Karamojong Street Children and Adults in Kampala, Uganda: A Situational Analysis Investigating the Root Causes, Issues Faced, and Current Responses.

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This research was conducted by Oasis International Association on behalf of the 180° Alliance. The 180° Alliance - United Global Action with Street Children is a grouping of street children’s experts that is seeking to improve responses to the issues of children living and working on the streets and multiply effective and innovative responses to the issues causing and faced by street children.

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List of Acronyms

ABEK  Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja
AIDS  Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
HIV   Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDP   Internally Displaced People
KCC   Kampala City Council
KNRC  Kamparingisa National Rehabilitation Centre
KOSH  Karamoja Organization of Self Help
LRA   Lord’s Resistance Army
MGLSD Ministry of Gender, Labor, and Social Development
MP    Member of Parliament
NGO   Non Government Organization
STD   Sexually Transmitted Disease
UN    United Nations
UPDF  Uganda People’s Defense Force
UPE   Universal Primary Education
Abstract

Research conducted in April and May of 2005, resulted in a report entitled “Uganda’s response to Street Children: Investigating the Validity and Impact of Kamparingisa National Rehabilitation Centre (KNRC) in Working with Street Children in Uganda.” The report identified a “huge influx of Karamojong” from Northeast Uganda, and highlighted a major gap in understanding and intervention pertaining to street children originating from Karamoja.

In the 2004 special report by the Uganda Human Rights Commission “Karamoja: Searching for Peace and Human Rights” major issues facing people from Karamoja were described and analyzed. Other research has also been done showing the plight of the region. However, it is not clear what specifically leads some of the Karamojong to make the nearly 500 kilometer journey to the capital of Uganda, while others stay in Karamoja. It also needs to be understood what occurs when these people reach the streets of Kampala. With increased knowledge for Government and NGOs, it is hoped that coordinated efforts will result in long-term sustainable solutions.

There are a number of initiatives currently in operation or at planning stage in the Karamoja region. There is also an obvious desire by Ugandan Government, Kampala City Council, and NGOs to address the phenomena of Karamojong street children and adults in Kampala. However, a link between the two needs to be investigated. In addition, a greater scope of information needs to be collected and research conducted, to not only understand the causes, but to understand the scale of the problem and the complexities, as well as strategies that have previously or are currently being employed. This will enable all stakeholders to consider and develop tailored responses. This research seeks to bridge the gap between the will to take action and the need for comprehensive information surrounding this issue.
Introduction

A drive through the heart of Kampala, Uganda’s capital city will be very telling. Scattered in different locations throughout the city are a group of people begging which differs from others doing the same activity. The first difference between this group of individuals and others performing the same survival techniques can be found in physical characteristics, specifically body markings – especially on the face, jewelry and other adornments, and clothing. A closer look will highlight the most glaring difference. Most, if not all, in this group are women accompanied by children, some too young to even walk. Though some are too young to speak, most have been taught how to open a hand to a passer-by.

What is causing these young women to beg on the streets? Physically, nearly all of the women are relatively healthy, apart from conditions relating to hygiene issues. None of the women interviewed were lame; they appear as though they could be performing work in a variety of fashions. Why are these women and children on the streets? Why don’t they understand the local language or social norms?

These questions, along with many others, may come to the mind of someone after traveling through Kampala. Some of these questions were initial thoughts of the author upon first arriving in Kampala. What soon became evident was that these women and children originate from an area of Uganda known as Karamoja.

In order to better understand the problem, the author will give additional background to the culture from which these women and children originate. That Karamoja is different from the rest of the country is not in question, what is in question is what is causing the phenomenon of women and children from Karamoja begging on the streets of Kampala? It is the author’s hope that background information will help the reader to better understand the situation and the plight of those on the streets.
Due to the complexities of this phenomenon, some historical information will be included to better understand what may be contributing to the current situation. The historical information will be brief; more in-depth study and writing has been done elsewhere. For a better understanding of the culture, the customs, the region, or urbanization, please search the numerous works for each. Books, working papers, articles, encyclopedias, and other sources of information provide a much more in-depth look at unique aspects of Uganda’s history.
Background

Uganda is a relatively young equatorial nation situated in the western part of East Africa. The area became a protectorate of the British in 1894, and received its independence on October 9, 1962.\(^1\) Bordering nations are Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Kenya. In many ways, Uganda is seen as a light in the midst of eastern Africa because of its relative economic and social success.

Uganda, nicknamed the Pearl of Africa, has received international acclaim for many of the issues it is countering. Shortly after the current Government took control, sweeping economic changes were put in place. These changes drastically affected an economy that was floundering due to the political instability and past regime policies. In just over a decade, the inflation dropped from one that was over 200 percent to 4 percent in 2000.\(^2\) However, the implementation of the World Bank/International Monetary Fund’s Structural Adjustment Programme made some basic services such as medical care and university education inaccessible to the poor. So even though the economy has improved, this has not filtered down to the poorest of the poor.

Uganda has also received international praise for its focus on combating the debilitating pandemic of HIV/AIDS. The Government of Uganda has been at the forefront of fighting the pandemic. When many nations refused to act on the debilitating pandemic, Uganda established AIDS clinics, counseling, and information about the issue in the late 1980s.\(^3\) The nation has also led an open dialogue about the disease and other sexually transmitted diseases.

Though the country is a relatively new nation, it has had to endure years of political instability and upheaval. Since the current Government took over in 1986, the nation has been

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\(^1\) CIA Handbook, Uganda profile on-line.
\(^2\) Leggett, 2001: 3.
\(^3\) IBID, 37.
relatively stable with two notable exceptions the ongoing conflict in the North with the LRA and the issues in the North-Eastern region of Karamoja.

The Karamojong, the generic name given to those who inhabit the region of Karamoja, are unlike any other people group in Uganda. Many distinctive differences set them apart from the rest of the country. The Karamajong are uniquely the only pastoralist tribe in Uganda. In order to hold onto their culture and customs, they have refused much of the influence of their neighbors. Their language is different from other parts of the country, though it is similar to their neighbors.

Karamojong clothing is reflective of their cultures identity - not of fashion. Men wear little clothing, mostly due to the temperature and the thorny vegetation of the area. Beautification marks and other features of dress are also distinctive of the Karamojong. As a whole, they are a proud people group who has clung to their way of life for survival.

After traveling to the region, it is evident that even the landscape is different than other parts of Uganda. The region could mostly be described as semi-arid. Much of the land is savannah, though in a working paper entitled Karamoja: Ecology and History, the author Mamdani points to three distinct vegetation types. The three types of vegetation are: savannah – characterized by grass and trees, steppe – supporting annual grasses and trees with varying density, and thicket – mostly bare or sparse covered ground with limited vegetation. The three variations also show the evidence of soil decline.

It should also be noted the author of this report saw few areas of standing surface water in Karamoja during travels for this research. The exceptions were areas of water found immediately following rain. Even those places quickly vanished, despite heavy rains on several occasions. The other exception was a small man made dam, which the author was told, would hold water for several weeks.

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4 Mamdani working paper: 7.
Rain is never a certainty in the area. Much of the region is dry and extremely hot, making most of the environment one that is not conducive to agriculture as a stable way of life. In an interview with an MP, it was reported this year Karamoja is expecting 80 percent crop failure in the region. Bruno Novelli goes on to write that, “according to recent calculations, five crops out of six brings bankruptcy to the modest Karamojong agriculture, precisely because of this (rain) irregularity.”

The difficulty of agriculture has played a large role in determining the survival of the Karamojong. One main way of life has been used to sustain the Karamojong – livestock, and most importantly, cattle. Though the land is not naturally a great place for herding, centuries of transhumance activities led to an ability to shift places during different times of the year making the best use of the land.

Transhumance could best be compared to nomadic lifestyle, but different in that there are some semi-permanent homes. Though the people move with their cattle to peak areas of food and water, an area of settlement is known. Neighboring clans followed similar practices so as to maintain the ecological level of the area, in order to sustain a viable area for cattle. The ecology of the area is of the utmost importance to Karamoja due to the way of life for the majority of the people.

The importance of cattle is summed up by some of Novelli’s observations. The cattle are given a status to that of being nearly human. He writes, “Head of cattle are not (merely) counted when they return …Neither would a mother count her children, numerous as they may be, to see if they are home. All are known by name, individually.” Some have even said Karamojong see cattle...

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5 Interview with MP, Kampala 10 July 2006.
7 IBID. 84
as something of a divine right to them alone – and to no one else.\textsuperscript{8} The protection of property brings a powerful element to cattle.

