

**KENYATTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL  
SCIENCES DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND  
POLITICAL STUDIES**

**THE GENESIS, DEVELOPMENT AND IMPACT OF CATTLE RUSTLING IN  
TESO SUB-REGION, 1600-2001: A CASE OF KATAKWI DISTRICT,  
UGANDA.**

**BY**

**JOHN AMODOI OKOBOI**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL  
SCIENCES IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILLOSOPHY IN HISTORY OF KENYATTA  
UNIVERSITY**

**JUNE 2016**

**DECLARATION**

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

**Signature:**

..... **DATE:** .....

John Amodoi Okoboi  
BA/ED (HONS), MED – (C82/15722/05)

**Supervisors:**

This work was submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors.

1. **Signature:** ..... **Date:** .....

Prof. Samson Omwoyo  
Department of Social Studies, Religion and Community Development,  
Maasai Mara University.

2. **Signature:** ..... **Date:** .....

Dr. Pius W. Kakai  
Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies, Kenyatta  
University.

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Rebecca Okoboi, for the painful emotional stress she went through in the early years of our marriage. Tears rolled down her cheeks and she stood by my side at the time I nearly died in 1984. “Be strong, for the fruits of your suffering are here.”

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

In the first place, I do appreciate from the bottom of my heart, the role played by the management of Kyambogo University and Kenyatta University for signing a memorandum of understanding that enabled me to register for Doctoral study in Kenyatta University. Even when I missed the opportunity for a Fulbright Scholarship, I found this a consolation.

In the same vein, I do appreciate the words of encouragement from my colleagues in Kyambogo University whose inspiration motivated me to study and to carry on even when I felt discouraged. These included Prof. Opuda- Asibo, Prof. William Epeju, Dr. Nathan S. Senkomago, Dr. Cyprian Adupa, Dr. Elisabeth Kyazike, Filda Ojok, Daniel Ndawula, Dr. James Magezi, Dr. Yokana Ogola, John Baptist Okware and others.

I am deeply indebted to my supervisors, Prof. Samson Omwoyo and Dr. Pius W. Kakai for their professionalism, patience and mature guidance that I received from them. Their comments and corrections were a big push in shaping this thesis in the right direction. May God reward you abundantly.

I am also grateful to my research assistants Venasio Edeket, a retired Agricultural Officer and Emmanuel Ocepa for traversing the counties of Magoro, Ngariam, Ongongoja (in Katakwi district) and Acowa, Kapelebyong and Wera (in Amuria district) administering oral interviews and organising Focused Group Discussions with respondents. They did a commendable job. I would like to particularly thank John

Robert Ekongot the Local Council (LC) V Chairman of Katakwi district, for receiving me with open hands, Mathew Olemo, the District Planner (Katakwi district), Angella Atim, the District Education Officer (Katakwi district) and Michael Richard Orwanga, the Inspector of Schools (Amuria district) for giving me valuable information. On a special note I extend my gratitude to Simon Okanya, the Principal Personnel Officer (Soroti district), for giving me access to Soroti District Archives. I should not forget some of the elders that I interviewed for giving me valuable information. These among others were Naboth Oduc, a retired teacher, Nico O. Akwang, a former Sub- County Chief and Eugenio Osele, a peasant farmer.

I am deeply grateful to my wife Rebecca Okoboi and children: Leah Amuron, Sam Okoboi, James Mudidi, Ann Rhoda Agwang and Ignatius Eli Odongo for withstanding the difficult financial times when at times there was no “good” meal on their plate. My wife’s words of encouragement were always “You will finish”. I am particularly thankful to my son, James Mudidi, for his helping hand in computer work.

## ABSTRACT

This study examined the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region in the period 1600-2001. It analysed the early history of the Iteso, origins of cattle rustling, the causes of cattle rustling, the changing dimensions of cattle rustling and the impact of cattle rustling on the people of Katakwi district. A case of Katakwi district was taken because of its proximity to Karamoja sub-region where the rustlers came from. In analysing the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region, the theories of social conflict, ecological and materialist paradigms were applicable. The study considered cattle rustling as a form of conflict brought about by ecological factors and materialist gains. The descriptive survey research design was applicable in the study because the information collected from respondents, archives and secondary sources was analysed as regards the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region. The study revealed that the Iteso and the Karimojong originated from South West Abyssinia (Ethiopia) where they had once lived together as pastoralists. The two communities migrated into Karamoja where they separated in about 1620s. The study found that the separation of the Iteso and Karimojong partly contributed to stealing of Teso cattle by the Karimojong because the Iteso had moved with the cattle from Karamoja. The burning of the carcasses of the Karimojong captured cattle in 1952 largely sparked cattle rustling in Katakwi district as a way of revenge. The acquisition of modern weapons ( machine guns) escalated cattle rustling especially in the 1980s. This changing dimension from using traditional weapons (spears, bows and arrows, clubs) to modern ones adversely affected the socio-economic and political development in the area of study. Though cattle rustling had been brought about by ecological disparities between Teso and Karamoja sub-regions thereby leading to conflict, this was overshadowed by materialist gain in the post-independence period. The study is significant as it contributes to the growing historiography of cattle rustling within the East African region and Uganda specifically. The study is also significant to the policy makers who cherish the value of peace and living in harmony in North-Eastern Uganda, Uganda as a whole and East Africa in general.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iv
ABSTRACT .....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF MAPS.....	x
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS .....	xi
LIST OF TABLES .....	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xv
DEFINITION OF TERMS .....	xvi
GLOSSARY.....	xviii
<b>CHAPTER ONE.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.0 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.1.1 The Teso Sub-Region .....	15
1.2 Statement of the Problem .....	22
1.3 Objectives of the Study .....	23
1.4 Research Premises .....	23
1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study .....	24
1.6 The Scope and Limitations of the study .....	24
1.7 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework.....	25
1.7.1 Review of Related Literature.....	35
1.7.2 Theoretical Framework.....	45
1.8 Research Methodology.....	45
1.8.1 Research Design.....	46
1.8.2 Variables of Analysis.....	47
1.8.3 Study Population.....	47
1.8.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size.....	47
1.8.5 Research instruments.....	48
1.8.5.1 Library Search.....	48
1.8.5.2 Interview Guide.....	49
1.8.5.3 Photography.....	49
1.8.6 Pilot Study.....	49
1.8.7 Data Collection .....	50
1.8.7.1 Oral Interviews .....	50
1.8.7.2 Direct observation .....	51
1.8.7.3 Documentary Sources.....	51
1.8.8 Data Analysis.....	51
1.8.9 Data Management and Ethical Considerations.....	52

<b>CHAPTER TWO.....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>2.0 THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ITESO (1600-1894 AD).....</b>	<b>53</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	53
2.2 The History of the Iteso in the Pre-colonial Period (1600 AD-1894 AD).....	56
2.3 Why the Iteso Migrated.....	68
2.4 Relations between the Iteso and Karimojong.....	72
2.5 Pre-colonial occupation of the Iteso.....	77
2.6 Summary.....	79
<b>CHAPTER THREE.....</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>3.0 CAUSES OF CATTLE RUSTLING IN KATAKWI DISTRICT IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD (1894-1962).....</b>	<b>81</b>
3.1 Introduction.....	81
3.2 Extension of British Rule in North-Eastern Uganda.....	83
3.2.1 Teso under Semei Kakungulu (1899-1904).....	88
3.2.2 Establishment of British Rule in Teso (1904-1962).....	90
3.3 The Origins of Cattle Rustling in Katakwi District.....	97
3.4 Reasons for Cattle Rustling During the Colonial Period.....	103
3.5 Summary.....	113
<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>	<b>116</b>
<b>4.0 THE CHANGING DIMENSIONS OF CATTLE RUSTLING IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD (1962-2001).....</b>	<b>116</b>
4.1 Introduction.....	116
4.2 The Transformation of Cattle Rustling into a Big Business.....	117
4.3 How the AK-47 Assault Rifle escalated cattle rustling in Katakwi District.....	119
4.4 Who raided the Iteso during the late 1980s?.....	126
4.5 Summery.....	132
<b>CHAPTER FIVE.....</b>	<b>134</b>
<b>5.0 THE IMPACT OF CATTLE RUSTLING ON THE PEOPLE OF KATAKWI DISTRICT.....</b>	<b>134</b>
5.1 Introduction.....	134
5.2 Political Effects.....	135
5.2.1 Border disputes between the Iteso and Karimojong.....	136
5.2.2 Emergence of Rebellion (Teso War) 1986-1992.....	140
5.2.3 Breakdown of Law and Order.....	141
5.2.4 Mistrust of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) Government.....	142
5.2.5 Development of a volatile political situation in Teso.....	144
5.2.6 Creation of the Institution of “Emorimor” (Paramount Leader).....	154
5.3 Economic Effects.....	156
5.3.1 Loss of Livestock.....	157
5.3.2 Disruption of Agriculture.....	160
5.3.3 Food Shortage.....	162

