict resolution project was rolled out in 2012, during the Golden Jubilee celebration of the Diocese of Lodwar, in order to promote activities in consensus with peacebuilding along the borders and promote cross-border peaceful coexistence and sustained development. The project is a collaboration with the dioceses bordering Lodwar Diocese, whereby the parishes that are located along the borders are the entry points for the activities. In addition, an annual conference brings together eight Catholic dioceses (Kotido and Moroto in Uganda, Jimma Bonga and Soddo in Ethiopia, Torit in South Sudan and Kitale, Nakuru, Maralal and Lodwar in Kenya), as well as other organisations that work for peace along the borders of Turkana County. The annual conference is the avenue through which all actors in the peace and cross-border initiative meet to share experiences and discuss progress and future needs.

PAX' partner LOKADO visiting communities. Turkana, Kenya.

All peace actors confirmed that maintaining contacts with local informants through low-key channels of communication was an essential part of their daily work. Through phone calls, WhatsApp groups (where there is 3G Internet coverage), radio calls and visits by foot or car, the peace actors stay informed about the movement of cattle, kraals and any suspicious activities. The target communities all regularly assess the security situation during meetings facilitated by the partners. The partners in the cross-border peace network share this information with the organisations within the network and across the border, which enables everyone to closely follow potentially hazardous developments, such as the movement of one group into close proximity of another groups' grazing grounds. They can thus respond speedily if needed.

CATTLE RECOVERY

Despite the efforts to reduce raids and appease conflicts, it is obviously impossible to prevent single incidents such as cattle theft. The great achievement of the peace network is to prevent incidences from spiralling out of control into a full-blown conflict that involves large sections of society. The strategies for mitigation and containment of conflicts follow the same pattern as that for the early warning and monitoring: victims of an incident report it to one of the partners in the cross-border peace network, which then investigates what happened precisely and documents the number of stolen cattle and possible casualties. Usually the affected party immediately starts to pursue the footmarks of the perpetrators and can indicate that direction. At that point, the peace network intervenes and takes over the pursuit by informing the local authorities and their partners across the border so that they can also start seeking information. Through fact-

finding, and at times with the help of security forces or police, the partners across the border try to locate the stolen animals and convince the thieves to give them back. In Karamoja, for instance, the task of tracking stolen cattle and arranging their return is often taken care of by the UPDF and LDUs, and ideally at a later stage by the Uganda Police Force (UPF). The cattle are then escorted back to the border and handed over to the peace actors and/or authorities involved on the other side to return to the community from which they were stolen.

INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTABILITY

Another aspect of the network's strategies to prevent incidents escalating into conflicts is to try and shift the responsibility for raiding and theft from the level of the community to the level of the individual. Before, indiscriminate revenge was taken on an entire group rather than the individuals who perpetrated the crime, thus leading to endless cycles of revenge and counter-revenge. The system of group accountability is engrained in the relation with state authorities. The British colonisers often practised collective punishment on entire villages. Even today, kin liability, or the taking of family hostages to make warriors put down their guns, is not uncommon among state authorities and the army. It may thus be no surprise to learn how difficult it is to establish enough trust between communities, peace actors and security personnel to persuade a community to denounce a perpetrator in their midst.

The peace network is far short of establishing individual accountability as a norm, let alone bringing perpetrators before court. Given the limitations of the modern law enforcement institutions, the actors in the peace network often prefer to advocate compensation according to the customary system. But progress in this regard has been made through awareness raising, compromising and successful cattle recoveries along the more peaceful corridors of the Uganda-Kenya and Uganda-South Sudan borders. The efforts culminated in the signing of the Moruitit Resolution in Karamoja in 2014 (see Textbox 4). Importantly, under the resolution, the perpetrators of violence and theft have to pay compensation at a predetermined rate to the owner of the cattle. Even here, the system of kin liability cannot be excluded. It seems to be the only way to persuade communities to influence their young men to stop raiding and to hand over raiders to the authorities. It is believed that the Moruitit Resolution has helped to deter communities from tacitly or openly endorsed raiding, because of the fear of punishment. The adoption of the resolution in combination with the will and capacity on the side of security agencies to see it fulfilled has supported the ongoing peace between the Jie and Dodoth in Uganda. The signing of the Moruitit Resolution (and its implementation) is a landmark for the cross-border peace network and its programme. One of the reasons for its success is that community actors, security agents and local government authorities committed themselves to the resolution.

The increased involvement of the state authorities and security personnel is an important but delicate aspect of the efforts of the PAX partners. Besides strengthening the social contract, as will be described in the next section, it is sometimes needed for security purposes. But not all communities trust the state authorities and security actors, and therefore the peace network has a tricky balance to strike in determining how far to go in presenting themselves in association with the police or military. This delicate task is relevant in both result areas 2 and 3, where the gaps have to be bridged firstly between the different communities and local actors across the borders, and secondly between the government authorities and communities.

Textbox 4: The Moruitit Resolution

The Moruitit Resolution was the concrete result of a joint district security meeting between the Jie of Kotido and the Dodoth in Kaabong in July 2014. Organised by the UPDF in collaboration with the peace actors, the agreement stipulates mutually agreed resolutions aimed at discouraging cattle theft between the two communities. If such an event occurs nonetheless, the following punitive measures apply:

a. If found with stolen cattle, pay shall be using "x2+1" formula. This means that any stolen livestock will attract a sanction of another, plus one animal to be eaten by recovery team/elders.

b. If the animals of the thief cannot cover the number of stolen livestock and the sanction (compensation) recovery shall extend to the thief's relatives.

c. If that still leaves a deficit the whole village from which the thief originates will be held liable for payment of the stolen cows and compensation.

d. Communities through which stolen livestock pass and do not promptly notify security agencies and local leaders for action shall be deemed in collusion with the livestock thieves, shall be treated as such and shall earn the same penalty"

Result Area 3: Enhancing the Social Contract between Various Actors

The last step in PAX's intervention strategy is to improve the ties and mutual responsibilities between the government and security actors on the one hand and the communities on the other in order to improve the well-being of the people through the provision of security, law and order and human rights in the communities.
Clearly the efforts to bring antagonistic communities together through dialogue and local peace-building and to develop a cross-border network to foster and sustain this peace are short- to mid-term approaches. In the long run the government, administrative and security officials within the three countries have to take responsibility to improve the well-being of the people by providing security and law and order in the communities. To this end, PAX and its partners tailor all activities in such a way that the respective authorities feel the relevance and the need to take part. Partners also lobby for authorities' continued commitment to the peace process. This was already evident in varying degrees in the techniques and methods described above. During peace conferences, the communities are enabled to voice their demands with respect to the government and be heard. Lobbying for individual accountability, the recovery of cattle and the reduction or prevention of further violence works best when administrative and security agents are included in the process from the start, in order to ensure the implementation and execution of these mechanisms and the ownership by authorities tasked with the provision of security and law and order.