Cattle are necessary for livelihood and for marriage. The Karamojong are a polygamous society. The more wealth one attains – usually the amount of cattle – the more wives he is able to take. In Mbale, the author was told of a wealthy Karamojong man having over twenty wives.\textsuperscript{9}

According to Novelli, the Karamojong feel equilibrium in their clans is crucial. In the past, when a woman was given away in marriage to another clan, a relative from the husband’s clan was sent to the one that had lost the woman. Numerous negative aspects arose from such a process to the point that most found it appropriate instead to deliver livestock to re-establish the equilibrium.\textsuperscript{10}

With the amount of cattle representing wealth and honor, many men who are faced with paying the bride-price, resort to raiding cattle from a neighbor. The emphasis on the quantity of cattle almost eliminates the possibility that bride price could be paid with current head of cattle. The Karamojong do seem to differ from other neighboring tribes with the high price that is sought for marriage. According to one report the bride price may be between 80 and 200 heads of cattle.\textsuperscript{11} In order to meet the high cost, often raiding is the only solution. Contrast that number with the amount the author was told one Iteso man had to pay in order to marry his wife. The man struggled, but with assistance was able to provide nine cattle and four goats.\textsuperscript{12}

Novelli lists three other reasons for raiding. 1. Competition for sources and pastures. In the precarious region of Karamoja, territory becomes crucial. Those who control the most suitable land are able to capture the greatest amount of animals. 2. A sudden raid. When a raid has occurred, the clan that has lost its cattle will mount a counter raid, sometimes delivering more livestock than was

\textsuperscript{8} IBID. 86, Bluth, 2005: 6-8
\textsuperscript{9} Interview with Karamojong in Mbale 6/12/06
\textsuperscript{10} Novelli, 1988: 84-85
\textsuperscript{11} Uganda Human Rights Commission Special Reports
\textsuperscript{12} Interview in Mbale 6/13/06
lost. 3. Increase of the herd. Some may see the need to increase the herd ahead of possible struggles in order to provide stability or because of an impending wedding. In this regard, the cattle act as something of a social safety net against catastrophe.\textsuperscript{13} That social network remains, though some findings may point to cracks in the historical safety network.

**Additional Background**

Throughout the world, every week, countless people leave their homelands or regions and migrate to urban centers because circumstances have changed in their home regions. This phenomenon of rural-urban migration is complex and has multiple causes. Some argue that it is due to globalization and unfair macro-level trade practices. Others argue that it is related to changes in global weather patterns and thus farming has become less viable. In addition there is increased access to information through the media, as well as more human travel generally which has meant that people are aware of what they do or don’t have. There are also numerous armed conflicts creating displacement. Some people have been forced from their homes, while others have been unwilling to continue the struggle for survival in their homeland. The cities and urban centers are often seen as the most alluring opportunity for the success their own areas cannot provide. Cities are thought to have jobs and education among other factors that could bring about positive change. Unfortunately, our world cities are often unable and/or unwilling to accommodate this large flow of citizens. Some of the African cities have been highlighted as areas of greatest concern.

According to the United Nations, by the end of this decade, over half of the entire world’s population will be found in urban areas.\textsuperscript{14} For the first time in history, our global cities will be home to the majority of the people. Most often, the cities are unprepared for the growing pains

\textsuperscript{13} Novelli 91-99
\textsuperscript{14} UN World Urban Forum 3
associated with such waves of new residents. Limited infrastructure is available and a lack of affordable housing, often cause slum areas to take the brunt of the population.

The continent of Africa is where the majority of the city growth, and thus slum growth, will occur. Uganda is doing better than many other nations. According to Ian Leggett’s 2001 book, Uganda remains with over 80% of its population living in villages or trading centers.\textsuperscript{15} That statistic may be comforting at first, but it is also noted that in Uganda, Kampala is listed as the only official city. Other larger areas such as Jinja, Iganga, Mbale, and Tororo are not considered cities. Kampala has experienced massive, and at times, painful growth. In 1980 the population was around 460,000 people, by 2002 that population had grown to 1,208,544.\textsuperscript{16}

Why has Uganda done comparably well according to other nations in regards to urbanization? It seems strange that with the conflict happening in the North of the country, that more people haven’t sort refuge in Kampala or other cities rather than remaining in IDP camps. It is true that slums in Masindi and Kampala are at least partly populated by people from the North but over 1 million people remain in IDP camps.

This may yet become a serious planning issue for Uganda’s towns and city. A few questions were stated repeatedly in different locations by people of different backgrounds. “If the conflict of the North ended tomorrow, what would happen to an entire generation that has grown up in an IDP camp?” “Where will they (internally displaced persons) go when they are able to leave?” “Will they want to farm even though they never received the training needed?” Evidence suggests that slums will be forced to take in much of the new residents. According to a BBC article 71.9% of slum populations reside in Sub-Saharan Africa.\textsuperscript{17} According to the UN there are 40% more slum

\textsuperscript{15} Leggett, 2001: 7
\textsuperscript{16} Wikipedia Online.
\textsuperscript{17} Auclair, UN Online article, 10 July 2006
dwellers in African cities than in the average city worldwide. ¹⁸ These facts are listed to show the issues civic leaders, Government officials, and NGO workers, among others, must address.

Urbanization is only one factor of this study. Though it may not be the most significant aspect of the study, rural – urban migration must be addressed and its issues must be kept close in analyzing the results. The factors which globally draw people to the city must be understood in order to place context on the issue of the Karamojong in larger towns throughout Uganda but even more importantly is an understanding as to why in particular have Karamojong women and children left Karamoja in such larger numbers, when their hasn’t been an equivalent exodus from the North.

**Historical Government Response**

Historically, the Government’s record in regards to Karamoja could be considered lacking at best. One MP interviewed stated, “Karamoja was a victim of our Colonial policy that brought civilization to our country except Karamoja …very little was done by Britain.”¹⁹ It is evident that the colonizing Government was unable and possibly unwilling to put forth the effort and investment to bring great change to Karamoja. Infrastructure improvements brought to Uganda by the Colonial Government were not expanded to include Karamoja.

On the other hand many things were done to the area by the Colonial Government that had adverse affects. According to Novelli, the implementation of Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs posed problems to the Karamojong culture. The Karamojong were unlike any other people group in Uganda. A person of authority over the entire population was incomprehensible.²⁰ Those who were best able to state their case were those who were most influential. Usually this was an elder who understood what it took to convince others. That leadership was also able to be criticized by other

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¹⁸ Kirby, BBC News Online, 6 October 2006.
¹⁹ Interview with MP, Kampala 10 July 2006.
²⁰ Novelli, 1988: 122-123
members of the culture. What was evident about the Karamojong culture was its reliance on differing voices to make decisions.

Historically, the Karamojong culture has relied on the ability to move in order to survive. When the Colonial Government entered the picture, invisible boundaries were drawn that limited movement and also created insecurity.\(^{21}\) Such limitations came as quite a challenge to a people group accustomed to following the weather patterns. No longer were seasonal climate changes the only dictate to the livelihood of the societies.

The transhumance movements which allowed the Karamojong to survive now caused friction due to the crossing of borders at different times during the year. The lines of separation not only set up a system which harmed the environment, forcing the land to be overgrazed with limited movement, but also brought about social conflicts with different clans which now were given a sense of nationalism to their respective areas. The limitations on movement were something that was both completely foreign and impossible in order to sustain their culture, the environment, and livelihood. Those borders also created a new sense of pride and subsequent conflict in neighboring areas where better land was granted.

One of the most difficult places of restriction on the Karamojong was the creation of national parks in Uganda, especially Kidepo. That these lands contain valuable wildlife is not in question. One person interviewed in Karamoja who had visited Kidepo National Park, stated there was more wildlife in that park than in any other park he had been to in all of Africa.\(^{22}\) What was good for wildlife was also vital for cattle at different times of the year. With the creation of the park, cattle were forbidden, as was agriculture in the area. In Karamoja, an area with limited locations for sustainable crop farming, this dealt another heavy blow. Other fertile regions were also declared off limits to the Karamojong. Some of these areas were along borders, and now

\(^{21}\) Ocan, 1992: 4  
\(^{22}\) Interview in Nakapiripirit District
controlled by neighboring people groups. National parks greatly reduced viable land, according to a Uganda Human Rights Commission report, “The gazetted area represents about 36% of Karamoja...”

In a book by Mario Cisterino, he felt that the British not only failed to bring new opportunity, they took what they could from the area especially the ivory. They even went so far as to in 1911 to declare the area of Karamoja to be off limits – a closed zone – restricting all movement both internally and externally from Karamoja. It could be argued that the British Colonial Government set up their own private game park for economic purposes.

The failures and atrocities of the Colonial Government continued for most of its history, and went well beyond what I have included. The Government even went so far as to force cattle sales in the region. The list of struggles in the region is substantial. Further, more in-depth writing on the Colonial Government is found in numerous other publications.

In regards to Karamoja, Colonial efforts were at best, harmful. However, the post Colonial Government does not have a much better track record with Karamoja, and in some cases, it appears to be worse. According to a 1992 working paper entitled “Pastoral Crisis in Northeastern Uganda,” the author reported that field interviews of residents in Karamoja revealed times of most brutality used was “1966-68 under Obote I, 1973-79 under Idi Amin, 1983-84 under Obote II, and 1986-87 under Museveni.” This statement further reflects the skepticism of the Karamojong toward those in power, regardless of the Government.