5.3.4	Poverty.....	164
5.3.5	Land Disputes.....	165
5.3.6	Economic Backwardness of Teso Sub-region.....	166
5.4	Social effects.....	168
5.4.1	Loss of Lives and Property.....	168
5.4.2	Displacement of the People and Creation of Internally Displaced People’s Camps....	175
5.4.3	Violation of Human Rights.....	178
5.4.4	Breakdown of Social and Technical Infrastructure .....	179
5.5	Summary .....	187
<b>CHAPTER SIX.....</b>		<b>189</b>
<b>6.0</b>	<b>SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ....</b>	<b>189</b>
6.1	Introduction .....	189
6.2	Summary and Findings .....	189
6.3	Conclusion.....	200
6.4	Recommendations .....	201
6.5	Summary.....	205
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>		<b>205</b>
1.1	Primary Sources .....	205
1.2	Secondary Sources .....	207
1.2.1	Published Books .....	207
1.2.2	Published Articles .....	212
1.2.3	Unpublished Works .....	215
1.2.4	Newspapers .....	216
1.2.5	Internet Sources .....	217
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>		<b>219</b>
Appendix 1: Report on Karimojong Incursion in Teso, 1950.....		219
Appendix 2: Henry Hesketh Bell’s Proclamation, 5th April, 1907.....		220
Appendix 3: Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE) Top Performers by Old Districts .....		221
Appendix 4: Names of Persons Interviewed .....		227
Appendix 5: Interview Guide .....		232
Appendix 6: Introductory Letter 1.....		235
Appendix 7: Introductory Letter 11.....		236

**LIST OF MAPS**

		Page
Map 1.1	Showing Katakwi Districts	17
Map 1.2	Uganda, 1967 District Boudaries	18
Map 1.3	Teso District by 1970	19
Map 3.1	Boundary Changes in East Africa	87
Map 5.1	Teso-Karamoja Border Row	139

**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AD	Anno Domini (in the year of the Lord)
ADC	Assistant District Commissioner
AG	Acting
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ASTU	Anti Stock Theft Unit
AU	African Union
BCE	Before the Common Era
CAD	Constituent Assembly Delegate
CBPP	Contagious Bovine Pleuro Pneumonia
CBR	Centre for Basic Research
CBR	Centre for Basic Research
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Early Response
CMS	Church Missionary Society
Col	Colonel
DC	District Commissioner
DEO	District Education Officer
DES	District Executive Secretary
DP	Democratic Party
Dr	Doctor
EAANSA	Eastern African Action Network on Small Arms
EAPH	East African Publishing House
EC	Electoral Commission

FOBA	Force Obote Back Again
Fr	Father
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSM	Holy Spirit Movement
HSR	Human Security Report
Ibid	Ibidem
ICU	Iteso Cultural Union
IDP	Internally Displaced Peoples
IPFC	Inter-Party Forces Co-operation
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
ISS	Institute for Secretarial Studies
JEP	Journal for Entwicklungspolitik
KAR	King's African Rifles
LC	Local Council
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
LSA	Lord's Salvation Army
Lt	Lieutenant
MP	Member of Parliament
MWWOSA	Mukura Wagon Widows Orphans and Survivor's Association
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
No.	Number
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRM	National Resistance Movement

NUREP	Norther Uganda Rehabilitation Programme
NUSAF	Northern Uganda Social Action Fund
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OI	Oral Informant
Op cit	Opcited
PCEP	Provincial Commissioner Eastern Province
Ph.D	Doctor of Philosophy
PLE	Primary Leaving Examination
RECSA	Regional Centre on small Arms
Rev	Reverend
RFID	Radio Frequency Identification
Rtd	Retired
SDA	Special District Administrator
UCDA	Uganda Christian Democratic Army
UCE	Uganda Certificate of Education
UN	United Nations
UNEB	Uganda National Examinations Board
UNLA	Uganda National Liberation Army
UPA	Uganda People's Army
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UPDF	Uganda Peoples Defence Forces
Vol	Volume

<b>LIST OF TABLES</b>		<b>Page</b>
Table 5.1	Polling Results for Teso Sub-region, May 9, 1996	148
Table 5.2	Polling Results for Teso Sub-region, March 12, 2001	153
Table 5.3	Cattle Census in Teso	158
Table 5.4	Livestock Census in Soroti District, 1980	158
Table 5.5	Livestock Census in Usuk County, 1990	159
Table 5.6	Distribution of Uganda Population by Ethnic Group, 1948-2002	174
Table 5.7	Number of Persons Displaced in the Six Counties of Teso Sub-region, 1986	175
Table 5.8	Academic Performance in the Primary Leaving Examinations in Katakwi District 2001-2002	183

<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>		Page
Figure 4.1	A Karimojong with His Gun	121
Figure 5.1	Researcher Standing in Front of Former Soroti Meat Packers	168
Figure 5.2	Cattle Raids in Kapelebyong County, Katakwi District	171
Figure 5.3	Chronic Cattle Raids in Kapelebyong County, Katakwi District	172
Figure 5.4	Part of the Internally Displaced People's (IDP) Camp in Magoro Sub-County	177
Figure 5.5	Magoro Primary School, Katakwi District	184
Figure 5.6	Dilapidated Part of a Health Centre in Asamuk, Sub- County, Katakwi District	185
Figure 5.7	Part of Katakwi-Magoro Road	186

**DEFINITION OF TERMS**

- Cattle Rustling** This refers to the forceful removal cattle by use of guns.
- Dimensions** This refers to the ranges or areas over which an activity extends, in terms of scope and size.
- Ecological Systems Theory** This asserted that human development was influenced by the different types of environmental systems.
- Epidemics** This refers to an outbreak of diseases that affect people and their animals in large numbers.
- Knobkerries** These refer to short wooden clubs with rounded heads, usually used in fighting.
- Light Weapon** These are instruments of offensive or defensive combat such as pistols which are not heavy.
- Livestock** These are animals raised for use and for profit such as cattle, goats and sheep.
- Materialist Theory** This emphasises on a preoccupation that stressed upon material rather than intellectual or spiritual things.
- Proliferation** This refers to the increase in the number of firearms.
- Regent** A person who exercises royal authority in place of a monarch who is absent, incapacitated, or too young.

**Social Conflict Theory** This stresses that conflict arises when individuals and groups within a society have differing amounts of material and non-material resources compelling the more powerful groups to use their power to exploit groups with less power.