LOCAL/REGIONAL AUTHORITIES

PAX's partners in the cross-border peace network have been building relations with authorities from the lowest administrative level to the regional government (the state government in South Sudan, the county in Kenya and the district in Uganda). State officials' involvement in the local communities and with the actors in the peace network differs from country to country. As was explained above, the chiefs form the linkage between the community and the local government. The chieftainship system differs between the three countries, however. Whereas in Kenya chiefs are appointed as part of the administrative staff, in South Sudan the communities elect them. Kenya's devolution of powers has given more responsibility, financial means and political clout to the county government. In South Sudan, counties have few autonomous resources and their police and other security forces are very weak. In Uganda, in comparison, things work more smoothly. The well-established chains of command and division of tasks between the districts and the security forces can facilitate rapid intervention when needed. The state officials at the lower administrative levels interact with the peace actors when they share information and when CBOs or NGOs organise training sessions or meetings to which the authorities are also invited.

In general, the CBOs and faith-based organisations situated in towns have easier access to the authorities and some even rely on them for transportation or security provision when going into dangerous terrain to follow up on incidents. Big cattle-related conflicts, especially those that involve communities in two countries, can only be resolved by the official authorities of both sides. The commitment of local authorities to assist in the peace work and cross-border conflict mitigation is thus very important, but unfortunately this varies greatly between different actors and over time. The turnover in local government officials is high, especially on the South Sudan side, which means that partner organisations often have to start their local lobbying for peace work all over again.

In addition to the government officials, the Members of Parliament (MPs) are seen as important political representatives of the communities. MPs can be extremely influential in their constituencies.

Turkana woman resting at water point. Turkana, Kenya.

As respected representatives of their communities, they are potentially important allies in promoting peaceful coexistence. More often however, they play a less positive role. Since they often live away from their communities, they are less affected by the impact of violence. Many have cattle that are being herded by warriors from the community and it may be in their interest to fuel belligerent rhetoric. MPs who have to vie for votes, for instance, are thus less likely to promote unpopular actions, such as the recovery of cattle or the pursuance of raiders within their communities, before elections.

SECURITY AGENCIES

The provision of security and law enforcement is a real challenge in the remote hinterlands of the three countries. The areas are characterised by insecurity caused by raids and theft, but also by robberies along the main roads and other criminal activities. The limited capacities as well as low commitment of the military and police prove challenging. Providing security across borders—in situations where cooperation between the various agencies is required—is even more fraught with difficulty. The peace network has been trying to slowly change this over the years. Unfortunately, the success of these efforts varies greatly across areas, and to a large extent depends on the commitment of individual authorities or security personnel. On the border between Kaabong District in Karamoja and Kapoeta East County in South Sudan, for instance, authorities have increasingly taken a more active role in strengthening their cross-border cooperation and networks to track and return stolen cattle, prosecute criminals and actively aid the peace efforts.[46]

46 E.g. with the tracking and following up of Dodoth cattle raiders from Uganda who went hiding in Toposa land in South Sudan in the first half of 2014. This issue is still relevant to the current discussions about security in that corridor, in which peace and security actors of both countries are involved. Another example is the signing up to the Moruitit Resolution, which has helped in drastically reducing livestock thefts between communities. See Textboxes 2 and 4.

Following the disarmament campaign in Karamoja, the UPDF is still responsible for providing security, although law enforcement is legally under the authority of the UPF. Attempts to transfer authority from the army to the police force have so far been only partially successful. The role of the UPDF in reducing raids and promoting cross-border peace has changed immensely since the beginning of the activities by PAX and its partners. During the violent and excessive disarmament campaign in the 2000s, local and international organisations repeatedly accused the Ugandan military of human rights abuses. Yet at the Naivasha meeting in 2016, the actors in the peace network plainly attributed a positive, peace-strengthening role to the UPDF. The UPDF's efforts to contribute to security in the region are organised via the formation, training and outfitting of Local Defence Units (LDUs) at the village and kraal level. Essentially the Ugandan army recruits former youth warriors as their proxies on the ground, training them to monitor the security situation, inform the military of suspicious activity and support them in tracking and recovering stolen cattle in this difficult terrain. The LDUs receive a small salary. The UPDF in cooperation with the LDUs have been important for cross-border monitoring, rapid response and cattle recoveries in recent years. Here too, it is immediately obvious that within this context of limited state presence on the ground, interventions of any kind cannot function well without the involvement and ownership of the communities through the existing peace committees. Relations with security forces such as the military and police especially depend on cooperation with local authorities and institutions. The change in the perception of the UPDF in Uganda following the recruitment of LDUs is an excellent case in point. Facilitated by the peace actors, UPDF officials have also frequently met their counterparts in Kenya and South Sudan. In this situation, reacting more quickly to reports through direct lines of communication contributes to the current relative stability.

In Turkana County the Kenya Police Service is officially in charge of internal law enforcement and security provision, whereas the protection of the international border lies with the Kenyan Defence Forces (KDF), the army. This division of tasks inhibits an effective response to cross-border cattle raids and theft because both agencies have to be involved while the army does not perceive this as its main task. Furthermore, the Kenyan police is notoriously understaffed and ill-equipped, and thus has little capacity to contribute to security in the region. Instead the National Police Reservists (NPRs, formerly the Kenya Police Reserves or KPRs), an auxiliary force detached by the Kenya Police Service, are responsible for security in many remote areas. Similar to the LDUs in Uganda, the NPRs consist of volunteers operating in their localities. However, NPRs do not receive a salary, although a process to provide regular payment has started. They are perceived as less reliable for protecting kraals and cattle caravans and for proper collaboration with the state security agents. In some instances, NPRs have been known to sell their ammunition or weapons to warriors[47] or to act as a private security force, guarding or escorting property and vehicles.[48] At the border, especially between Kenya and South Sudan, the Kenyan army plays an ambiguous role. Attempts to patrol the unclear boundary line have led Toposa warriors to suspect the Kenyan government of grabbing their land and preventing their access to grazing land, thus further straining the difficult relationship between the Toposa and the Turkana.