What is the view of most toward Karamoja? Ian Leggett puts it well when he writes,

23 Uganda Human Rights Special Report
24 Cisterino, 1979: 67
25 Leggett, 2001: 44
26 Mamdani, Kasoma, Katende, 1992: 36
27 Ocan, 1992: 12.
“The Karamojong are a social and political minority, have a lifestyle that few outsiders sympathise with, and are victims of stereotypes and prejudice. Many people recognize this. Nonetheless, their unprovoked and violent attacks on their neighbours tend to destroy feelings of understanding and goodwill and lead to pressure on the Government to ‘do something about the Karamojong’.”

Many Ugandans know little about the Karamojong culture and dismiss it as one that is barbaric. The reports of gun related violence play a part in that perception. Weapons have long been the source of not only hostility, but also survival in Karamoja. It must be understood that protection was required from attempts to deprive them of their cattle due to the proliferation of cattle raiding. The Government has historically been unable to provide such protection. The Karamojong have had to rely on their own abilities to protect their way of life. Early in the last century, this was still done mostly by using bows and arrows, spears, and other more primitive weapons. Though, with the introduction of wider trade routes, especially for elephant hunters, the gun began to be used more often.

It can be seen as somewhat ironic that Government volatility furthered the instability of Karamoja. According to Leggett, the overthrow of Amin and his army left the barracks in Moroto vacant. The Karamojong used this opportunity to take a large cache of sophisticated weaponry, and thus began the implementation of the gun culture of today in Karamoja. It seems that once the sophisticated weaponry was introduced to Karamoja, the region quickly filled with illegal weaponry. Survival of opposing groups dictated the necessity of similar weaponry.

In response to the proliferation of arms and culture of raiding, the Uganda Government as part of the Regional Disarmament Committee launched a disarmament programme in Karamoja in

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28 Leggett, 2001: 45.
29 IBID. 48.
2001\textsuperscript{30}, which went into its second phase in April 2005 and was again stepped up after the elections in February 2006. There is much debate over the methods used in this disarmament process as well as the effects of it. It seems more than coincidental, that the massive influx of Karamojong to the streets occurred directly after the scaling up of the disarmament process.

\textsuperscript{30} Karamojong Peace Cluster Newsletter, Vol 2, Issue 7, Nov 04
Justification of the Study

General Objective

The purpose of this research is to better understand the issues of the Karamojong who have sought solace on the streets of Kampala. Due to the unique nature of the Karamojong people, background on the culture of Karamoja must be presented. While this background will bring different aspects of the Karamojong culture to light, this in no way is an attempt to describe the culture in detail. Other books and authors with far more knowledge, skill, and understanding of the people have done so.

Specific objectives of the research are:

- To understand the reasons why some children and adults from Karamoja end up living and working on the streets of Kampala.
- To understand the scale of the problem, the process of migration, the issues faced by the Karamoja on the streets, and the activities for survival.
- To understand the attitudes of those residing in Kampala, in different levels of society, toward the influx of Karamojong on the street.
- To make recommendations that will look to preventative measures as well as interventions with Karamojong already living or working on the streets of Kampala.

Data Collection

In March of 2006, a research study was proposed to the Government of Uganda to better understand the issues surrounding Karamojong living on the streets of Kampala and other cities in Uganda. The study was created to better understand the multiple issues surrounding the Karamojong, but also to create possible ideas for a coherent approach to Karamojong integration.
The research recognized challenges and opportunities highlighted by Karamojong migrations to various areas of Uganda.

A questionnaire, approved by the Government prior to the research, was developed to generate the maximum amount of information from select persons. The questions were created to best compile statistics from different levels of society for the research. Great care was taken in formulating the questions so that respondents were not coerced to answer questions in a certain way based on wording. These questionnaires provided the backbone of the information for the research.

The questions for those on the streets included enquiries about background information (district of origin, length of time in respective city, reasons for coming to this location, place of residence, etc.) These questions were meant to better understand the issues surrounding those interviewed. Questions were also asked to determine the current environment in which each person found him/herself (health, shelter, employment, etc.)

The Karamojong on the streets of Kampala were the first group interviewed. Face to face interviews were held to identify information about conditions faced in the city and in their home districts. Each person interviewed was told research was being conducted to better understand the circumstances they faced, and create possible solutions.

During the interviewing process, it became evident some were skeptical of the questions being asked and fearful about the purpose of the research. This fear was related to the KCC/Government roundups. Those conducting the interviews made it clear the research was in no way affiliated with KCC. After making clear the purpose of the research, the necessity of honesty was told to each person.

Interviewing was done on an individual basis when possible. Occasionally, when circumstances would not allow individual interviews, groups would be asked to respond to
questions. Adults and children were asked similar questions, though adults were asked additional questions to better understand a greater context of the situation.

Another aim was to utilize Karamojong university students as part of the research. A small focus group was formed. Due to the size of the group, additional questions were asked concerning both Karamoja and their thoughts on Karamojong living on the streets. The hope was that engaging Karamojong students from the region, attending university in the capital city, unique answers might be found.

In addition to questioning Karamojong, the study questioned people from different sectors of society. Business leaders were consulted for their input on the situation. Government and KCC officials were also questioned regarding their plans and hopes. NGOs and church official, as well as residents, were also contacted. Subsequent questioning was complete with social workers from Kamparingisa as well as officers from the UPDF.

Karamojong are leaving their homeland in large numbers for various reasons. This phenomenon extends beyond Kampala. In order to better understand the issue of migration of Karamojong to the streets of Kampala, additional investigations were done both on the streets and in the slum areas of Mbala and Jinja. Preliminary research found it was not possible to adequately understand the scope of the problem by simply looking at Kampala. As more information was gathered, it also became clear the migratory route was of interest to the study.

Ethical Considerations

Due to the fact that some of those interviewed were children, several without guardians anywhere in the vicinity, special risk factors were considered. Firstly, through a translator, each child was told this research was voluntary in their native language. The children were not forced to answer any questions, but were asked if they wished to take part. The study followed the guidelines
set up by MGLSD dealing with work regarding street children. Unfortunately, the position of Street Child Desk officer no longer existed at the time within the MGLSD. That position was the former focal point for all research and questions.

Consent was sought with each person verbally and in writing when possible. Some of the respondents refused to initial any paper, seemingly skeptical of the purpose of the research, or the purpose behind such research. Confidentiality and privacy were of great concern, as was the fact that all answers were given voluntarily. The signed consent forms merely pointed to the fact that a respondent gave the answers to the questions.

**Size of Study**  
**Graph A. Number of Group Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Background</th>
<th># of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>Karamojong children</td>
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<td>Kampala</td>
<td>NGO</td>
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<td>Kampala</td>
<td>NGO (contacted for information)</td>
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<td>Relief Workers</td>
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<td>UPDF Officers</td>
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<td>Karamoja</td>
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<td>Total Respondents Interviewed</td>
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Research Limitations

The researchers encountered few limitations initially, though as time passed, some became evident. The amount of Karamojong on the street changed from week to week. Some of the women who had previously been interviewed interrupted the ongoing research. They told other women or children not to give information because they saw no immediate rewards for their previous assistance. It quickly became apparent; finding women or children in smaller groups was paramount to the success of the interview and subsequent research. If groups were too large, some grew impatient for their opportunity to answer questions, and would subsequently disrupt the work being done. Also, in addition to smaller groups, space apart from problematic women was desired. The interviews with the Karamojong in Kampala were all done in June. By the end of July, after conducting research in other locations, an almost entirely new group of women and children was present.

In Kampala, only two Karamojong men living or working on the streets were located during the interviewing process. Unfortunately, the men were visibly drunk and confrontational towards the researchers. The men assumed the researchers were working with KCC and were going to arrest the women. No other Karamojong men were found on the streets of Kampala for the interviews. Subsequent questioning of those resettled in Karamoja found that few men were on the streets of Kampala. It became evident that some of the men were doing “small jobs”, while others simply waited for the women to bring money back to their place of rest.

The author of the study faced the difficult challenge of finding a female translator who could speak Karamojong. Grace Lolem, a woman working with the Karamojong, agreed to be the primary translator. As the research progressed, a problem did arise. Ms. Lolem has been pivotal in helping the Karamojong resettle back in Karamoja. To make this possible, she has worked closely
with the Ugandan Government and KCC. Certain untruths were circulating as to Ms. Lolem’s workings with the KCC, some felt she worked for the KCC. Many of those interviewed did not trust KCC and thus were skeptical of Ms. Lolem, though this information was only revealed outside of Kampala.