**Small Arms** These are firearms fired while in the hands, such as assault rifles.

## GLOSSARY

<b>Akuta</b>	Refers to a narrow wooden hoe or digging stick used by the Iteso.
<b>Amatidai</b>	Refers to a homemade gun used by the Karimojong.
<b>Ateker</b>	A word in Ateso which refers to the people who speak an understandable dialect.
<b>Ateso</b>	This is the language of the Iteso.
<b>Ajon</b>	Local millet or sorghum brew.
<b>Emorimor</b>	Title of a Paramount Leader in Teso.
<b>Ikaracuna</b>	Refers to the Karimojong Warriors.
<b>Itunga</b>	This means “People” in the language of the Iteso. It is a linguistic classification of all the Ateker speakers.
<b>Kabaka</b>	A title for “King” in Buganda.
<b>Katikiro</b>	A title for “Prime Minister” in Buganda.
<b>Lukiiko</b>	Refers to “Parliament” in Buganda.
<b>Luo</b>	Refers to the language spoken by the Lwo.
<b>Lwo</b>	Refers to a Nilotic group that migrated from South Sudan.
<b>Manyattas</b>	These are a collection of huts in an enclosure and usually of thorns.
<b>Ngakarimojong</b>	This is the language of the Karimojong.
<b>Omukama</b>	A title for “King” in Bunyoro.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

In order to understand the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region in the period 1600 to 2001 and with specific reference to Katakwi district in Uganda, it was prudent to look at it in a global context. Cattle rustling, which has been defined as the act of raiding cattle is not a new phenomenon in the world. Historically, the act of cattle rustling is quite ancient, with the first suspected raids conducted over seven thousand years ago (<http://www.agriculturedictionary>). In Australia, such stealing was often referred to as duffing and the person as a duffer. In North America, especially in cowboy culture, cattle theft is dubbed as rustling and an individual who engages in it is a rustler. In the American old West (often referred to as the Far West, or Wild West), rustling was considered a serious offense and it did frequently result in lynching by vigilantes. It is against that background that the word “rustling” was used in this study.

Mexican rustlers were a major issue during the American Civil War (1861-1869), with the Mexican government being accused of supporting the habit, as it was for the American rustlers stealing Mexican cattle from across the border. Failure to brand new calves facilitated the theft. However, the transition from open range to fenced grazing gradually reduced the practice of rustling in North America. In the twentieth century, the so called “suburban rustling” became more common with rustlers anesthetizing cattle and taking them directly to auction. The practice took place at night, posing problems for law enforcement because on very large ranches it could take several days

for the loss of cattle to be noticed and reported. In the context of Katakwi district cattle theft also took place at night though in the late 1980s when cattle rustling were at its height, cattle were stolen even in broad daylight. In the case of the Iteso, they did not keep their cattle in ranches but in kraals, a fenced enclosure for livestock.

Cattle ranching was a multibillion-dollar industry in the United States and cattle theft was a small but growing problem as a recession bit and thieves realised that stealing cows was a relatively easy way to raise a quick buck. Stolen cattle were often loaded onto trailers and taken straight from their farm or ranch to auction at a stockyard (<http://www.reuters.com>). Furthermore identifying those cattle was not easy since many were not branded and detectives and owners needed to act fast to retrieve the animals before sale-a task made doubly difficult if they had been transported across statelines. These materialistic gains were also manifested in north-eastern Uganda and the area of study which was the theatre of the lucrative business.

As cattle rustling increased, so did the need for Radio Frequency Identification (RFID) (<http://www.readwriteweb.com>). Most people viewed cattle rustling as a crime that happened only in old movies. But to cattlemen and ranches in the United States, it had always been part of real life. With an enduring economic recession, and cattle going for about USDS 1,000 a head, rustling had experienced a renaissance. From Arkansas to Missouri to Oklahoma to Oregon, rustling was on the increase and the criminals involved were rarely caught. Brands could be manipulated and back roads were poorly patrolled by law enforcement. The report suggested tagging and tracking as a possible deterrent. In this method, a veterinary officer could inject an RFID tag about the size of

a grain of rice into an animal in seconds. When the tagged cow was shipped out, an inspector could use a hand held scanner to retrieve the cow's information. If the registered owner and the brand diverged, then the inspector would know that something was wrong.

Siror (2009) proposed the use of RFID technologies in order to contain cattle rustling activities among cross border communities between Kenya and adjoining areas of Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia. The region was characterised by nomadic movements of people with their livestock on vast and hostile terrains. The vice caused havoc to many inhabitants of the region and was the main source of conflict and instability (<http://www.ieeexplore.ieee.org>). Such a technology would also work very well in Teso sub-region – Katakwi district in particular, which are prone to cattle rustling and would in a way to minimise the act.

In Argentina, South America, cattle raiding became a major issue at the end of the nineteenth century. Cattle stolen during *Malones* (military raiding tactics) were taken through Rastrillada de los Chilenos across the Andes to Chile where they were exchanged for alcoholic beverages and weapons. Several indigenous groups and outlaws such as the Boroanos and Ranqueles communities and the Pincheira brothers ravaged the southern frontier of Argentina in search of cattle. As a measure to prevent the cattle raiding, the Argentine government built a system of trenches called *zanja de Alsina* in the 1870s. *Zanja de Alsina* was a system of trenches and wooden watchtowers built in the centre and south of Buenos Aires Province to defend the territories of the federal government against *Mapuches Malones*. *Mapuches* were a

group of indigenous inhabitants of south-central Chile and south-western Argentina. The three-meter wide trench was reinforced with eighty small strongholds and garrisons called fortines. The defensive line was named after Adolfo Alsina, Argentine Minister of War under President Nicolas Avellaneda who planned the building of the trench in the 1870s. However, the trench system bore criticism when it became clear that it was unable to stop large-scale incursions between 1876 and 1877. Most cattle raids ended after the military campaigns of the Conquest of the Desert, and the following partition of Patagonia by Chile and Argentina established by the 1881 Border Treaty (<https://en.wikipedia.org>).

In the pastoral areas of north-eastern Africa the persistent violence involves brutal and reckless murder, acts of 'ethnic cleansing', criminal marketing chains, and highway banditry, as well as ordinary petty theft. In this context, this violence is commonly lumped together and labelled 'cattle rustling' or 'cattle raiding' (Hendrickson, Armon, and Mearns 1998: 185-199). Warfare and cattle rustling among pastoralists in the arid and semi-arid areas of north-eastern Africa date back well into the pre-colonial times (Lamphear 1988: 27-39). Cultural factors associated raiding with the traditional social structures of pastoral societies, and identified belief systems, identities; warrior ideals, prestige, and competition between age sets are drivers of violence (Fukui and Turton 1979). For instance, Gambiri Emmanuel observed that an educated wife in his cattle-herding Mundari community in South Sudan costs 50 cows, 60 goats and 30,000 Sudanese pounds (USDS 12,000) in cash. At that price, some men who otherwise could not afford a bride turn to stealing livestock in order to buy a wife and gain status. A

surge in bride price had fuelled cattle raids in which more than 2,000 people were killed each year. Gambiri recalled a time when wives cost as little as 12 cows and local chiefs wielded enough power to call the parents and set an affordable bride price, in his village of Terekera, in the State of Central Equatoria (<http://www.stgate.com>).

This cultural value attached to cattle was also observed among the Karimojong in north-eastern Uganda who raided cattle to mitigate the cost of high bride price. The Karimojong not only raided themselves but also the Iteso, their neighbours. However, natural disasters such as drought and famine could also trigger cattle raids. The use of the AK-47 assault rifle made cattle rustling costly and deadly. This changing dimension of cattle rustling applied to the area of study and this is explained in Chapter Four. Instead of the rudimentary weapons used in the traditional cattle rustling such as the spears, bows and arrows, clubs and so on, the use of modern weapons- the AK-47 assault rifle, escalated the vice.