Although the security provision by the police and army in Kenya remains limited and unreliable, they are nonetheless important partners for the peace actors. Especially along the insecure Toposa-Turkana corridor, the peace organisations' staff often rely on security personnel guards

47 According to participants at the meeting in Naivasha, June 2016.

48 See Mkutu, K. and Wandera, G. (2013), 'Policing the Periphery. Opportunities and Challenges for Kenya Police Reserves'. In: Small Arms Survey. Geneva.

The chiefs of the local security committees of Kauto County. Kuron Peace Village, South Sudan.

provided by the regional government. The Kenyan police and army have also taken part in the cross-border leader meetings, where they acknowledge the difficulties they face but also state their ambition to improve things, for instance at the level of the registration of guns, and their commitment to cattle recovery.

In South Sudan, the relationship between citizens and the state security agents is especially tense and rooted in the many years of civil war. People are often suspicious of the army and police and in the borderland the military capacity is easily outnumbered by the warrior cattle herders. Infrequent salary and long periods of service further decrease the willingness of South Sudanese state security to venture outside of the few town-based barracks and posts to pursue cattle raiders. Peace actors have nonetheless continued to involve the local police in their endeavours, especially in cross-border cattle recoveries. In more remote areas without army or police presence, some communities have introduced local community policing patrols. These are unofficial set-ups, and their organisation varies from place to place. The Police Act enables community police to cooperate with the police service, and in some instances the community police have been known to operate under the control of the commissioner. However, there is no consistent and institutionalised link between local community police and the police service, which is in the towns and largely absent in the more remote places. In 2010, Kuron Peace Village, in collaboration with two police officers and the payam administrator, formed and trained community policing committees.[49] These committees involved 24 chiefs and community representatives, who received training in community mobilization, security monitoring and conflict management.

49 A payam is the second-lowest administrative division, below county, and further subdivided in a variable number of bomas.

Currently, these committees are called ‘local security committees’, and they are Kuron’s most important partner in reaching out to the communities in the event of incidents.

RELATING TO STATE AND SECURITY ACTORS

The exact roles that peace actors and government officials play in strategies for conflict mitigation vary from country to country, and between communities. As a result of the local and cross-border conflict monitoring system, the partners in the cross-border peace network are usually informed about incidents before the authorities in the area. Local communities in some places tend to prefer to contact the CBOs rather than the authorities or the responsible security agencies in the event of insecurity, thefts or raids, partly for reasons of trust. The partner’s access to transportation and good means of communications such as satellite phones or cell phones makes them an interesting partner for the authorities as well. Today, authorities have respect for the CBO partners and church leaders, and they rely partly on them to get access to information and communicate with (distrustful) communities. The partners thus often play the role of buffer, connector and/or mediator between communities and authorities. As mentioned before, the presence of the border forms a hurdle for authorities and security agencies. By establishing closer ties with the regional authorities, PAX and its partners also try to facilitate—and therefore enhance—cooperation between authorities and security agencies across the border.

LEADERS’ MEETINGS

The organisations in the peace network organise cross-border leaders’ meetings together with PAX from time to time. These meetings are designed for officials to exchange information on the exact roles and responsibilities of their counterparts in the neighbouring countries, and to develop mechanisms for swift responses to cross-border cattle raids, violence and intercommunal conflicts. The extent to which this works depends on the dedication and resources of individual government and security officials. In certain areas and during specific times, these cross-border networks have effectively handled and contained conflicts. For example, the commissioner of Kapoeta East County (before the formation of Namorunyang State) met the Turkana County counterpart on several occasions to ensure free passage of the peace actors at the much-contested Nadapal border crossing during periods of severe raiding. UPDF personnel have been instrumental not only in protecting cattle but also in ensuring cattle recoveries along the Uganda-Kenya border. In these cases, as in many other instances, the relations are seldom institutionalised in any form. Staff changes or promotions can easily jeopardise previously established links as new personnel must be approached and convinced by the peace actors. Some of them may at times play the role of a peace spoiler, for instance by not intervening rapidly, or by hiding behind protocols and mandates.

LOBBYING AND ADVOCACY

Besides promoting the active role of regional authorities in activities such as cattle recoveries, the payment of compensation and peace conferences, the PAX partners are actively pursuing lobbying and advocacy work. Generally, these revolve around basic services and infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, roads and markets and the provision of security to foster an environment in which cattle herding is no longer the only livelihood option and arms not the only safeguard for survival. In many instances this means documenting and monitoring the implementation of the resolutions taken during peace conferences. These often include services as peace dividends, such as the opening of roads or markets, and are the first step to commitment by the signatories to the agreement. For the peace process it is extremely important that these resolutions are implemented to preserve credibility. This means regular follow-ups through e.g. peace review meetings with the authorities, but most importantly the involvement of the communities and communication of the resolutions to the wider communities and the kraals.

Textbox 5: Negotiating Peace: Example of Joint Lobbying and Conflict Mitigation across Borders

In 2013, the Ugandan disarmament campaign had almost reached its conclusion. However, there were persisting allegations that factions within the Dodoth had used their strong ties with the Toposa to migrate to South Sudan and thus circumvent the disarmament. KOPEIN and DADO on the Ugandan side were particularly aware of the disruptive capacity of these actors and alerted the Ugandan officials. During two cross-border peace dialogues in Narus in 2013 and 2014, the Ugandan military delegates declared that South Sudan was a conduit for criminals and demanded that the South Sudanese authorities should ‘smoke out’ the Dodoth from the Losolia mountains, where they were said to be hiding.[50]

Although it was clear that the presence of armed Dodoth in South Sudan would hamper the peace process in Karamoja, the UPDF venturing into South Sudanese territory to forcefully subdue the Dodoth warriors would have been a breach of national sovereignty. It would also have had dire consequences for the Dodoth communities, which included women and children.

At this stage, the PAX partner network (the Diocese of Torit in collaboration with DADO and KOPEIN) began pushing for a peaceful solution and the repatriation of the Dodoth communities, engaging with the authorities on both sides in regional coordination meetings. As a result of these efforts, the authorities together with PAX’s partners organised a dialogue between the Dodoth representatives and officials from South Sudan and Uganda. They agreed to repatriate the Dodoth communities peacefully back to Uganda, which happened between 2015 and 2017 in two episodes. The Dodoth communities returned to Uganda, handing over their weapons to the South Sudanese authorities, and the warriors were offered reintegration programmes. ♦

50 Communication with CDoT Justice and Peace coordinator, September 2016.

© Mariska van den Brink

Team dancing at a Playing for Peace tournament

Timeline

February 2003 — The first cross-border peace dialogue between the Dodoth and Turkana at Kamion, organised and facilitated by KOPEIN and LOKADO, with start-up funds from Pax Christi.