For the most part, people were very willing to give interviews. The author was quite impressed with the openness of officials from all aspects of the Government. Very few people dismissed the researchers without cause for an interview. The Karamojong themselves were very open and willing to grant interviews. It should be noted, that at no time, did the primary researcher feel threatened by any of the Karamojong. During the course of information gathering from those outside the Karamojong community, it became apparent stereotypes exist of the Karamojong. Among those stereotypes was that the Karamojong were a vicious group of people that could not be trusted.
Research Findings

Why Are Karamojong Living on the Streets of Kampala?

What are the greatest issues surrounding the influx of the Karamojong to different cities and towns, as well as the streets of Kampala? The first reason which must be addressed is the area of insecurity. As the author briefly stated earlier, the gun has begun to play a large role in the region. These weapons differ from their predecessors in that the main purpose is no longer protection. It seems that terror from these weapons is now common. According to an article in the Daily Monitor, between 2003 and 2005, 10,000 Karamojong died in raids.32

The culture appears to be rapidly changing in Karamoja. Historically, as Novelli noted, small groups of young men sought out a possible place for a raid, and when they returned, the information gathered was presented to the clan. The elders then carefully studied the plans and decided if or when to proceed. The elders provided the decision from which to move. Only after their approval would a raid commence.33 Less than thirty years after those findings, it seems this no longer is necessary.

According to the recent study by the Uganda Human Rights Commission, recent trends show a change in discipline and purpose. The youth now carry out raids without the elders consent. This brings about criticism from the elders, but if the raid is successful, the elders share in the spoils. This, in effect, has shown the decrease in the authority of the elders and the discipline that was shown previously in regards to raiding.34

A frightening alternative aspect for raiding has been highlighted. Previously it was shown raids were carried out for a particular purpose, however in the working paper titled “Pastoral Crisis in Uganda” the author lists a new reason for raids and that is “sheer thuggery.” These raids can

32 Daily Monitor, 17 July 2006
occur at any time in any place, leaving no one safe from their pain. With the uncertainty in regards to safety, it is easy to see why many fear for their lives and thus leave Karamoja.\textsuperscript{35} It should be noted, the researcher was instructed by Karamojong to enlist an army escort while traveling in Karamoja.

In response to this culture of raiding, the Uganda Government as part of the Regional Disarmament Committee launched a disarmament programme in Karamoja in 2001. It is debatable as to whether this has improved security or had the opposite effect for many of the Karamojong. Even with the presence of the UPDF, experience has shown that once disarmed, the Karamojong lack the necessary protection from raiders coming across the border with Kenya and from other tribes within Karamoja. With the loss of cattle that then results also comes the loss if identity for the men, and their ability to provide for their families. MP Rhoda Acen spoke of some of the events occurring in the region. According to her assertions, men have fled ahead of the disarmament, and women and children have been left behind to fend for themselves.

The second and equally important reason given for leaving Karamoja is due to hunger. As it has been written, the climate of Karamoja is unstable and uncertain. Rain may come in large amounts or it may be absent for extended periods of time. Also, ecological conditions differ, leaving some areas unsuitable for agriculture. For most of the region, cattle historically provided the main source of food in addition to wealth. During times of the year when things were most bleak, milk and blood were consumed for nutrition.

The problem of security and cattle numbers also has played a large role in understanding the hunger that many are forced to endure. Though agriculture is limited, it is a viable option in some parts of Karamoja. Even in those areas, many seemed reluctant to acquiesce to the idea that

\textsuperscript{35} Ocan, 1992: 2.
agriculture could provide for their needs. It seems cattle, or other livestock, is the first and only option.

During an interview with a social worker, it was said that some of these children are taken from their homes in Karamoja in order to provide better monetary opportunities for some of the women on the streets of Kampala. In effect, some of these children are kidnapped simply because they provide financial opportunity. It was also rumoured that Karamojong are enticed to Kampala to beg in an organised fashion.

Other Issues Facing People in Karamoja Region

The roads in Karamoja are deplorable, especially during any times of rain. Calcium carbonate (marble) trucks are overloaded enroute to Tororo. The extreme loads that are carried further degrade the road conditions. Without infrastructure, outside development or investment will be scarce. When the roads are improved, weight restrictions must be put in place to prevent those same roads of falling into disrepair.

Even in Moroto, there is no electricity. For the major city of the region to be without power is unacceptable. A generator was the only source for power for the city, and that has been inoperable for nearly one year.\(^{36}\)

Rumors of trafficking have been heard concerning those from Karamoja for some time, but the July 2\(^{nd}\) 2006 article made those rumors public knowledge. The most startling accusations dealt with children being sold at market in the middle of the day. The MP Rhoda Acen said some of the children were being sold for as little as 3,000 shillings. Further claims were made that young girls were being sold as “sex slaves” to unscrupulous men who can afford the 100,000 to 300,000

\(^{36}\) Interview in Moroto 23 June 2006
shilling price.\textsuperscript{37} On November 6\textsuperscript{th} 2006, thirty girls were returned to the region with the help of police and Action Aid.\textsuperscript{38}

In both Nakapiripirit and Moroto Districts, the author witnessed people visibly drunk before noon. When asked what had been consumed, it was relayed the substance in doubt was Etole. Etole was described as a very strong alcoholic beverage which is produced illegally. Additionally, it was said to be illegal to transport or consume due to its volatile nature. It was described as the cocaine of Karamoja.\textsuperscript{39} The origination and shipment routes must be found and halted.

Another type of alcohol was often seen. That alcoholic beverage in question was created by millet. Unlike Etole, this millet beer doesn’t have nearly the same level of alcohol. When it is consumed at higher temperatures, its makeup is actually more nutritious than many other options available.

**Where do These Karamojong Originate?**

In Kampala, nearly all of the Karamojong come from the district of Moroto. The same can be said for both Jinja and Mbale. The climate of much of Moroto District is not conducive to good crop productivity, but other factors have to also be considered. Spending time in Moroto, one can easily see not only lifestyles, but entire generations collide. As warriors wear their blankets and markings – which identify their clan – wander the streets, so do businessmen and women, though in professional clothing. Some of the successful business people are seen with new model vehicles. For some that have been suffering

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{districts.png}
\caption{District of Origin (Kampala Karamojong)}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{37} New Vision, 2 July 2006  
\textsuperscript{38} New Vision, 6 November 2006  
\textsuperscript{39} Interview in Nakapiripirit District 25 June 2006
simply to survive, there can be no doubt that opportunity for something better exists away from their homelands.

**What Do the Karamojong Hope to Do?**

In Kampala, unlike Jinja and Mbale, most Karamojong only hope to beg. The women do not enjoy begging, but they see no other viable option. Survival is the most important factor in their decisions. As long as this group of people is living hand to mouth, they will probably continue to simply beg. Some may wonder why they do not search for jobs. The answer is quite obvious. None of the women interviewed spoke Luganda or English, none of them are educated, and none of them understand the culture of the city. Combine their limited education with misgivings and stereotypes about Karamojong, and these women are only further handicapped in regards to employment. Add this to the high unemployment rate in Uganda and creative solutions are going to need to be found.

**Where Have the Karamojong in Kampala Been Living?**

For some of the Karamojong seen on the streets during the day, one is also seeing their place of residence. A few are truly homeless, searching for shelter at night under verandas or near trees. However, most find shelter in two main areas of the city. The areas of Katwe, and especially Kisenyi, in Kampala provide them with meager shelter. Another recent study of Karamojong found many to be living in the areas of Blue Room and Nakulabye in addition to those previously noted. Regardless of shelter location, nearly every Karamojong was found to be, or reported to be living in conditions unsuitable for adults, and even worse for children.

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40 Heralds Initiative, Street Out Reach Report, 2006
Problems faced by Karamojong on the Street

Once the Karamojong have finally reached Kampala, they meet with many obstacles. Insecurity and hunger lead many to the capital city, but most continue to struggle in some fashion with each issue. The speed of life is much faster in Kampala than in their home districts. One interviewee said her child had been hit and killed by a car soon after arriving in the city.\textsuperscript{41} For those who are unable to quickly acclimate to the city, results can be disastrous. Because of the complexities surrounding the Karamojong, developing a strategy to alleviate the issue has been difficult for both the Government and NGOs.

The most obvious threat of having young women and children living on the streets is the possibility for sexual assault and the elevated risk of STDs from such activity. At night, the streets and limited shelter provide meager protection from both predatory and drunken men. There is also a risk some of these young women could be forced into the sex trade. Few of the Karamojong have ever seen a doctor and thus most would have no idea about whether or not they were carrying STDs. Preliminary research found that many of these females were sexually assaulted weekly, if not nightly.\textsuperscript{42}

The problem is further complicated for those who return to their native region. As stated earlier, Karamoja has been an area where people have fought outside influence to maintain their culture. Though the culture is polygamous, there has been little or no room for extramarital sex. As a result, very few STDs have been present in the region. With the women now possibly carrying some of the diseases, their return to Karamoja could signal the beginning of a dire situation in the region.