The United Nations (UN) report, in an article, “Sudan: Cattle raiding has affected 120,000” January 20, 2012, observed that an increasing number of victims needed help after a spate of violent cattle raiding attacks in Jongel, a remote state in South Sudan. The report further observed that 120,000, though the number was expected to rise to 180,000 people, needed help in the wake of a spate of violent cattle raiding attacks in the region. The worst attacks so far happened in and around the town of Pibor, where as many as 8,000 Lou-Nuer warriors descended on the Murle inhabitants and an unknown number was killed. However, a local official reported that 3,000 had died. One elder, Koko Alan, was left ruined after losing 500 cows (<http://www.globalpost.com>). Such

atrocities and devastations have been committed in the area of study and this is reflected in Chapter Five.

The northern parts of Kenya and north-eastern region of Uganda have been very insecure areas. For years now, there had been a number of cattle raids going on, terrorising the civilian population and killing hundreds of people. In north-eastern Uganda in the Karamoja region, there are pastoral cattle herders called the Karimojong. These were responsible for a number of the raids into Kenya. In an article, “Kenya: Minister Deplores Cattle Rustling” 13 July, 2011, Hussein Salesa stated that Eastern Province police were urged to do all they could to stamp out cattle rustling. Livestock Development Minister in Kenya, Mohammed Kuti observed that sufficient numbers were to be deployed in hot spots to avert raids in the drought-hit region. Rival pastoral communities could abandon banditry and rustling and focus on education and peace so that they share pasture and water without violence. Kuti appealed to herders from the region to co-exist and embrace peace especially during the drought crisis. Dialogue and peace could bring about peace and positive change. These remarks were made at Mulango, Isiolo district in northern Kenya, where two people had been shot dead and cattle stolen by armed robbers (<http://www.allafrica.com>). Such incidences have been committed in the area of study and the appeals by the Kenyan Minister of Livestock Development would be a milestone in averting the crisis.

Raids also took place between Kenya and Ethiopia. The Borana group had recently been involved in raids involving cattle. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) News, Wednesday 13, July 2005, observed that the region of north-eastern Kenya where at

least 61 people had been killed on Tuesday, 12 July 2005, was one of the country's most hostile and remote terrains, where rival groups often clashed (<https://www.google.com>). Most people still lived as they had done for thousands of years by moving their cattle around looking for pasture. The region is semi-desert and the pastoralists who live in the area mostly survive from their cattle, rather than farming or any other activity. In the absence of banks, cattle were many people's main store of wealth and cattle raids were common, often leading to a vicious round of raid and counter-raid. The report continued to note that the area was one of the least developed in Kenya. Most roads in the area were made from dirt and turned muddy when it rained. The insecurity which had steadily built up over the past year had worsened the situation with schools closed and people too afraid to travel along the few roads. Survivors of the massacre in Turbi had to travel 150km to reach the nearest hospital, which only had one doctor. One of the few signs of development was the gun, which the pastoralists were quick to use to protect their cattle, the report added. The Borana whose language is the same as the Gabra, were accused of carrying out the slaughter. The two groups have long joined forces to steal the livestock of their neighbours. This situation between Kenya and Ethiopia was no different from that of Teso and Karamoja sub-regions. The only difference was that whereas the Iteso were primarily agriculturalists who kept cattle as well, the Karimojong were primarily pastoralists who for decades of years had also moved their livestock around looking for pasture and water. This inevitably caused an overlap into Teso sub-region, Katakwi and Amuria districts in particular. In the course of this, stealing of animals by the Karimojong often took place. In this respect

the Karimojong have continued to generate a state of fear and uncertainty among the Iteso.

Hull (2006) in an article, "Cattle rustling puts Kenya's Pokot in cross hairs" (<http://www.globalaging.org>) observed that as long as most Pokot could remember, raiding cattle from rival communities had been a dangerous game where boys became men. Males from the pastoral communities with a reputation for belligerence, stole livestock for dowry or to boost community wealth, always after getting permission from elders. If they killed a man in a battle, they would be given a tattoo that marked them as heroes, making them more attractive to the opposite sex. Somewhere in the last twenty-five years, the rules of engagement changed in Kenya's Wild West. An influx of automatic weapons helped turn traditional banditry into modern warfare. According to many Pokot, young men began to ignore local elders and prohibitions against killing women, children or the elderly. Krop Lotiywa, a Pokot elder was quoted in the report to have remarked;

"Cattle raiding, stealing cows from the Turkana, the Karamojong (sic), used to be a game. Now things have taken a different dimension".

The belligerence among the Pokot observed above was also seen among the Karimojong who attested their valour by raiding cattle from neighbouring peoples such as the Iteso. The operations were planned by the elders and executed by their warrior sons, or decided upon by the latter with the blessing of the elders (Novelli 1988:91).

In West Pokot County, about 400 kilometres (250 miles) northwest of the capital, Nairobi and home to 350,000- strong community, poverty, poor development, minimal education, insecurity, scarce water and food had all played a role in aggravating conflict. In the report another Pokot, Lotunale Wangole, a sixty-year-old elder in the village of Namit near the Uganda border was also quoted to have said as he pointed towards the land where rivals from the Sabin (living in Uganda) and Turkana communities live; “It is true we have been stealing from them, and they from us”(Hull *ibid*).

This revealed that cattle raiding were counteractive amongst these pastoralist communities, although as noted earlier, the introduction of automatic weapons, AK-47s, had turned what traditionally seemed a game into modern warfare with its far-reaching effects. However, it was doubtful whether the Iteso counter raided because they were not primarily pastoralists but agriculturalists who depended upon agriculture as the surest means of recovering their losses and building up their herds again (Webster 1970:49).

Lines Kevin P. (2009), a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) candidate in Intercultural Studies observed that cattle raiding among peoples living at the northern end of the Rift Valley in Kenya, Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia had, by some estimates, become an increasing problem in recent years. Often the root causes of cattle raiding were identified by peace-seeking Non Government Organisations (NGOs) as directly related to the scarcity of resources in the harsh arid environment and the ensuing poverty, and the availability of automatic weapons (AK-47s). Lines argued that these external factors alone were

insufficient in describing the root causes of Turkana cattle raiding. Internal ethno-religious factors, including the structure of moral economy, the belief in diviners or priests called, *imurok*, must be examined as the root causes for anyone seeking solutions to the problems of cattle raiding in the Northern Rift Valley (<http://asburyseminary.academia.edu>).

However, pastoralism in East African dry lands is undergoing rapid transformations (Fratkin 2001: 1-25). In this context, issues of territoriality emerge as arenas of contestation, sedentarisation rapid population growth, fragmentation and privatisation of formally communally used pastures, the spread of wildlife conservation areas, and the increasing importance of agriculture are factors that lead to a growing pressure on land, both within and across communities (Galvin 2009: 185-198). These rapid transformations were pertinent in analysing the changing dimensions of cattle rustling in Katakwi district.

In the case of Uganda, the conflicts in north-eastern region are several years old. For 20 years the Karimojong had been armed, and cattle raids had been going on (<http://en.wikipedia.org>). That is, with the overthrow of Idi Amin's regime on 11<sup>th</sup> April 1979, the Karimojong broke into Moroto Army Barracks armoury and helped themselves with the AK-47 assault rifles (Otwal 2001:34). It should also be noted that prior to 1979, the Karimojong were armed with home-made guns (*amatidai*) in addition to the spears, knives and clubs that they had. In 2001, a seven-month process was started to disarm the Karimojong of some 20,000 weapons. At the initial stages, the Government employed a voluntary approach in which Karimojong warriors were

compensated after they gave up their arms. They received gifts like iron sheets, certificates, food and ox-ploughs. However, this method was not successful. Less than 1,000 guns were recovered.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, those who surrendered their guns became vulnerable to those who abused the exercise, forcing Government to introduce the forceful method-cordon and search.