February 2004 — The Kanyangiro incident takes place. Turkana enter Kaabong for water and pasture without a properly negotiated joint grazing agreement. The Dodoth carry out a massive raid on the Turkana, in which the Turkana lose hundreds of cattle.

January 2005 — Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed between the SPLM and the Government of Sudan, ending the Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005).

2005 — Start of the construction of Kuron Peace Village. The new South Sudanese government gives Emeritus Bishop Paride Taban ten square kilometres of land in the north-east of Eastern Equatoria State on which to build a Peace Village, a place of peace and meeting point for the ethnic communities, which are often on hostile terms.

2005 — Start of consultations on a programme that would bring together armed youth warriors, initiated by Emeritus Bishop Paride Taban, founder of Kuron Peace Village, in cooperation with Pax Christi Netherlands and Seeds of Peace Africa (SOPA) International. The first try-outs of the programme concept are implemented during peace conferences for pastoralist youth in Kuron and Narus in early 2005. .

April - May 2006 — Start of forced disarmament by the UPDF of the Karamojong in Uganda (see footnote 24).

July 2006 — Nawountos peace agreement sealed as a milestone in Dodoth-Turkana peacebuilding by KOPEIN.

January 2007 — Official start of the Cross-border Peace and Sports programme in South Sudan, Kenya and Uganda, with partner organisations KOPEIN, LOKADO, Kuron Peace Village, CDoT and others. Over the year, a series of workshops and training sessions are organized by SOPA and IKV Pax Christi in Kakuma, Kotido and Kuron, for the staff of the partner organisations and the youth warriors as the main target group. Training the Trainers workshops are given to the coordinators and Peace and Sports Facilitators (PSFs), on giving workshops in peacebuilding and conflict transformation, on sports and teambuilding activities, and on organisational strengthening. The PSFs and Peace and Sports volunteers (youth warriors from different kraals) are trained in sports, mainly football, by professional coaches and on how to conduct training and workshops in the field.

May 2007 — The ‘Ngauro (Lauro) massacre’ takes place, a key event in Toposa-Didinga hostilities. On the county border between Budi and Kapoeta East, heavy violence breaks out, whereby 58 Didinga are killed by heavily armed Toposa. Also, there is low-intensity conflict within Budi County related to the mounting aspirations of the Buya of Budi County for an independent county for themselves, separate from the Didinga.

October 2007 — Fr Bernhard Ruhnau, a long-time peacemaker in the Turkana-Karamojong corridor, who educated some of the current civil-society peacemakers when they were young, is shot and seriously wounded after attending a peace dialogue meeting between the Dodoth and Turkana in Kaabong.

November - December 2007 — Exposure visit and training of 70 youth warriors and ten Peace and Sports Facilitators by SOPA/IKV Pax Christi and NKS in collaboration with national athletes in Eldoret, Kenya. The warriors and PSFs are trained in conflict and anger management, in using sports as a tool for building relationships and in organisation and leadership skills. The PSFs also receive specific training in incident reporting, data gathering and the conduct of football training in combination with peace education. By undertaking short trips to several well-known training centres around Eldoret (the Lorna Kiplagat training centre and Kipchoge Keino training centre), the participants come into contact with several top athletes, who share their experiences and the advantages of being involved in sports.

2007 — The community peace committee established by the Losolia Relief and Development Association (LRDA), a Toposa CSO based in Narus, mobilises the Toposa in the peace process between the Narim (Larim, Buya), Didinga and Toposa addressing the legacy of the Ngauro (Lauro) massacre. In the years that follow, the committee proves to be instrumental in the mobilisation and dialogue involving the Toposa and local authorities in the Lokkichoggio-Nadapal corridor.

May 2008 The cross-border network, assisted by IKV Pax Christi/SOPA, organises the first Peace Beyond Borders Warriors Conference in Kapoeta. It is hosted by the Catholic Diocese of Torit and brings together about 400 youth warriors from the different Ateker and neighbouring communities, who discuss their local problems with the different authorities involved.

2008 During the disarmament campaign, the UPDF bombs Turkana kraals inside Kenya, killing Turkana herders.

2008 The partners in the Peace and Sports programme network start setting up security monitoring and early warning and rapid response mechanisms, involving the local communities, kraal leaders and peace committees.

September 2009 Introduction of the Commemoration of the 1973 Lokiriama Agreement, bringing together the Turkana, Matheniko, Dodoth and Jie. The Commemoration is held annually on 21 September, the International Day of Peace, and is at present also attended by the other Ateker communities.

November 2009 The Cross-border Peace and Sports Programme Midterm Strategic Review Workshop in Lodwar identifies the crucial lobbying and advocacy issues most pertinent to the programme and evaluates the performance, in order to draw conclusions and identify the lessons learned.

2009 First attempt by the Dodoth and Jie to have joint kraals around Moruitit Hill on the border between Jie and Dodoth areas.

2009 First Commemoration of the 1994 Kawalokol Peace Agreement, which ended violent conflict between the Dodoth of Kaabong and the Didinga of Budi County. The key outcomes of the agreement include the ending of cattle raiding and killings. The Dodoth-Didinga peace has been holding firm ever since. The commemoration takes place at Kanangorok Hot Springs in Kidepo National Conservation Area, on the border between Uganda and South Sudan, and is supported by the governments of the two countries.

July 2010 Strategic meeting of the cross-border network partners on the insecurities in the Oropoi cluster following the intensification of conflicts between the Turkana and the Ik, the Turkana and the Jie, and the Turkana and the Dodoth. An action plan is formulated to address the insecurity in this corridor. Kenya adopts its new constitution and starts the process of devolving powers to the county government level.

December 2010 Another Peace Beyond Borders Warriors conference takes place in Lokichoggio, bringing together 200 warriors from Turkana and Toposa for meeting through sport and discussion forums. The communities that attend reaffirm their commitment to peace, discuss the constraints that hinder the progress (for example persistent cattle rustling, the possessions of crude weapons, and shortfalls in service and infrastructure provision) with their leaders and come up with plans of action to address the identified problems. The event results in better cooperation among the CBOs on the ground.

2010 Kenya adopts its new constitution and starts the process of devolving powers to the county government level.

2010 Expansion of the efforts to recover stolen cattle, in which the cross-border peace network functions as a key facilitator or catalyser, together with local authorities and security agencies.