In addition to the possibilities of STDs, including HIV/AIDS, a number of hygiene issues are also present in Kampala. With no clean water for bathing or drinking, a whole host of problems

\textsuperscript{41} Interview with Karamojong Woman, Kampala, 6 June 2006
\textsuperscript{42} Interview with NGO worker 4 May 2006
are present. In Karamoja, the author witnessed few places of surface water during the rain season. Those few locations were seen to have people bathing alongside their cattle drinking. In the city, locations of standing water are extremely polluted, often tainted with run off. A whole host of skin issues relates to the bathing and drinking of polluted water. Many of the children interviewed, and those too young to be interviewed, were covered in rashes and scabies. On some of the infants, scabies covered much of their young bodies.

The risk of physical harm is also ever present to those who spend the majority of their time on the streets. One girl spoke of others taunting her and throwing rocks at her.43 Another child said that nothing had happened to him, but the obvious markings on his neck showed that he had been subject to abuse of some sort. Violence is a common theme for many who are on the streets, for young women and children this can especially be true.

Further complicating things, especially for the children, is the fact that they are missing out on an education. While education may not be as important in a society that revolves around pastoralism, for those who have left Karamoja, the same cannot be said of their new respective homes. Many Karamojong women interviewed spoke of wanting education for their children.

In addition, these children are learning actions and behavior in a setting void of responsible male influences. Many in Karamoja have lost their fathers, but in a communal Karamojong setting, the influence of a positive male figure is evident. For those children in Kampala, the only male influence often seen is the drunkard who may commit unspeakable evils to the children or to their mother.

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43 Interview with Karamojong girl, Kampala, 8 June 2006
Response

Kampala Governmental Response

KCC recognizes the issue of Karamojong living on the streets is a large problem. Due to many of the complexities of the issue, many feel helpless to counter the migration. After speaking with officials with KCC, the author found many were open to suggestions to limit the problem. Most agree the issue of Karamojong on the streets is a problem; many differ in their approach to the issue. Most seem to see those on the street as an eyesore to the city and a nuisance, as well as a health hazard. For those individuals, the prospect of ridding the streets of people begging seems to be of most importance.

A common theme repeated time and time again was the lack of funding and the costs associated with dealing with the issue. KCC has organized roundups to begin the process of taking some of the Karamojong back to their home districts. Initial roundups were said to have been coordinated, cooperative efforts with KCC, MGLSD, police, and at least one NGO. The NGO involved was KOSH. However, more recent roundups do not suggest such cooperation.

The initial roundups were conducted with tepid cooperation from the wider community. The broader NGO community seemed to be surprised by the roundup exercises. One member of an NGO saw a picture and article in a local newspaper about the roundups and asked the primary researcher where the Karamojong were being taken.\(^4\)\(^4\) The goal of the roundups appeared to be the removal and resettlement of Karamojong in Kampala; however, the long term plans seemed to be lacking coordinated support to make the initial resettlement a successful achievement. Two areas of land were given by the Ugandan Government to form resettlement sites.\(^4\)\(^5\) Due to safety concerns, the researcher was unable to visit the site near Iriri, but did visit the site in Nakapiripirit District on two separate occasions.

\(^{44}\) Interview in Kampala 23 March 2006
\(^{45}\) Interview in Kampala 11 May 2006
Additional roundups have been conducted. These roundups aim to remove Karamojong, especially children, from the streets. Unlike the previously mentioned exercises, the children are forcibly removed from the city and taken to Kamparingisa.

The author witnessed one of the roundups on July 10, 2006. Following the roundup, the author sought out information from KCC and though some officials were apparently unaware of the procedure, the author was told the round up exercise was ongoing and had begun on July 6, 2006. What was seen by the author were two young men running along Kampala Road wearing plastic gloves. A green and yellow city pickup drove slowly along the street with these two young men on both sides of the vehicle. As they walked the street, the young men were seen grabbing Karamojong street children and placing them in the pickup where others were holding them. The exercise took place in the afternoon with no visible signs of supervision from authorities.

When one of the boys taking part in the exercise was questioned, he stated the children were street children. Limited information was received due to the language barrier, the boy spoke limited English. Later interviews with social workers revealed the possibility that the boys used in the roundups were living on the streets themselves, though that could not be confirmed. In many cases, those who have been rounded up feel as though they have been arrested. The children who are removed from the streets are sent to Kamparingisa National Rehabilitation Center which furthers that feeling.

There are a host of problems with sending the street children to KNRC. Kamparingisa was and is a rehabilitation centre for convicted juvenile offenders. The children who are collected from the streets have been neither charged nor convicted of any offense. Few of the children are without a guardian in Kampala, but are removed to KNRC without their guardian’s notice. However, it must be noted many guardians do make the journey to have their children released. A member of the KNRC staff was noticeably frustrated with some of the guardians who have the children
removed. The staff member in question felt the guardians were taking advantage of the child, placing the child back on the streets in order to receive more money from passers-by.

The staff interviewed at Kamparingisa seemed genuinely caring about the youth present at the centre. One problem is the employees of the centre are somewhat overwhelmed. It seemed round up exercises, including the one conducted right before the interviews, often come as a surprise to the staff at KNRC. Also, the large amount of Karamojong street children has caused the staff to be heavily burdened. Generally, when the young Karamojong arrive to KNRC, they are dirty and unruly. Since the social workers do not speak Karamojong, they must rely on an older youth who speaks the language. There is one woman at KNRC who is Karamojong by birth, but seemed to distance herself from her heritage, including her desire not to speak Karamojong. She did assist some of the children in acclimation to the centre but only did so if the children would speak Luganda.

In late July, staff reported there to be 156 youth at KNRC. Over 70 youth were reported to be Karamojong at KNRC. Many of the children were reported to have skin and eye disorders. Though the dispensary is functioning, most of the eye medication that was donated has expired. In addition to that problem, the bore hole which supplies the centre with water has been inoperable since the beginning of the year.

**Ugandan Government Response**

As written earlier, the Government has recognized the large issue and has donated land in both Moroto District and Nakapiripirit District for the people to resettle. They have also undertaken different initiatives in Karamoja. Additionally, some officials appear to realize the region is one that needs attention immediately.

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46 Interview with social worker at KNRC, 20 July 2006.
47 IBID
Security is of the utmost importance in Karamoja. The Government has recognized the need for safety in the region, and has once again undertaken a disarmament program in Karamoja. Previous attempts to disarm the residents have met mixed results. The success and benefit of the current procedure is mixed depending on whom is being interviewed.

According to a study by the Uganda Human Rights Commission, various estimates have the gun numbers in Karamoja to be anywhere from 40,000 to 100,000 illegal guns in circulation.\textsuperscript{48} This exercise was previously halted due to human rights concerns, but has once again begun, as well as human rights concerns involved. In a recent article in the \textit{Daily Monitor}, the Government pledged to investigate human rights violations. An article in the same publication spoke of two warriors who had claimed to be tortured by the UPDF during the exercise.\textsuperscript{49} The army insists the exercise is peaceful and continues to collect more weapons each week.

Two army officials were interviewed for this piece. The first occurred in Moroto District on the 24\textsuperscript{th} of June. The second occurred on the 7\textsuperscript{th} of July in Nakapiripirit District. The first official was noticeably frustrated by the instability of the region, but voiced his anger at neighboring countries for their unwillingness to do their own part to bring stability to the horn of Africa. He felt the situation in East Africa is all related. As he put it, “the problems in Somalia are related to the problems here, the guns and people move freely...look at the lawlessness that has occurred in Nairobi.”

The official went on to speak about the pressure of the army. He stated that the army is fighting on three different fronts, and Karamoja is just one of them. The border with the DRC and the ongoing war with the LRA are the other fronts. The official was not naïve about some aspects of the instability; he said “if any problem grows it will affect us all.” When questioned about the disarmament program, a new answer was given. Despite the reports, he said the exercise is

\textsuperscript{48} Uganda Human Rights Commission Special Report: 27.  
\textsuperscript{49} Daily Monitor, 31 July 2006.
peaceful, and that some Karamojong are simply tired of their lifestyle. According to him, some warriors are even giving up their guns without being asked. With those warriors, it seems, they meet the army when soldiers arrive at their respective villages, and simply surrender their weapons without even being asked to do so.

The other Army official was not as hopeful about the program. The official was said to be in the region investigating the complaints. The official told the interviewer about some of the complaints being raised against the army. He told of accusations even worse than those leveled in the New Vision and Daily Monitor. Due to the inability to corroborate the claims firsthand made by the warriors to the official, the accusations will not be detailed. It will be stated that the accusations dealt with cruel, physical treatment, degrading and humiliating treatment, and acts which resulted in fatalities.