Cattle rustling did not only occur in Teso but also in West Nile, Acholi, Lango, Bugisu Sebei and Pallisa between 1986 and 1990 (<http://www.upcparty.net>). This went down as one of the most painful chapters in the history of the country. The report went ahead to state that over the centuries, and even during the colonial times, nothing of that scale of magnitude and severity had ever occurred and according to the report, it was generally claimed that the Karimojong did it. However, when assessing the scale of the problem and the fact that Karamoja today is not overflowing with cattle, makes the claim questionable. Some other parties could have taken part in this cattle rustling. Ironically, whereas Acholi, Lango, Bugisu and Sebei sub-regions border with Karamoja sub-region, West Nile sub-region does not.<sup>2</sup> So if cattle rustling took place there it may not have been done by the Karimojong. Pallisa is to the south of Teso in Bukedi sub-region. Cattle rustling spilt to it from Teso.

At a workshop organised by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in Jinja, Uganda, on 17<sup>th</sup> September 2008, on the theme: “ Cattle Rustling is a Crime”, a participant

---

<sup>1</sup> *The New Vision*, January 27, 2007, p.45.

<sup>2</sup> West Nile is to the northwest of Uganda bordering with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the west and South Sudan in the North.

vehemently argued that it was wrong to criminalise cattle rustling because it was a cultural practice.<sup>3</sup> At another occasion a workshop participant stated that it was time for governments in Eastern Africa to provide small arms and light weapons to pastoralists so that they could fight back and protect their livelihood. If this was to happen one actually wonders whether it would keep the pastoralists peaceful. Arming them would even add fuel to an already flaring situation. The subject of the debate was whether to criminalise cattle rustling or not. While there seemed to be general agreement that cattle rustling was a crime, whether it should be treated as a special type of offence or not had been a contentious issue. The differing views led to the need for a technical definition of cattle rustling, which depending on interpretation could have social, legal, commercial or political implications. Whatever interpretation is given, cattle rustling is a crime because it involves “stealing” of livestock, which is an act forbidden by law. If it is recognised by pastoral communities as their culture, when the act is extended to non-pastoral societies who do not recognise it then it becomes a crime.

Twaruhuwa Erasmus, Senior Legal Adviser, Mifugo Programme, ISS Nairobi<sup>4</sup> pointed out that from a law enforcement perspective, cattle rustling quite often involved a process of planning on a scale comparable to a military operation (The Karimojong actually did the same as highlighted in Chapter Three). Press reports indicated that usually cattle rustlers moved in large numbers and the effect of their operations had far reaching and often devastating consequences on a scale much larger than what was occasioned by crime. It was not uncommon to find that in the process a number of other

---

<sup>3</sup> Proceedings from a workshop organized by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in Jinja, Uganda, 17<sup>th</sup> September, 2008 on the theme: “Cattle Rustling is a Crime” (online) available at <<http://www.iss.co.za>>

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

offences are committed such as arson, rape, defilement, abduction and theft, among others. These paradigms associated with cattle rustling justify its being criminal in nature. He added that the fact that firearms were used makes the effect all the more devastating. Should a community equally equipped with firearms defend themselves against raiding warriors; the resultant damage could well be imagined. On many occasions the raiders not only outnumbered the law enforcement and security units, but were at times even better equipped. The fact that cattle rustling occurred in pastoral communities across national borders further accorded the crime a distinct characteristic. On several occasions negotiation skills had to be used to avert diplomatic rows between some of the Eastern African states relating to cattle rustling. There had been mention of bomber planes allegedly being used to pursue cattle rustlers who crossed international borders.

In the Protocol on the Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa, signed in August 2008 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, (<https://www.issafrica.org>) cattle rustling had been defined to mean not only the actual stealing but also the planning, organising, attempting, aiding or abetting the stealing of livestock by any person from one country or community to another, where the theft was accompanied by dangerous weapons and violence. It was noted that in this definition the word “*livestock*” rather than “*cattle*” was used. The reason advanced was that should cattle rustlers fail to capture any cattle, they would resort to any livestock available – goats and sheep. It was also observed that without necessarily condoning the traditional practice, it was clear that the current situation of cattle rustling was different

from what it was in the past. The increased social decadence among the youth, many of whom were idle and unemployed, together with a lack of education and increased poverty were “modern” developments and aggravated the situation. In addition the porous borders of modern African states and infiltration of small arms amongst pastoral communities had equally led to the metamorphosis of cattle rustling to become a much greater threat to human security.

It was also noted in that Protocol that today, the frequency of cattle raids, the number of animals stolen at any one time, the levels of violence and loss of life are such that the phenomenon had little resemblance with its cultural roots. However, this statement was erroneous as far as the frequency of cattle raids, the number of animals stolen; the levels of violence and the loss of life were concerned. What happens today even happened in the past. For example, among the Karimojong there were two occasions in which they raided for livestock. First, when it was necessary to secure its survival in the face of external threats. Secondly, when there was need to increase the number of livestock. In both cases, these operations were carried out as actions planned by the elders and executed by their warrior sons, or decided upon by the latter with the blessing of the elders (Novelli 1988:91). The acts of ferocity committed during raids were neither unjustifiable, nor ends in themselves. They formed part of a ‘defensive’ logic, even when directed towards the defenceless, such as women, children and old people. In this respect, the Karimojong’s reasoning was that, it was better to eliminate a child today than to endanger one’s life tomorrow at the hands of the warrior that this child would become. It was better to kill a woman today than to have one’s own mother, wife, sister

or daughter killed tomorrow by the warrior to whom that woman would give birth, feed and prepare for war. An old man less was one less counsellor for the enemy, one less source of experience available to them. An old woman less would be one person less to prepare food for the enemy and medicine to cure them (ibid. P. 92). That principle was also applied to the Iteso during the raids mounted by the Karimojong as discussed in Chapter Five. Thus, a combination of all these factors qualified cattle rustling in a class of its own, easily distinguishable from related crimes such as theft or robbery. It was this distinction that led to the development of the Protocol on Cattle Rustling to ensure that the special characteristics of the offence were specifically addressed in a holistic manner. Thus, cattle rustling with its devastating effects remained a global concern. The issue of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region in the period 1894-2001 and particularly Katakwi district was no exception.