2010 At the request of IKV Pax Christi, SOPA and the Netherlands Sports Alliance, the film crew of Jisk Films makes a documentary on the Cross-border Peace and Sports Programme entitled Peace Beyond Borders. The documentary is nominated by the Prince Albert Foundation in Monaco in the Special Jury Prize category for the Peace and Sports Award 2011.

July 2011 After the referendum in January, South Sudan gains independence.

July 2011 The Nao Commemoration is introduced, initially to honour the hundreds of victims, mainly Jie, who were killed during an extremely violent raid which took place at Nao in 1983. The commemoration is now treated as an annual day of prayer for remembering all victims of violence in Karamoja.

2011 The Peace and Sports Programme becomes the Human Security in the Borderlands Programme, marking the evolution and expansion of the cross-border peacebuilding programme and network. Meanwhile SOPA continues to implement the programme of sports for youth, focussing mainly on Turkana West.

January 2012 January 2012: Visit by CDoK representatives, KOPEIN and DADO to their counterpart CDoT Chukudum Catholic Mission in South Sudan, to explore possibilities for cross-border collaboration between Ugandan and South Sudanese peace actors. This visit forms the beginning of multiple cross-border peace conferences, organised by CDoT and CDoK, between local authorities, security actors and community leaders from the three countries.

December 2012 The first Inter-Diocesan Conference on Cross-border Peace is held in Lodwar.

2012 After a raid by the Jie on the Toposa in Kuron area, the Peace Village team and the Kapoeta East County commissioner go to recover the cows. This is the first time in Kuron that raided cows are recovered by the peace actors in collaboration with the authorities.

March - April 2013 SSDM/A Cobra faction insurgency in Jonglei State, led by Murle general David Yau Yau. Yau Yau threatens to attack Kapoeta, and the Toposa around Kuron mobilise to counter this threat. SPLA who were ousted from Boma by Yau Yau pass the Peace Village on their way to Kapoeta.

June 2013 The Lomaler/Namaler Commemoration is introduced, bringing together the Dodoth and Jie. An agreement on Dodoth-Jie joint grazing slowly becomes operational.

December 2013 Conflict erupts between factions of the SPLA loyal to President Kiir and factions aligned with the opposition around Vice-President Riek Machar (forming the SPLA/IO). Violence breaks out in Juba and quickly spreads to the northern states of South Sudan, which marks the beginning of full-fledged civil war.

2013 Peace conferences take place in Lotukei, Ikotos and Narus in South Sudan, involving the Toposa, Didinga, Logir and Buya communities. These are organised and led by priests from the Dioceses of Torit and Kotido, and mark the increasing involvement of the churches in cross-border peace work.

June 2014 The Cross-border Peace Coordination Committee (CPCC) is established in Lokkichoggio.

August 2014 A large, four-day peace meeting takes place in Boma, organised by the authorities of the Greater Pibor Administrative Area (Boma State) and attended by officials from Eastern Equatoria State and GPAA. It is aimed at bringing together the Jie, Murle, Kachipo and Toposa. Amongst other things, the 'x2+1' Resolution is discussed. Unfortunately, the resolutions are not followed up and raiding resumes after two months.

December 2014 The Moruanayece Peace and Cultural Celebrations are held in Lookoro (Kotido) to mark their fifth anniversary. They are attended by thousands of people from all Ateker communities.

2014 Review meeting of the Moruitit/Nabilatuk Resolution held at Moruitit (Uganda). The Resolution is known as the Moruitit Resolution in northern Karamoja and the Nabilatuk Resolution in southern Karamoja, and requires cattle thieves to return twice the number of stolen animals, plus one for the community. Many simply refer to it as the 'x2+1' Resolution.

2014 Campaigns are started to evict Dodoth warriors who had gone to South Sudan during the disarmament to hide among Toposa kraals. These campaigns have their roots in cross-border collaboration between peace actors and local authorities and security actors on both sides of the Uganda-South Sudan border. See Textbox 5 in Chapter 2.

June 2015 During a meeting in Lokichoggio, organised by the regional local authorities, the Lokichoggio Declaration is signed, which includes the intention to have the 'x2+1' Moruitit Resolution applied cross-border in Kenya and South Sudan. To date, this has not yet been achieved, but the declaration remains an important lobbying point for the cross-border peace network.

July 2015 Kuron Peace Village expands its programme to the north, by stationing two field staff in Boma (Boma State, former Jonglei), in order to strengthen the peacebuilding links with the Murle communities.

August 2015 Following the resolutions at a cross-border leaders conference, bringing together local authorities and security actors from Ikwoto and Budi Counties and Kaabong District in Kidepo Valley National Park, three monthly markets are established along the border. The markets bring together 2500 people from communities on both sides of the border for barter trade. Police and army from both countries agree to provide security.

September 2015 Kuron Peace Village launches its Peace Academy at a large conference, bringing together community leaders, authorities, Murle leader David Yau Yau, national and international NGO partners and European ambassadors to jointly share human security updates and formulate strategies to link bottom-up peace and reconciliation work with national peace and lobby work in South Sudan.

December 2015 The 28-states Resolution is adopted by the government of South Sudan, dividing the 10 states into 28 new states. Former Eastern Equatoria State is now divided into two new states: Imatong and Namorunyang/Kapoeta.

June 2016 In Kapoeta, PAX and partners come together to reflect on ten years of local peacebuilding in the borderlands. This meeting is followed by a larger meeting in Kapoeta, bringing together over one hundred leaders and representatives of the security forces from Kenya, South Sudan and Uganda.

July 2016 Renewed violence in Juba and other parts of South Sudan, this time mainly the Equatorias, cause a mass influx of refugees into Northern Uganda and to a lesser extent into Northern Kenya. ♦

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Goats drinking at lake Turkana

3. Conclusion

Lessons Learned

As this report has demonstrated, over the last decade there have been positive trends and developments in the relationships between antagonistic communities across the borders of Kenya, South Sudan and Uganda and between communities and the different authorities. As always in peace work, it is hard to attribute progress and slow positive developments to specific moments or efforts undertaken by one or a few organisations. Nonetheless, a combination of factors has contributed to the stabilisation of the majority of intercommunal relations in the target area. PAX's borderlands programme has a few distinctive characteristics that contributed to its success and that makes it an interesting example for practitioners in the field of civic conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The four main lessons-learned from the cross-border peace efforts are:

- The long duration of the programme has enabled trust and accountability among the partners in the cross-border peace network, as well as between other peace actors, local communities and authorities. It further enabled the observation of gradual shifts and developments in the region for over a decade and continuous flexible adaption in terms of interventions.