In an article on June 29th 2006 Anne Mugisa wrote about one of the disruptions to the disarmament program in Karamoja. In a report, which was the basis of her article, Ms. Mugisa wrote that there were allegations of “torture, rape, looting, and burning of Karamojong homesteads by the UPDF during forceful disarmament.” As a response, the army was performing an investigation to elicit facts as to the verification of allegations.  

It appears that little was changed since those allegations. The most recent blow to the Government response comes by way of images. A November 13th article by Apollo Mubiru highlights what is termed as “UPDF soldiers’ misdeeds in the region.” Pictures were shown to the parliamentary committee on defense and internal affairs. The apparent photographs show deaths of both humans and cattle. The photos were taken after a village in Jie was bombed.

The Government has had its critics, but the instability also comes from within. The Uganda Human Rights Commission has condemned the acts of some of the Karamojong warriors. While

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50 New Vision, 29 June 2006  
51 New Vision, 13 November 2006
the Commission called for the exercise to show restraint by the Government, reports of nearly 70
UPDF soldiers being killed by warriors was cause for outrage.

Visiting with residents of Moroto gave another perspective on the problem in the region.
One resident told of a man asking her to stash weapons in her home, because “the army would not
suspect her home.” She flatly refused the man, but said the warriors know in advance of many of
the searches and look for places to stash weapons.

The residents seemed to see both sides of the issue. As Karamojong, they are skeptical of
the disarmament exercise. At the same time, one man said warriors “don’t trust the Government to
protect them (from others with weapons).” Another went on to say the proliferation of weapons in
Karamoja makes it “a dangerous place to live and travel.”

The region itself seems to be unappealing to those on the national level. In 1998 the
Government created a position for Ministry of Karamoja Affairs to oversee the region; however at
the time of this writing that post had yet to be filled. The previous title holder was appointed to a
different position. The person who was offered the position this time refused the appointment in
June. It has remained vacant.

NGO Response

One common theme seemed to run through many of the NGOs that I interviewed. Most felt
that the issue of the Karamojong on the streets was very important and needed addressing.
However, most are uncertain how to handle such a problem. There is a group of NGOs that work
with street children in differing fashions and has helped some of those on the streets. However,
most were unable to be of assistance to the Karamojong. Indirectly, there is a handful of NGOs that

52 Interview in Moroto District 23 June 2006
53 IBID
54 Interview in Moroto District 24 June 2006
are able to assist some of the Karamojong. Tiger’s Club and Cornerstone, among others have been able to help some of the Karamojong children. Dwelling Places is focusing some of their work at helping those from Karamoja. Apart from those listed, few NGOs are able to adequately address the issue.

KOSH has been the focal point for resettling Karamojong. The Government at different levels has made the NGO the main contact. Recently KOSH has received grant money to create an office for Karamojong to seek assistance. The centre was said to be created with the help of KCC. There has been a problem of limited cooperation between KOSH and other NGOs working in Kampala. All parties must do a better job of cooperation in regards to the concerns of the Karamojong.

Government and NGOs have set up a system in an attempt to catch those that slip through the cracks and miss out on many of the opportunities of society. Unfortunately for the Karamojong, it seems that even the NGO community is ill prepared to handle the plight of those women and children who find themselves on the streets. The problem is not the lack of NGOs or even the will of the NGOs. The majority of NGOs that are performing a service in Kampala are doing so with a target group in mind, but there is no one NGO with a sufficient focus on the Karamojong and capacity to lead a coordinated approach to the problem.

The Karamojong bring several difficult elements to the table in handling the issue. First, few of the children who end up on the streets come to Kampala on their own. Many of the young children, who are seen, made the journey with a parent or with another adult who acts as a guardian. This is a problem for the NGO community in that many NGOs are working with street children; some are working with young pregnant women, while others are working with young mothers. Each NGO has a specific issue it is attempting to address, unfortunately for the Karamojong; their
main issues seem to be a culmination of all of the above. It appears that there is no NGO, Government Program, or centre that is able to address a family unit.

The second issue is the uniqueness of the Karamojong culture and language. None of the NGOs with which I spoke had anyone who was able to speak Karamojong. This immediately makes it difficult for one to address those who could most be helped. The Government has met with NGOs to discuss some of the issues, but to the author’s knowledge, no solid plans were formed to bring about a sustainable solution.

Even for those who desire to help the Karamojong on the streets, more needs to be known about their culture. We all are prone to make snap judgments about the conditions in which many of these Karamojong are living, but it is imperative to know more about conditions at home so as to draw a realistic perspective of the system. Only when more is understood, can real change be enacted.

An Inside View

A focus group of Karamojong university students was sought to bring their own perceptions to the situation. The atmosphere was one that allowed for feedback and suggestions. It was made clear that no idea would be rebuked.

When questioned, the three most pressing needs in Karamoja that the students felt were: poverty, issues relating to the climate of the area, and conflict. Asked of other issues that had to be addressed, unemployment and low levels of education were also mentioned. When pressed for the greatest concern, all felt security had to be addressed immediately.

According to the group, the feeling was their own people needed to be more thoroughly sensitized, especially in the area of education. One person felt if the culture understood more about education, security issues might be lessened. Along those lines, sensitization about weapons and cattle are needed for the people.
There are obstacles to implementing such ideas. As written earlier, there is already growing skepticism by Karamojong toward those in power. Another problem is that Karamojong have refused outside education in order to hold tightly to their culture. Tim Leggitt wrote, as recently as the 1940’s, Karamojong placed a curse on education, seeing it as “an instrument on oppression.”\textsuperscript{55} Education was abhorred and the educated despised. The curse was lifted in the mid 1990’s, but there remains a deep seated feeling towards outsiders determining what happens in their society.

A lengthy list of complaints about the region were highlighted, among those was the weather, corruption, and the emphasis on cattle. When pressed as to how those issues could be changed, the few solid answers were given, but with those the common thread was assistance from the Government or aid organizations. Food is a large problem in the region, it was suggested that food could be supplemented during times of need. Also, windmills should be built to help the region. When asked about corruption, there were no answers given to counter the problem.

One idea from the group was to not only make UPE free of charge, but to make it compulsory. They felt ABEK was a good start, but education needed to go even further. Pressed how families would cope, when historically children were needed to tend to livestock, no alternative to ABEK was given.

There were suggestions for further educating some in the region. A package of scholarships could be created to give an opportunity to those unable to afford secondary education. Additional scholarships should be allotted to those who wish to attend university level school with emphasis on pastoral management, environmental – ecological studies, conservation, and forestry among others. It was felt those from the region would be most engaged in improving the area. Equipping those individuals would be the most important part.

\textsuperscript{55} Leggitt, 2001: 51
One of the universal concerns was absolute confidentiality. There is resentment toward how the Government portrays the region. The students felt the region is unfairly labeled as backwards. The region is insecure, but the Government has been unable to bring stability. They pointed out that Karamojong provide the only real border protection with Sudan. There is also skepticism about corruption dealing with the region. They feel there have been many broken promises by Government in the past. One person went so far as to say, “We are part of Uganda.”

One of the seemingly obvious suggestions was that both Government and NGOs need to do a better job of needs assessment. Ask the communities what they need before implementing a plan. The image used to relate the need was about a NGO digging pit latrines in a village. None of the villagers were asked about their needs, nor were they sensitized about the benefits of a pit latrine. It was said the pit latrine is not used because it simply attracts flies. The story seemed to point out the lack of coordinated efforts to address key issues.

Another area of sensitization they saw was in the area of HIV/AIDS. As written before, this was not a serious issue. The rural-urban migration has brought this problem to the area. The students have heard stories about the women and children being sexually abused. When they return to the area, some are stigmatized and are not welcomed back to the region. There is fear that the warriors know nothing about condoms, and for those that fall sick, some feel herbs can cure any illness.

The final piece of observation the students noted was that of the army. There are many questions about the disarmament process and human rights issues that must be addressed for it to be successful. It was apparent the group was not completely livid toward the army. There was a sense of empathy for some of the soldiers. Many felt the environment with which the army finds itself has many flaws, which further lead to instability. Concerns as to how the soldiers were treated by the Government were made known. Some felt soldiers had to suffer and live in poor housing.
conditions. In addition, some soldiers were said to have sold their weapons in order to make money and escape the area.
Recommendations

The country of Uganda must strive to form a unique partnership of stakeholders to reach viable solutions to the issues facing the Karamojong. This partnership must seek strategic, coordinated and proactive approaches to dealing with the issues in the areas of Karamoja that force people to the streets, as well as the situation in the larger urban areas to where they come.

The Karamojong who have left Karamoja must be recognized for who they are, Ugandan citizens, who are assets to the country, regardless of location. The challenge is for the Government and all Ugandans to focus less on the problems and more of the potential of the Region and its peoples.

Those suggestions rooted in Karamoja are mainly considered below under Root Causes, while those necessary in Kampala and other larger towns may be seen as Critical Care. There is some overlap as is inevitable. Challenges are presented, related to the research findings and possible solutions suggested.