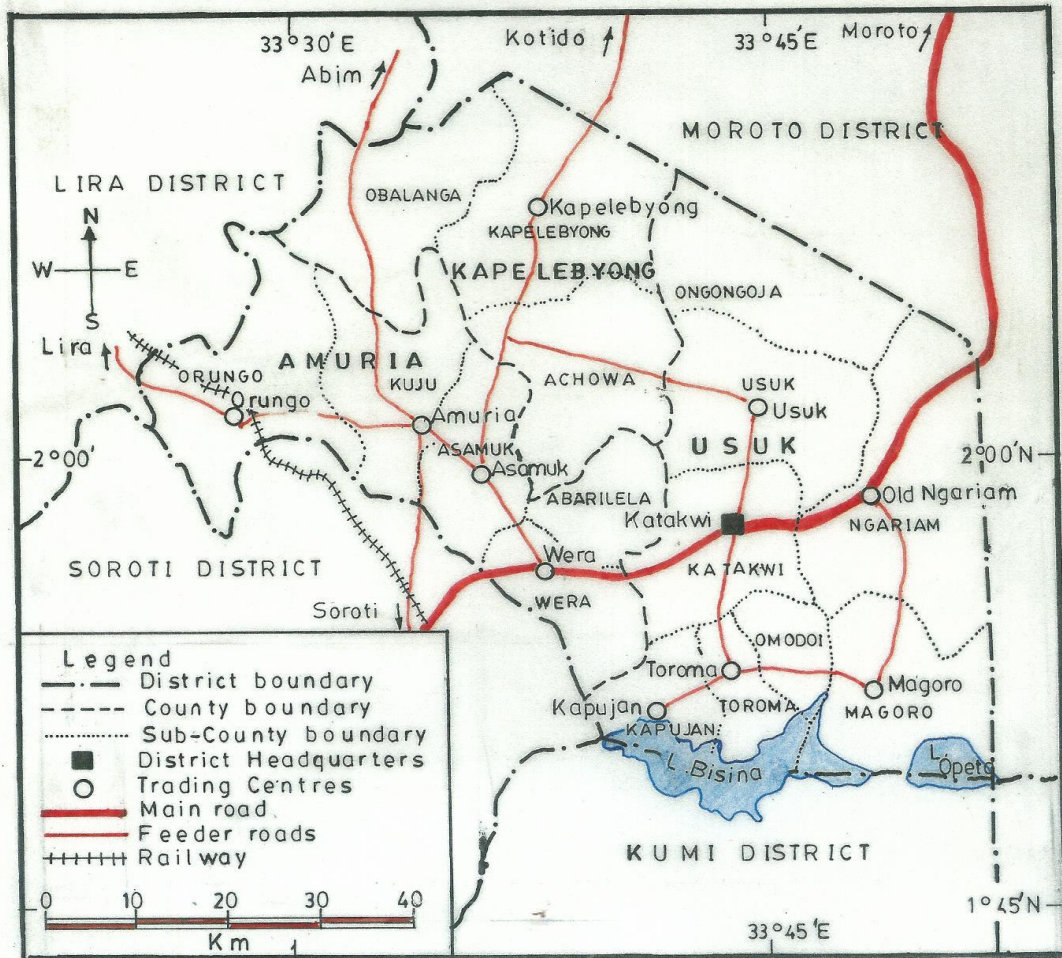
### **1.1.1 The Teso Sub-Region**

The study was conducted on “The Genesis, development and impact of Cattle Rustling in Teso sub-region, 1894 – 2001: A Case of Katakwi District.”(See Map 1.1 page17). Teso sub-region was one of the eighteen districts that were created in Uganda according to the 1967 District Boundaries (Jorgensen 1981:213) and it is located in Eastern Uganda (See Map 1.2 page 18). Teso, officially recognized today as a sub-region, covers an area of approximately 12,920 Sq. km of land, swamp and water (Epelu-Opio 2009:14). It provides the intermediate drainage area for rains falling all over the great plain of Central Karamoja, and on the Western slopes of the volcanic mountains of Napak (Kamalinga), Kadam (Debasien), and the Northern side of Elgon (Masaba). This

rainfall gradually seeps into a succession of flat grass-covered plains, which are deeply flooded in the rainy season and usually dry from January to March.

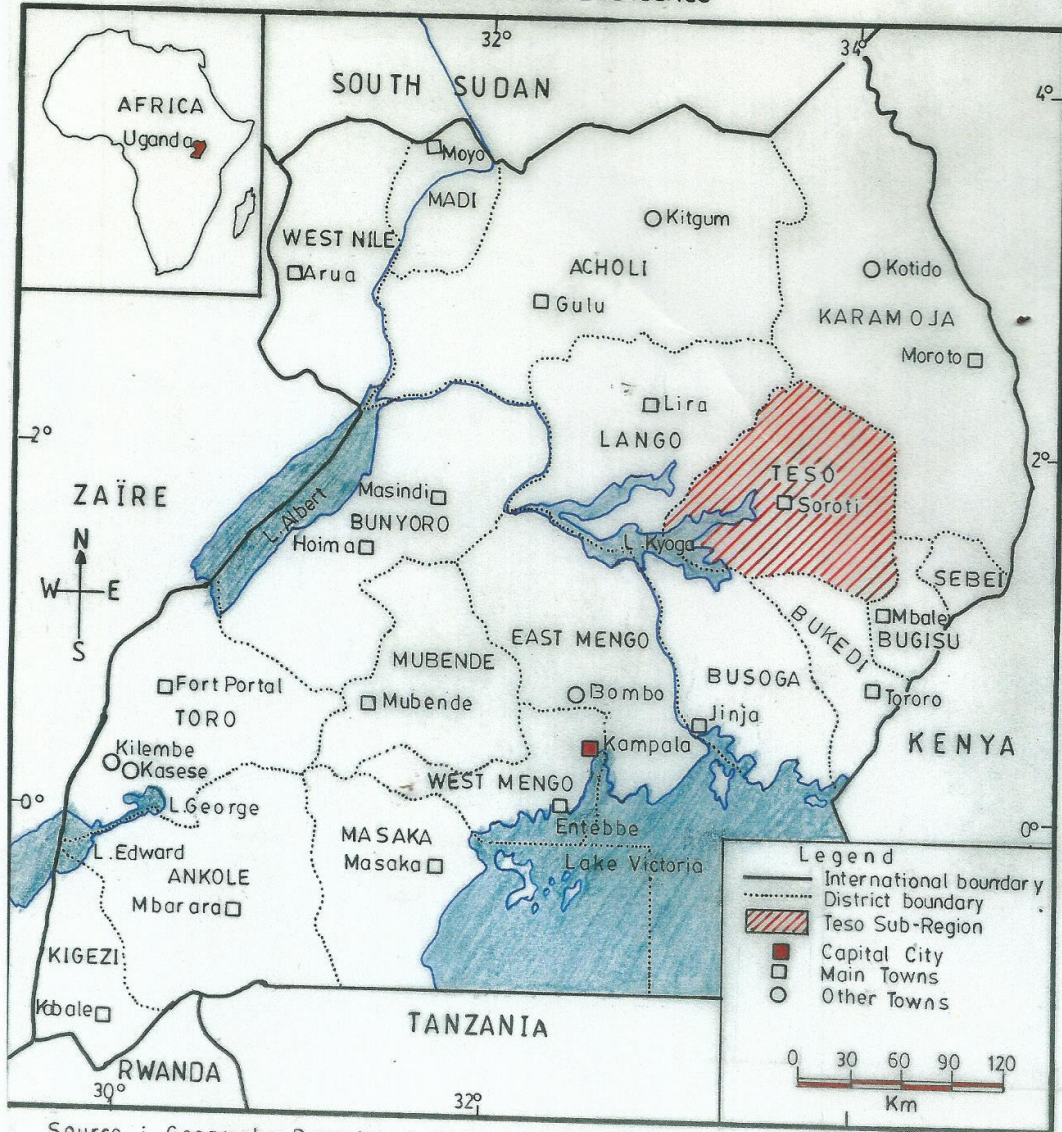
During the colonial and immediate post-independence periods, Teso district, now sub-region comprised the counties of Amuria, Bukedea, Kaberamaido Kumi, Ngora, Soroti, Serere and Usuk (See Map 1.3 page 19). Their headquarters was located in Soroti town. However, during Amin's regime (1971-1979) the district was sub-divided to create North Teso district which comprised Amuria, Kapelebyong and Usuk counties with Katakwi town as their headquarters. South Teso district constituted Bukedea, Kumi and Ngora counties, with its headquarters at Kumi town and Soroti Central which comprised Kasilo, Serere and Soroti counties, with its headquarters in Soroti town. Kaberamaido County formed Kaberamaido sub-district, with its headquarters in Kaberamaido town (Epelu- Opio 2009:13-14).

Map 1.1. Katakwi District 1997



Source : Geography Department, Makerere University .

Map 1.2. Uganda 1967 District Boundaries



Source : Geography Department Makerere University.



In 1980, following the overthrow of Amin, North Teso district was abolished and the sub-region constituted into two districts, namely, Soroti and Kumi. Soroti district

comprised the counties of Kaberamaido, Kalaki, Kasilo, Amuria, Kapelebyong Serere, Soroti and Usuk. Kumi district comprised the counties of Bukedea, Kumi and Ngora (Epelu-Opio *ibid*). In 1997, Katakwi district was created through the Act of Parliament. It comprised Amuria, Kapelebyong and Usuk counties.

The Teso sub-region is boarded to the North by Kotido district and partly Lira district, while to the West it is bordered by Lira and Dokolo districts, to the South by Mbale and Pallisa districts and to the East by Moroto, Nakapiripirit and Sironko districts.