- The entire programme, from its initiation to the gradual strategic shifts, is characterised by a high degree of ownership by the local partners in the cross-border peace network, without the high staff turnover that characterises and impedes the work of some NGOs that operate in the area. This ownership is epitomised in the long-term commitment and dedication of individuals and the CBOs and faith-based organisations who have been part of the programme from early on. They have built up relations with the communities based on trust, and have consequently gained leverage with the communities and authorities in seeking the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

- The scope of the programme evolved from local activities targeting villages and kraals to regional networking that involved county and state authorities, up to occasional lobbying and mediation at the national level. The combination of intervention strategies targeting different levels of government and security agencies allows for a thorough analysis of different sets of actor groups, and a set of well-adapted peace work instruments.

- The cross-border nature of the programme is an exception in the world of peace building and development, where both funding and project implementation strategies are generally limited to one country. As becomes clear in this programme, in areas where ethnic groups and/or conflict dynamics span several nation states, a singular focus on one country inhibits an adequate response to conflict. The PAX programme tries to include all regional players in their activities and to strengthen relationships across administrative divides. It is therefore able to address root causes of conflicts that are local but also cross-border in a more effective way.

Remaining Challenges

Nonetheless, the challenges under which the peace actors in the borderlands operate are manifold. Indeed, the cross-border focus of the peace network is one of its main strengths, but also one of the most difficult challenges. Activities have to be harmonised in different political, military and administrative settings with very different degrees of development and security. Generally speaking, the absence of an effective government presence and security provision, especially in South Sudan and Kenya, is a major impediment to peace and stability in the lives of the pastoralist groups and their neighbours in the borderlands. The diverging governing models provide a further challenge. Also, peace efforts in the borderlands can be seriously impeded by decisions taken in the light of national interests, such as the moving of the Nadapal border point, which led to the continuous deterioration in Turkana-Toposa relations. At the same time, large parts of the borderlands region are difficult to access due to poor road infrastructure. The fact that many of the pastoralists are constantly on the move adds an additional challenge compared to settled communities. The general conditions of the borderlands thus make the cross-border peace work relatively complicated and costly, but also all the more important.

Result Area 1

The prime focus of the work of PAX and its partners, especially in the first years, has been to bring together antagonistic communities. In the early years from 2006 onwards, the cross-border Peace and Sports Programme brought together young men and warriors from different groups across the borders through sport tournaments and peace dialogues, amongst other activities. In later years these efforts were expanded to include different sections and functions within society, especially elders, women, diviners, seers and local chiefs. In many places, functioning peace committees have to a certain extent institutionalised the local peace-building structures.

Regular peace conferences have become an opportunity to meet across the boundaries but also to formulate binding resolutions and make claims aimed at government and security agents and to hold them to account. These activities clearly contribute to positive change but it remains a challenge to sustain relations between different actors.

- Many of the initiatives established, such as contacts and exchanges between kraal leaders and young warriors of different groups, but also peace committees, women's groups at the village level etc. need constant maintenance in order to contribute to lasting peace and stability between antagonistic groups, in part because of the limitations to disarmament in the borderlands

- Peace conferences are only a first and relatively easy step in a longer process of guaranteeing ownership of the resolutions adopted, the dissemination of the results and the monitoring of their application by the people affected.

As these first challenges show, peace work needs long-term commitment rather than one-off large-scale events or a few flagship individuals. Only through continuous efforts and resources committed over a longer time period and flexible adaptation in terms of interventions can the fragile relations in a vast and difficult terrain be maintained and improved. The cross-border peace programme has a broader focus and ambition than 'just' bringing together antagonistic communities, but importantly, this first result area continues to require input and remains of vital importance.

Result Area 2

The ten years of work in the border area have resulted in an important network consisting of PAX with CBOs and faith-based organisations in Karamoja, Turkana and the south-eastern part of South Sudan. PAX has enabled a platform for exchange between the partners through regular meetings and training sessions and peer-to-peer advice by experienced local peacebuilders to young newcomers. The partners within the peace network now effectively monitor the local security situation and give early warning through their joint efforts and the regular exchange of information. Yet peace efforts and meetings that are conducted with the participation of authorities easily fail to reach the people that should be the beneficiaries of their efforts. Furthermore, resolutions that affect cross-border relations between the authorities and their policy making are often not properly communicated to the communities, and thus continue to lack local ownership. The cross-border network tries to bridge this gap, for instance by facilitating cattle recovery in collaboration with the communities and local authorities. The efforts have culminated in lobbying for by-laws and their subsequent development, such as the Moruitit Resolution, which marks an important step in the shift from community to individual accountability.
The next step envisioned by PAX is to further explore expansion of the network to an increasingly wider area, possibly also into Ethiopia. At the moment, PAX is investigating how to identify and establish linkages with peace actors in the areas of the pastoralist and agro-pastoralist groups of the Kachipo, Nyangatom and Dassanech across the border.

Generally speaking, in the three countries the network is established and functioning, and in some areas even collaborating with the authorities. The following challenges remain in particular:

- Poor infrastructure (limited cell-phone coverage, absence of roads) and general insecurity (especially in South Sudan) do not allow equal levels of engagement everywhere or coverage of all areas.

- Cattle recovery and accountability based on the enforcement of punishment depends on the commitment of state and security actors, but their involvement varies greatly per area and is contingent on the availability of resources, capacity or goodwill.

Result Area 3

Providing basic services, security and law and order to the citizens of the remote borderlands of the three countries is ultimately the responsibility of the state. Thus not only have PAX and its partners always tried to include the authorities in their efforts, but they ultimately aim at enhancing the social contract between the states and their citizens, thereby helping to establish a critical mass that will hold the authorities to account. In order to facilitate these relations, they have established a number of mechanisms to involve government and security agents in their everyday activities and lobby work. This aspect gained prominence in the last few years of the programme after the two other objectives of the programme were successfully set in motion. Through the concerted lobbying and advocacy efforts of the Cross-border Peace and Coordination Committee, there has been a gradual shift towards the promotion of increased civic space in which governments and security agencies can be held accountable.
It remains very difficult, however, to truly ensure peaceful interventions on the part of the government and security agents. Here again, the three countries demonstrate stark differences. Especially in Uganda, the UPDF has in recent years proved more reliable in protecting the disarmed pastoralists' interests. The Kenyan army, on the other hand, has largely failed to respond to intercommunal violence because it does not consider this as part of its mandate. The Kenyan Police Service lacks the means for an effective response to insecurity. On the South Sudanese side, the security agents are involved in securing the area only to a very limited extent. In some states, it is the communities that protect the state. The army has been taken up with the civil war and the few local police officers that operate under the county police lack means of transport and communication. This situation leaves a number of challenges that are more or less applicable in the three countries:

- The presence of well-functioning government and security actors in the remote borderlands needs to be strengthened in order to bridge the persisting disconnect with the local communities, who have provided their own security for decades. Distrust and suspicion of the military and the police on the side of local communities, in Karamoja during the disarmament period and currently especially in South Sudan, hampers a proper relationship with the authorities.