Root Cause Issues

Challenge: Stability in the region of Karamoja is a major issue that needs to be addressed with a fresh, more consultative approach. (cf. p15-17, p26, p36, p40)

First and foremost, safety and security is the most crucial aspect of lessening the urban migration of the Karamojong. Insecurity and the fears that follow are the largest concern to those on the streets of Kampala and to those that have fled to other towns and villages. Both the Colonial Government and the Ugandan Government have undertaken, and failed, to bring both stability and safety in the region of Karamoja.

The Government of Uganda must consider creative avenues to carry out the disarmament. Though assault weapons are a recent phenomena, the Karamojong have been armed their entire
existence in one fashion or another. The Government must honestly ask whether it is possible to completely rid the area of weapons. If that is not possible, alternative thinking must occur so as to lessen the violence but also keep the security of the villages and cattle at the forefront.

The Way Forward

The first step must be to secure the borders with neighbouring countries whose tribes raid the Karamojong and from where arms are shipped into the region. International borders must become tighter to lessen the flow of people, cattle, and illegal arms throughout the horn of Africa. According to an interview with a UPDF officer, he stated the problem of arms in Uganda is one that is tied to weaponry movement moving through the countries of Somalia, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, and Democratic Republic of Congo among others. Without closing the avenue of illegal weaponry, the disarmament exercise will be an expensive, short lived program.

According to Novelli during Colonial times, “Police stations were active at a reasonable distance of one another; they were equipped with radios and enough armed policemen who could intervene to check eventual crossing…” Avoiding opinion on the Colonial Government, this statement is included to highlight the fact that it has been done before and can once again be done.

The second step must be that the Ugandan Government presses neighboring nations to also undertake a comprehensive program to coincide with the one being conducted in Karamoja. Neighboring nations must act to lessen the degree of the situation within their respective borders. The relatively free flow of weapons through the horn of Africa must be countered in every nation. Without a comprehensive program, those weapons that have been removed will be replaced in only a short time period.

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56 Interview with UPDF officer Moroto District 24 June 2006
57 Novelli, 1994: 5.
The third step needs to be to bring the Karamojong tribes together to discuss and agree reconciliation and a cessation of raiding.\textsuperscript{58}

The fourth step needs to be the strengthening of the police force within the region to replace the military presence. The Government has pledged to create 222 police stations in the north.\textsuperscript{59} This needs to be implemented in Karamoja.

The absence of a visible law enforcement operation will only undermine the confidence of people in the ability of the Government to protect them. When the author asked residents what role the police play in countering the raids, the interviewer was told “the police play no role.” Others interviewed indicated Police collusion in the raids.

If the Karamojong feel that they must protect themselves because of lack of outside protection, the emphasis on the gun will only continue.

The fifth step is that relationships with regards to Karamojong and Ugandan authorities need to be restored. Trust must be built in order for change to occur. If the above steps are introduced and with deliberate time and energy expended trust can be built.

\textit{Challenge: The current disarmament process has been fraught with allegations of human rights abuses perpetrated by UPDF. These must be investigated and the soldiers involved tried. (cf. p18, p27, p36-37)}

Historically, Governments have carried out programming which has caused the Karamojong to be skeptical of Government action. In addition to skepticism built through conditioning, allegations of inhumane acts have also been mentioned. Graphic images have been presented to

\textsuperscript{58} A cultural change must be made which is discussed in a following recommendation.

\textsuperscript{59} New Vision, 6 July 2006.
Parliament. In-depth investigations must be carried out and those responsible for torture, rape, or unlawful death must be brought to justice.

The dignity of the people must be respected especially in a region that has been historically neglected and exploited. Atrocities committed against the people will only further cement their notion that weapons are necessary for defense.

*Challenge: The insecurity and poverty in the region has created an environment where exploitation of children is possible. (cf p28, p40)*

The recent return of the 30 young women should be commended, but the Government needs to aggressively address the issue of trafficking. In the United States Department of State 2006 Trafficking in Persons Report, Uganda is recognized with a ‘tier two’ listing. The report highlights that much needs to be done in regards to improvement, but also recognizes that Uganda is “making significant efforts to do so.” The Government must continue to develop a comprehensive program aimed at minimizing and ultimately ending child trafficking. Carefully constructed anti-trafficking legislation that aims to prevent trafficking, prosecute offenders and protect victims will help to counter this problem.

In addition the allegations of “kidnapping” for the purposes of begging and the systematic organisation of Karamojong to beg must be investigated.

*Challenge: The history of the Karamojong culture is one that is centered on cattle. The act of marriage is a particular event, where cattle are extremely important. While the transfer of livestock traditionally formed a safety network for families, the large amount of cattle needed for a marriage today is one of the key factors for instability in the region. Cattle will continue to play a
key role in Karamojong culture, but like their neighboring relatives, the bride price must be addressed and adjusted. (cf.p11)

The Karamojong need to address the excessive bride price required for their young men to marry. While the extreme price may have originally put into place a social network providing for problem times, the influx of women and children to the streets is a testimony to that fact that the social network has broken down from its original purpose.

According to linguistic hypothesis, the Karamojong are part of the group of people known as the Nilotes.60 Over time, the group split to make up many of the people now located in Northeastern Uganda, Southern Sudan and Western Kenya. Among those who are also of that people group are the Acoli, the Teso, and the Maasai. Over time, those people groups evolved to create a much more manageable bride price. It is therefore conceivable that the Karamojong can do the same. Recently three alternative marriages were conducted in Iriri by Rev Nyarok that again demonstrated that a new way is possible.

Challenge: The Karamojong have not appreciated the value of education. This is changing but could be accelerated. (p32, p40-41)

It is recommended that investment in education in the region be stepped up. That primary education is made compulsory for all children in the region. That a scholarship system be made available to encourage the education to secondary and tertiary level students in Karamoja. The scholarships would come with strings attached. In order to receive funding for education, those receiving the aid would have to work a certain amount of years, possibly two to three years, in the region of Karamoja. If the graduates were unwilling to provide their expertise to the region, they could buy themselves out of the obligation

60 Pazzaglia, 1982: 15
**Challenge:** Basic infrastructure in Karamoja is lacking. Transportation and communication networks are lagging behind much of the country. Improvements to infrastructure are imperative for the region to develop. (p14, p28)

Investment in roads and electricity supply are recommended in order to encourage investment in the region.

Communication is an essential aspect of culture and survival. Current technologies including the mobile phone and internet provide a unique opportunity to easily connect people and provide information. The Karamojong have historically refused current technology, but presence of current day weaponry suggests those refusals to be selectively based.

An example of how technology could improve security is a scenario where a single mobile phone in a village, with access to an adequate signal, could provide essential information to police in the area. By quickly accessing information of raids or other tragedies, the police officials could effectively help curtail worsening situations.

**Challenge:** Alcohol abuse amongst the Karamojong is extremely high (cf. p29)

The origination and shipment routes of illegally brewed alcohol must be found and halted. The dangers of alcohol abuse need to be shared across the communities.

**Challenge:** Few in Kampala understand the region of Karamoja, and fewer still know the languages. This creates stigmatization and perpetuates stereotypes about the Karamojong. (cf. p17, p40, p42)

The Government is responsible for the funding of Makerere and other state run universities. Budgets are always a concern, but with creative thinking, few increases to the overall budget would be necessary. The implementation of service learning opportunities could help both the students
and different organizations. Service learning opportunities have been successful at other universities throughout the world.

The concept is simple. Relationships are built with organizations relating to different areas of expertise. Many of the organizations are limited in funding to provide a large workforce, but provide a valuable service. The school would make it possible for students to gain education credits by volunteering a certain amount of hours at one of the centres. The activity would allow the students to gain a better understanding of their future career, stretching their thoughts and beliefs, while the centres would be provided with a valuable workforce. The university, and also the Government which funds said institution, would also benefit by creating connections with different aspects of Ugandan culture.

The students throughout the university could be matched with different organizations that need volunteers. Social workers, teachers, agriculture majors, doctors, lawyers, nearly all majors could assist the Centres being created, and those already doing a valuable service. By matching those with young fresh ideas to those who have spent time understanding the system, everyone would benefit.

In addition to this, a public awareness campaign is recommended within Uganda to inform other cultures of the positive aspects of Karamojong society. As a feature of CHOGM all cultures could be showcased.

**Critical Care Recommendations**

Most of the interviews with Karamojong in Kampala were conducted during the month of June 2006, but less than a month later many different faces were present on the streets. People are continuing to leave Karamoja for the streets of Kampala and other towns. Immediate action must be taken. Government officials, KCC, NGOs, and the Karamojong must meet to discuss how to
address this issue. New approaches must be considered due to the complexities of this situation.

Without significant action the numbers of Karamojong on the streets will only increase and the situations these people face will only deteriorate.