The sub-region is mainly inhabited by the Iteso who are the majority, and the Kumam who mainly occupy Kaberamaido district. However, other ethnic groups who traditionally co-existed with Iteso in small numbers included Bakenyi, Langi, Baganda, Bahima, Banyarwanda or Bafumbira, Bagisu and Sabin (from Sebei). The Iteso are also found in Pallisa, Tororo, Busia, Bugiri and Kayunga and the Teso district of Western Kenya (Epelu-Opio 2009:15). The Iteso, who lived in the area known as Usuk County in Katakwi district, claimed to be the original Iteso. This was because they are the descendants of the pioneer Iteso who entered the area from Karamoja. In the administrative structure of Uganda a county is smaller than a district. A district can be made up of several counties, though at present a county can constitute a district depending on its size and population.

To the west of Usuk live the “*Iseera*” in the districts of Amuria, Soroti and Serere. To the west again of the Iseera live the “*Kumam*” or “*Ikokolemu*” in the district of Kaberamaido. The Kumam are Ateker speakers to which the Iteso, Karimojong, Jie and

Lango belong. The Kumam are bilingual, speaking both Ateso (language of the Iteso) and Luo (language of the Lwo- a Nilotic group that came from South Sudan). South of Usuk and east of the Iseera, live the “*Ingoratok*” which is the general name for those Iteso living in Ngora, Kumi and Bukedea districts.

It must however be noted that there had been constant overlapping of communities. The traditional history of the Iteso was of a movement from the Far East to the West. That is why communities of Kumam are still found in Soroti district, communities of Ngora people are found in Serere district where they are referred to as “*Ikidetok*” (People of the East) and communities of Usuk people are found both in Amuria and Kumi district.

Studies on ethnicity and conflict in the Horn of Africa revealed that one stereotypical image of Eastern Africa was that of a stalwart herdsman leaning on his spear (never his musket or rifle), as he gazed stoically into the distance (Lamphear, 1994:63). The studies demonstrated that firearms played little if any role in the military organization or tactics of many East African pastoral and semi pastoral communities. It was noted that over the past couple of decades, significant numbers of those same communities had become increasingly reliant on large stores of rifles, and those weapons had made a profound effect on social, economic and military structures. This has contributed in turn, to a tragically endemic climate of violence which has beset many parts of the region.

In the case of Teso sub-region cattle rustling was limited to the district of Katakwi and parts of Kumi district during the pre-colonial and colonial period. But in the late 1980s

cattle rustlers had combed the whole of Teso sub-region and the neighbouring counties of Pallisa district. The purpose of this study, therefore, was to probe into these changing trends of cattle rustling in Katakwi district.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Cattle rustling in Katakwi district went on for over forty years from 1952 up to 2001 when the Government of Uganda took steps to disarm the Karimojong warriors (*Ikaracuna*). From the use of traditional weapons such as spears, bows and arrows, clubs and knives, cattle rustling took new dimensions with the introduction of sophisticated weapons such as the AK-47 assault rifle. In 1979, 1985 and 1986 there was an upsurge in cattle rustling by the heavily armed Karimojong warriors, among others, with devastating effects.

Consequently, it was important to provide answers to questions such as: whether the early history of the Iteso (1600-1894) played a role in the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling; what caused cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the colonial period (1894-1962); why cattle rustling in Katakwi district changed from the use of traditional weapons to the use of sophisticated weapons in the post-independence period (1962-2001) and what impact cattle rustling has had on the people of Katakwi district. Therefore, the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Katakwi district needed to be documented and this was what the study intended to do.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The study aimed at achieving the following objectives.

1. To establish whether the early history of the Iteso (1600-1894) played a role in the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Katakwi district.
2. To investigate the causes of cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the colonial period (1894-1962).
3. To examine the changing dimensions of cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the post-independence period (1962-2001).
4. To assess the impact of cattle rustling on the people of Katakwi district.

### **1.4 Research Premises**

The study was guided by the following premises:

1. The separation of the Iteso and Karimojong during their early history sparked off the origin of cattle rustling in Katakwi district.
2. The burning of the carcasses of the Karimojong captured cattle in 1952 largely sparked cattle rustling in Katakwi district.
3. The acquisition of sophisticated weapons escalated cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the post- independence period (1962-2001).
4. The changing dimensions of cattle rustling adversely affected the socio-economic and political development in Katakwi district.

### **1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study**

The justification of the study was based on the fact that cattle rustling by the Karimojong had been and remained a thorn in the flesh of the Iteso and had been ongoing for over forty years (1952-2001). The post- independence period, more especially, the 1980s was when cattle rustling was at its height covering the whole of Teso sub-region. Katakwi district was chosen because of its proximity to Karamoja sub-region where the cattle rustlers (Karimojong) hailed from. The unprecedented suffering meted on the Iteso needed to be exposed through this study. It was therefore necessary to analyse the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region in the period 1600-2001 with particular reference to Katakwi district in north-eastern Uganda. The study would also inspire other scholars to carry out related studies in other parts of East Africa and Africa as a whole affected by cattle rustling. In addition to the above, the study lays a foundation for further studies to be undertaken on the later history of the Iteso.

### **1.6 The Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The study covered the period from 1600-2001. The year 1600 marked the period when the ancestors of the Ateker speakers (Iteso, Karimojong, Kumam, Jie, Turkana, Dodoth and Toposa) began their migration from Abyssinia (Ethiopia). The year 2001 marked the time when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) Government took measures to disarm the Karimojong warriors whose raiding activities caused mayhem to their neighbours including Iteso. However, it should be noted that cattle rustling continued even after 2001. The period of study was important because it identified the

origins of cattle rustling, its subsequent development in the colonial and post-independence period and its impact on the people of Katakwi district.

The researcher encountered the following challenges and constraints in carrying out this study. In the first place the study was limited to Katakwi district as a case study for the Teso sub-region. This was because the district borders with Karamoja sub-region to the north-east and due to financial constraints; the researcher would not be able to cover the whole of Teso sub-region.

Secondly, since the study stretched from 1600, there were no respondents that were still alive to provide primary data for those early years. However, this was overcome by relying on oral traditions and also on the data in the National and District Archives.

Thirdly, the Karimojong warriors occasionally carried out cattle raids in Katakwi district. This presented a security problem in conducting the study in the area. However, the researcher liaised with security agents in order to be able to carry out research in the area of study. On 19<sup>th</sup> October, 2010 when the researcher was in Ongongoja Sub-County, Usuk County in Katakwi district, the people interviewed reported that six heads of cattle had been raided by the Karimojong in one of the homes on the night of Sunday 17<sup>th</sup> October, 2010.

## **1.7 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

### **1.7.1 Review of Related Literature**

The selected literature for this study was categorized into: works on the conflict in Africa and East Africa and works on the precolonial, colonial and post-independence era in Uganda. This gave an inspiration to focus on: whether the early history of the

Iteso contributed to the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling; the causes of cattle rustling; the changing dimensions of cattle rustling and the impact of cattle rustling in Katakwi district.

Some of the literature on conflict in Africa provided a generalized view on the nature of conflict of which the role of political factors, competition over scarce resources and the proliferation of small arms in the affected areas, have been the major causes. A case study by Goldsmith (1997:24) on “Cattle, Khat and Guns Trade; Conflict and Conflict Management in the Horn of Africa” pointed out that inter-group violence had accelerated dramatically in Northern Kenya. This rise in violence was attributed to intensified competition over scarce resources. The study further observed that the changing nature of conflict blurred the line between ethnic competition and criminality, raising questions about civil society, the role of political factors and state sectors in exacerbating violence, and methods for controlling the growing chaos. Krathi and Swift (1998: iii) observed that conflict had grown rapidly in Africa in the last three decades and pastoral areas were among the most vulnerable making conflict widespread in the arid and semi-arid zones and often overlapped with extreme food insecurity. All these observations were generally pertinent to this study in as far as establishing the origins of cattle rustling in Katakwi district were concerned.