- A lack of resources, capacities and commitment and, at times, confusion over the different tasks and responsibilities between agencies within and across border (e.g. the devolution in Kenya) seriously inhibit the effectiveness of intervening government and security agencies.

- Well-functioning cooperation across borders too often relies on committed individuals, rather than on institutionalised relations between state and security agencies.

Recommendations

TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE THREE COUNTRIES:

- Ensure and facilitate the implementation of the Moruitit Resolution in Kenya and South Sudan as well.
- Work towards the disarmament of the whole region. Weapons in the hands of civilians undermine security.
- Unlock the three regions and promote development e.g. through the opening of schools and roads, and the construction of cattle markets to facilitate relationships between communities.
- Empower and strengthen already existing peace and resource management committees in conflict areas to govern sharing of resources e.g. water points and grazing areas.
- Contribute to a system of cross-border local government in which government authorities and security agencies can easily collaborate, without considerations of protocol. This will facilitate an effective cross-border response to sources of insecurity that derive from the porous and largely uncontrolled borders, such as locally brewed alcohol, the illicit smuggling of guns, and the increased transnational commercialisation of cattle theft by organised criminals.
- Facilitate the movement of the peace actors, support them in their work and gradually take this over by pursuing cattle recovery and the implementation of penal and compensation mechanisms for thefts in all three countries.
- Open more immigration points, as this would greatly contribute to cross-border collaboration and trade. The Uganda-Kenya and Uganda-South Sudan borders, for instance only have a few official border posts. The peace actors often have to move long additional distances to get their passports stamped.
- Promote regular exchange meetings between (joint) cross-border peace committees and authorities.

TO THE PASTORALIST COMMUNITIES IN THE BORDERLANDS:

- Constant, timely and continuous engagement is needed from community leaders, youth warriors, women and elders for conflict monitoring and a timely response (see resolutions from the cross-border peace reflection leaders' meeting in Kapoeta, June 2016).
- Resources that cross the national boundaries should be shared equally between the various communities so that they can contribute to the realisation of peace and improved livelihoods.
- Condemnation of violence and raids is needed by the pastoralist communities, pinpointing perpetrators of violence. Nowadays in Karamoja and Turkana, there are no large raiding parties that have the full support of their community but there are raids by small groups of young men who are often outside the reach of the elders' authority. These raids are generally less violent than in the recent past. That said, even these small raids can have very severe consequences, leading to new cycles of intercommunal violence.
- Implementation is needed of the Moruitit Resolution in Kenya and South Sudan under the aegis of security and government actors in the three countries and in collaboration with the actors in the peace network.

TO THE DONOR COMMUNITY:

- Develop and support long-term programming with flexible outputs in order to facilitate the slow but consistent improvement in the relations between pastoralist communities. In order to enhance ownership and support these processes at times and places where this is needed, such programmes need a high degree of flexibility and the acceptance of potentially mixed results.
- Programmes should take an explicit cross-border approach. Contrary to the regular approach towards programming, which often sets different priorities per country, the acknowledgement of the cross-border nature of insecurity and conflict should facilitate interventions and forms of support that are better adapted to the nature of the challenges.
- Programming should allow for the inclusion of and collaboration with a set of actors that are not considered part of civil society. Without the involvement of the local authorities, and arguably more importantly, the various security agencies such as the military, police, and others, the activities cannot take place. They are key partners in appeasing the relations across the borders since they should pursue cattle recovery and the control of small arms and light weapons. Again, the focus should be on strengthening cross-border collaboration by these actors, which is needed to reduce the security vacuum in the borderlands and counter the increasingly organised cross-border cattle thefts.

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Turkana women engaging in traditional dancing.

Annex 1

Overview of the Key Partners in the Cross-border Peace Network

Table of Key Partners

Organisation	Contact	Area	Partner since
KOPEIN – Kotido Peace Initiativ	Mr Romano Longole	Northern Uganda, Kotido District, bordering Kenya in the Jie-Dodoth-Turkana corridor	2000
DADO – Dodoth Agropastoralist Development Organisation	Mr Simon Lomoe	Northern Uganda, Kaabong District, bordering South Sudan and Kenya, in the Dodoth-Jie-Turkana corridor	2008
CDoK – Catholic Diocese of Kotido	Fr Raphael Lobeerei Mgr Guiseppe Fillippi	Northern Uganda, Kaabong District, bordering South Sudan and Kenya, in the Dodoth-Didinga-Logir-Buya-Toposa corridors	2012
LOKADO - Lotus Kenya Action for Development organization	Mr Augustin Kai Lopie Mr Francis Lotitipu	Northern Kenya, Turkana County, around Kakuma, Oropoi, Lokichoggio bordering Uganda and South Sudan in the Turkana-Jie-Dodoth and Turkana-Toposa corridors	2005
LOPEO – Lokkichoggio Peace Organisation	Mr Emmanuel Eregae	Northern Kenya, Turkana County, around Lokichoggio bordering South Sudan, in the Turkana-Toposa corridor	2009
CDoL – Catholic Diocese of Lodwar	Mr Dennis Esekon Mgr Dominic Kimenchich	Northern Kenya, Turkana County, bordering Uganda, South Sudan, Ethiopia	2006
HTPV Kuron – Holy Trinity Peace Village Kuron	Mgr Bishop Paride Taban Mr Lam Cosmas	South Sudan, Kapoeta State, Kauto County, around Kuron, Boma, Nanyangachor bordering Ethiopia in the Toposa-Murle-Jiye-Kachipo corridor	2000
LRDA – Losolia Rehabilitation and Development Association	Mr Simon Lomuria Mr Joseph Lopaga	South Sudan, Kapoeta State, around Narus bordering Kenya in the Toposa-Turkana corridor	2008
CDoT - Catholic Diocese of Torit	Fr John Opi Severino Fr Paul Lomana (Kapoeta Development Initiative)	South Sudan, Kapoeta and Imatong State bordering Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia in the Toposa-Didinga-Buya-Logir-Dodoth and Toposa-Turkana corridors	2005
SOPA – Seeds of Peace Africa	Mr Whycliffe Ijackaa	Kenya, Nairobi and Lokichoggio supporting partners in Turkana County in particular	2005

Annex 2

Keynote speech at Cross-border Peace Reflection Leaders' Meeting, 2016

Keynote Address By John Opi Severino, Justice And Peace Coordinator Of The Catholic Diocese Of Torit.