*Challenge:* With the Commonwealth Heads of State Meeting planned for November 2007 it will be tempting for the Government to adopt a “clean up the streets” approach. (cf. p33-34)

No one wants to see the Karamojong women and children begging on the streets and exposing themselves and their children to danger. The Government should cooperate with all stakeholders and come up with a strategy that protects the rights of the Karamojong on the streets and provides lasting solutions to the problems the Karamojong face. The Government has been praised for the way in which it openly faced the issues of HIV and AIDS and should take the same open approach to the issues of Karamojong street people rather than “sweeping it under the carpet”. It should therefore resist any quick fix solutions and set a time frame for change that will be realistic to ensure sustainable solutions. Using CHOGM as a cut off date is not realistic.

*Challenge:* The situation facing the Karamojong street people is so severe that it constitutes an emergency. (p30, p31-32)

The Government should declare the situation on the streets of Kampala and other towns an emergency and mobilize resources accordingly.

The Possible Way Forward

Step One – Immediately suspend forced round ups of street children and adults.

Step Two – Desist from using Kamparingisa National Rehabilitation Centre for the holding of street children and adults.
Step Three – Appoint a Street Child Desk Officer with experience in the field.

Step Four – Support the work of the NGO Dwelling Places to establish a reception/information centre in Kampala for Karamojong arriving in Kampala and educate those already in the city about its existence. It would provide critical medical care and access to safe water. This Centre would also provide information about the city, housing options, Rights and Responsibilities, legal aid, how to access medical care, HIV and AIDs and family tracing. In addition it would provide psycho-social support.

Step Five – Through this centre and outreach work to the streets, relationships would be built with the Karamojong and those willing to be repatriated would be screened and placed in a temporary shelter.

Step Six – These people would be resettled with the assistance of Church, community leaders and NGOs in Karamoja. This step relies heavily on the implementation of the Recommendations in Root Causes above.

Step Seven – For those wanting to stay in Kampala, language classes would be available as well as vocational skills training. The production of traditional crafts such as spears could be developed as a means of income. Business leaders told of being willing to hire Karamojong if they possess basic skills. 61

Step Eight - Safe housing would be provided by a cooperative of Karamojong women facilitated by an NGO.

Step Nine - These women would be asked to take part in welcoming the Commonwealth Heads of State.

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61 Dr. William G. Huitt, Educational Psychology Interactive
Step Ten - Additional regional drop-in centres would provide the best possibility. Setting up regional centers in Mbale, Jinja, and Tororo would alleviate some of the influx to the city of Kampala.

Step Eleven - A system of cards or tickets would be available for purchase at local businesses such as Shoprite, Garden City, and possibly even at restaurants. Other key strategic alliances could be formed with existing air time booths. The cards, or tickets, would have an attached service represented on each. This new system would attach services to those areas which could provide the greatest benefit. The new concept would also provide an avenue for those wishing to help others, but who at the same time have concerns with how money will be utilized. By selling the cards at places where purchases, particularly impulse purchases, are made, individuals might be willing to give in this regard.

Example 1: Citizen A wishes to provide food for an individual begging on the street, rather than handing tangible food, a card could be purchased which had an attached value of food. The individual that receives the card would then be able to redeem that card by attending the location where that service, in this case a nutritional meal, could be rendered. The location could provide meals at cost at specific times during the day. Those with a card or ticket could receive that meal free of charge.

Example 2: Current clinics that desire to provide services would be sought in the stakeholder meetings. Citizen B may feel that a certain individual needed medical attention; a card could be purchased that allowed for a medical visit. This card could only be utilized for medical treatment. This would allow clinics to perform necessary services without receiving any revenue.

Example 3: Citizen C may feel that someone is in desperate need of clothing. A card could be purchased which allowed for new clothing. That card would be redeemed at a location which provided clothing.
Further Possible Research

Historically the elders provided leadership and stability in the region. It seems that the inception of the gun may have caused that natural leadership to erode. Investigation into the current role of decision-makers within the clans could be studied in order to better understand the ways of effecting sustainable positive change in the region.

The link between the Governments’s Disarmament Programme in Karamoja and the resultant swelling of the numbers of street people demands further attention.

The third piece of research that could be done is to systematically document the achievements or otherwise of the proposed recommendations in order to investigate its potential for replication in other contexts. Uganda could again lead the way.
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Questionnaire for Karamojong adults on the streets of Kampala – also other cities

1. How long have you been in Kampala (different city)?
2. Where did you originally live in Karamoja?
3. Can you describe your life in Karamoja?
4. What brought you to Kampala?
5. Before you came to Kampala, did you have any family in Kampala?
6. Have you made the journey alone?
7. How have you made the travel?
8. How were you able to pay for the travel?
9. How long did it take for you to reach Kampala?
10. At what towns did you stop along the way? For how long?
11. What have you been doing since you came to Kampala?
12. Where have you been living?
13. How do you get food?
14. Who do you spend your time with?
15. Where do you sleep?
16. What are the good things about being on the streets/ the bad things?
17. Did you enjoy you time in Karamoja more than your time here?
18. Has anyone helped you? Who/Any organizations?
19. Have you approached any organizations for help? Which one (s)? What was the response?
20. What do you hope to do in Kampala?
21. Have you had any negative/bad experiences on the streets? If so, would you be willing to describe what happened?
22. With what you have experienced here, would you still have left Karamoja?
Karamojong children on the streets

1. How long have you been in Kampala (different city)?

2. How have you made the travel

3. Have you made the journey alone?

4. Where have you been living?

5. How do you get food?

6. Who do you spend your time with?

7. Where do you sleep?

8. What are the good things about being on the streets/ the bad things?

9. Did you enjoy your time in Karamoja more than your time here?

10. Has anyone helped you? Who? Any organizations?

Business leaders (different for each city)

1. Are you familiar with the current situation in Karamoja?

2. Do you have any Karamojong employees?

3. Would you consider hiring Karamojong employees?

4. Why or why not?

5. What sort of work do the Karamojong do in Kampala?

6. Did you know that there are Karamojong living on the streets of Kampala?

7. When did you become aware of this issue, and how?

8. Has this issue changed over the years?

9. What is your view towards Karamojong on the streets?

10. Why do you think they are living or working on the street?

11. What would you like to see happen to the Karamojong on the streets?
Church officials

1. Are you familiar with the current situation in Karamoja?
2. Have you noticed any Karamojong living in the community?
3. What is the attitude of your congregation/parish toward the Karamojong on the streets?
4. Do you know of any churches working with the Karamojong in your city?
5. Do you know of any NGOs doing work with the Karamojong in your city?
6. What role has your congregation/parish considered in relation to the Karamojong?

Government personnel

1. Are you familiar with the current situation in Karamoja?
2. Are there Karamojong living in your city?
3. When did you first notice Karamojong moving to the city?
4. What reasons do you believe are drawing them to the city?
5. Where do you believe they are living?
6. Do you believe the arrival of Karamojong has any positive or negative effects on the city? Why?
7. What, if any, options have been considered concerning the Karamojong?
8. What do you think should be done with the Karamojong living or working on the streets?

NGO

1. Do you do any work with the Karamojong?
2. If yes, how long have you been working with the Karamojong?
3. If no, why not? Do you know anyone who is working with the Karamojong?
4. What are the largest issues facing the Karamojong?
5. Do you think the issues have changed over the time you have been involved in such work?
6. What do you think could be done to alleviate the issues of the Karamojong?
7. Have any procedures been used?
8. Do you know of any alternatives to those being done?

Residents
1. What do you know about the conditions in Karamoja?
2. Have you noticed any increase of Karamojong in the city?
3. What are your thoughts about the Karamojong living in the city?
4. Where do you think they are living?
5. Do you know of anyone helping the Karamojong?
6. What should be done with the Karamojong in the city?

University Student Focus Group
1. What part of Karamoja are you from?
2. When did you leave Karamoja?
3. What are the three largest issues facing people in Karamoja?
4. Do you plan to return to Karamoja following studies? If no, why not?
5. Do you know of any organizations working to alleviate the problems for people living in Karamoja? If so, what can you tell me about them?
6. What are they doing well?
7. What could be improved?
8. What do you see as long term solutions in Karamoja?
Informed Consent Form

The following interview and/or questions are anonymous, designed to assist researchers in gaining information about the migration of Karamojong in your community. Additionally, researchers hope to understand a broader scope of knowledge pertaining to Karamojong no longer in Karamoja. This will only take a few moments of your time to answer the following questions. Your answers will remain confidential and will help us better understand the issues of the Karamojong.

Honesty is of extreme importance. Due to confidentiality, there are no foreseeable negative consequences with being completely candid.

To ensure confidentiality you will be asked to sign a piece of paper with a corresponding number attached. The form will serve to ensure that an actual person provided the information for the research. After you sign the initial form your responses to the questions will only be linked to a number.

Signed_______________________________ Dated ____________ Ref. # ____________