SOUTH SUDAN, KAPOETA, 21 TO 22 JUNE 2016

- Your excellence Luis Lobong Lojore, governor of Namurunyang state, Hon. State Ministers, Members of Parliament, Commissioners and all delegates from South Sudan, Your excellences senator John Munyes Kiyonga, Deputy Governor Peter Ekai Lokoel, Hon. Members of County Assembly and all delegates from Kenya, Your excellence Fr. Simon Lokodo, Minister of Ethic and Integrity, Hon. Members of the Parliament, District Chairpersons, RDCs, Division Commander and all delegates from Uganda, ladies and gentlemen and all protocol observed. I greet you all in the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace

I would like to warmly welcome all of you in your various capacities to this important cross-border peace reflection meeting here in Kapoeta.

On behalf of the actors in the Cross Border Peace Network (Catholic Dioceses of Torit, Kotido and Lodwar, Kuron Peace Village, LRDA, KDI, KOPEIN, DADO, LOKADO, LOPEO, SOPA, CDSS, KAPDA), and on my own behalf, allow me to present this keynote address, which brings to you issues of peace.

Background information

My dear Government Leaders, Community Leaders, Civil Society Organizations and partners from Uganda, Kenya and South Sudan, what have brought us together here in Kapoeta today is our common humanity and looking for peace for our people across our common borders.

The cross-border peace building activities promoting human security, human dignity and development in our cross-border communities started way back in 2006 with a group of civil society organizations and churches based in the three countries of South Sudan, Kenya and Uganda. The actors in our Cross-Border Peace Network have worked hard to develop activities such as the mobilization and sensitization of the communities for peace, recovery of stolen livestock in the affected countries named above.

After ten years of efforts, we deemed it important to come together and reflect on how far we have moved in the attainment of peace in this corridor.

The main objective of this Cross-Border Peace Reflection meeting is to bring us together to

1. Reflect on and further strengthen cross-border collaboration and networking
2. Measure impact of our collective efforts
3. Look in to different approaches and methods used in the past decade
4. Discuss new ways forward
5. Formulate joint lobby recommendations to actors involved.

I feel honoured and happy that we gather here in Kapoeta today together with our political leaders, security personnel, peace actors and Churches from the three countries of Kenya, South Sudan and Uganda who all importantly contribute to the work of peace in our countries.

Achievements

From the ten years down the road till today, we have realized some successes that we can count on, and I am proud to note that we have achieved these successes together with the various key actors namely; our Governments, Churches, community leaders and peace actors of the three countries:

Below are some of the achievements;

- Most importantly, our government, Churches and peace organizations have realized a relative peace in the region through concerted efforts.
- Some areas have successfully worked towards the recovery of stolen livestock and properties.
- Opening of cross border markets act as peace dividends, bringing people together along the borders.
- Improved collaboration and communication among the cross-border communities is ongoing.
- Disarmament in Uganda has acted as a boost for peace in the region.
- We commemorate important historical peace events such as the Moruanayeche and Lokiriama peace accord, the Didinga and the Dodoth peace accord and other.

- Inter-community peace dialogues have resulted in peace protocols and agreements such as Moruitit.
- Inter-community and cross-border exchange visits and sharing of cultural values is ongoing.
- Annual inter-diocesan peace and evangelization conferences now bring together ten catholic dioceses from the countries of South Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda.
- Opening of roads like Karenga - Bira, Kabong – Kalapata – Koumate – Nawountos – Oropoi – Kakuma and Kotido-Natongo.

Challenges

Nonetheless, the region continues to be confronted with some challenges in the fields of security, economic development, and infrastructure.

More specifically, some of the challenges that we observe are:

1. Illegal arms in the hands of civilians pose a security threat.
2. Insecurity along the common borders of the three countries.
3. Lack of immigration points in some parts of the common borders.
4. Poor market infrastructure and inadequate law enforcement agencies at the cross-border markets enabling petty theft.
5. Poor road network across our common borders
6. Impediments to the free movement of people and goods
7. Smuggling of illicit and crude alcohol.
8. Refugees from South Sudan crossing borders, and the registered difficulties to supply them with medical assistance, food and education services.
9. Unequal access to economic opportunities due to exchange rates and inflation of South Sudanese Pounds.

We call upon our beloved Governments to continue their dedicated efforts to help the people of our three countries to overcome these challenges.

Lessons Learned

During the 10 years of peace activities across our common borders, we have learned the following lessons.

1. Team work and collaboration adds value to the realization of peace.
2. The involvement and commitment of our governments and security personnel is paramount to the process of peace building across our borders.
3. Peace can only be a success when the communities are committed, and feel ownership of the whole process.
4. The importance of inter-communal peace agreements and their follow-up.
5. Collaboration and sharing of resources across borders sustains peace
6. Continuous monitoring and containment of peace spoilers
7. Lastly, and importantly, we have learned that regular meetings help to address and harmonize pertinent emerging issues.

In conclusion

I, on behalf of the actors in the Cross Border Peace Network, would like to extend our sincere gratitude to PAX FOR PEACE for supporting this meeting, without which we would not be here, thank you.

I also register our thanks and gratitude to all the government leaders, security personnel and peace actors present here for the noble task of peace for humanity that we are all committed to.

Thank you very much and may God bless you all ♦

Annex 3

Resolutions from Cross-border Peace Reflection Leaders' Meeting, Kapoeta, June 2016

Resolutions

- Re-direct and properly utilize the available resources to be able to realize peace.
- Regular or frequent meetings / retreats should be held.
- International laws must be respected (e.g no illegal guns in Uganda).
- Resources that are cross-cutting should be equally shared.
- Small arms and light weapons proliferation must be controlled.
- Disarmament must not be optional; it must be taken head on.
- Collaboration and networking between Uganda, Kenya and South Sudan should be improved.
- Transport and communication remains a critical aspect if we are to realize peace.
- solated cases must be keenly followed and with a lot of commitment.
- Joint border patrol is critical by all these three countries in the border line which will help the monitoring and follow-up.
- There should be a combination of food security and literacy.

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