Martin and O’Meara (1995:32) have observed that the problems of the Sahel and the Horn of Africa were not a matter of climate alone. People and governments must bear a fair share of the burden of responsibility, through ill-advised agricultural policies, inappropriate farming and animal-husbandry practices, overgrazing and increased soil

erosion and destruction of indigenous agricultural systems that had achieved a delicate ecological balance through generations. For example, in response to drought conditions which were forcing local pastoralists to extend their search upon lands cultivated by sedentary communities, the government of one Sahelian state undertook a project to employ modern technology to sink boreholes to provide water to pastoralists' herds. The problem which arose was that the sites of the boreholes quickly became overcrowded as formerly nomadic pastoralists converged on the newly opened sources of water. This led to clashes between local people and those drawn from further afield. These clashes escalated into interethnic conflict. This observation was helpful in investigating the causes of cattle rustling in Katakwi district.

In Northeast Africa and East Africa, most pastoralist groups speak related languages and share many features of culture and social organizations. Most East African pastoralists keep cattle, sheep and goats. In the past many pastoral groups subjugated the agricultural populations with whom they came into contact. This political legacy was reinforced during the colonial period leading to conflicts that were aggravated by other factors after independence (Martin and O'Meara 1995:193). The Maasai are often held to be the classic case of an East African people who are strongly committed to their particular cultural tradition. They positively reject agriculture despising both the activity and the peoples who practice it (Gulliver 1969:234-235). This clearly shows the conservative nature of the Maasai and this may apply to other pastoralists on the continent, East Africa and Uganda in particular. However, in the case of the Karimojong of Uganda, much as there was that cultural tradition of pastoralism, agriculture was not totally despised. It was confined to a few river beds and solely the

work of women (Webster 1970:49). This analysis has been used to investigate the causes of cattle rustling especially when the pastoralists came into contact with the agriculturalists in Katakwi district.

Ssuuna (2006, 6<sup>th</sup> February) in an article titled “Great Lakes Countries meet over small arms” observed that countries in the Great Lakes Region must make a concerted effort to join civil societies in fighting the proliferation of small arms in the area. This was articulated by the members of the Eastern Africa Action Network on Small Arms (EAANSA). They observed that small firearms posed a threat to public safety by encouraging crime and fuelling violence. Mugisha R. the Co-ordinator of EAANSA elaborated the threat by asserting that small arms and light weapons like assault rifles were in the hands of many wrong elements because they were cheap to procure and easy to use. Sang (2007, 12<sup>th</sup> March) in an article titled “Regional harmonization of legislation review process on small arms and light weapons workshop in the Great Lakes Region, Horn of Africa and bordering states”, observed that the message from the Executive Secretary Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA) noted that the world was awash with small arms. The proliferation and increasing availability of small arms and light weapons in many regions of the world in general, and the Great Lakes Region, Horn of Africa and bordering states in particular, encouraged and perpetuated cultures of violence whereby the traditional mechanism of conflict resolution were eroded and the use of the gun emerges as a norm within society. The findings in the two Uganda newspapers gave a useful springboard as far as examining the changing dimensions of cattle rustling in Katakwi district were concerned.

Gulliver (1956:213) noted that the Iteso legend places their origin in the East of their present county. At the time immediately before their arrival in modern Teso they lived in what is now Karamoja. Their centres were Mount Moroto and Okong. Jorgensen (1981:101-102) added that the Iteso and Karimojong peoples shared a common language and origin. The close linguistic similarity between modern Ateso and Ngakarimojong supports the theory that the Iteso were also pastoralists who, over the period 1600-1830 AD., broke away from the Karimojong to undertake a more sedentary agricultural life in what became Teso district. The Iteso moved from Karamoja South-Westwards to the present Usuk area (in Katakwi district), from where they spread over the whole of Teso. From the same Karamoja bases, a smaller section of the Iteso moved southwards to the Tororo area in Eastern Uganda and eventually to Western Kenya. The works of Gulliver and Jorgensen provided valuable background to the origin and spread of the Iteso. The question is could this separation between the ancestors of the Iteso and Karimojong have contributed to cattle rustling in Katakwi district? This is what the study investigated.

Lamphear (1976:102) asserted that the whole of what became the Teso district experienced substantial demographic flux throughout the nineteenth century. This was attributed to the flood of Iworopom refugees fleeing from the Karimojong-Iworopom war of about 1830 AD. The Iworopom were people who lived in the country called Woropom which was located between Mount Elgon, Mount Kadam and the Suk hills. Though they were not of Itunga family and spoke a distinct language of their own, their extensive contact with the Itunga made them to speak the tongue. The famine and cattle epidemic in about 1830 AD drove the pastoralist Itunga (Karimojong) around Moroto

into a war against the more settled and agriculturalist Iworopom. The Karimojong overwhelmed the Iworopom, destroyed them as a nation and scattered them as destitute refugees. Some sought refuge among the Tepes in the mountains and some became members of the Karimojong society. The majority probably fled to the safety of Teso. Today the Iworopom clan exists among the Tepes, the Karimojong and the Iteso (Webster 1970:49-50). Therefore, the study investigated whether the asylum given by the Iteso to the Iworopom contributed to cattle rustling in Katakwi district.

Population growth was also attributed to the improved technology in agriculture. The change in technology was due to the importation of iron hoes from Bunyoro via Lango during the nineteenth century. This reduced the labour required for soil preparation, compared to cultivation with the narrow wooden hoe or digging stick (*Akuta*). The improved technology enabled the pioneers of Teso to plant more millet, sorghum, sesame, groundnuts, cow peas, beans and the sweet potatoes introduced from Bunyoro. It is, therefore, observed that the pioneers of Teso turned more and more to agriculture and away from the pastoralist life of their fathers in Karamoja. This is supported by Jorgensen (1981:105) who observed that the ratio of cattle to people was 21.6 cattle per household in Karamoja in 1963 and 6.6 cattle per household in Teso in 1963. Whereas the ratio of cattle per household in Karamoja was higher than that of Teso, one wonders why the Karimojong raid the Iteso in the area of study. This is what the study investigated.

Otwal (2001:2) asserted that the Iteso and Karimojong had lived in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) as one ethnic group in about 500 years ago. They had owned large herds of livestock

and depended entirely on them. They wandered in the county grazing their livestock and were constantly in search of green pastures and water as all pastoralists did. With time, both the human and the number of livestock increased. This necessitated further movement of groups of people away from their 'Manyattas'. This resulted in a large ethnic movement. The group that moved westward split into two: the Karimojong, meaning tired old men who could not move further and chose to stay behind and the Iteso, a young group that continued further westwards. The Karimojong called them "*Atesina*" or "*Atesia*", meaning graves. The implication was that the young men went to their graves. It was a general view by other historical studies that it was this break-away theory that led to cattle rustling in Katakwi because the young men did not return to Karamoja with the cattle they had moved with (Okalany 1980: 5; Webster 1970: 48). The views of the two scholars were pertinent to this study in establishing whether the early history of the Iteso contributed to cattle rustling in Katakwi district.

Otwal (2001:12) pointed out the general belief by many elders in Teso that, cattle raids started between 1945 and 1950. Some sources of information in the history of Teso indicated that Teso was first raided by armed Greeks and one Somali in 1906 and also by Lango natives who raided Orungo (in Amuria district) in 1914 and 1915. According to Otwal the Karimojong and their neighbours had enjoyed cordial relationship before the serious raids which started in the 1950s. It was observed that there was at the time only minor stealing of one or two animals at night in Teso. Otwal's work was useful to this study because it helped to show the origins of cattle rustling in Teso and in particular, Katakwi district. Though there was minor stealing of cattle at the time, what

brought an upsurge in cattle rustling in the post-independence period (1962-2001) was the subject of investigation.

Furthermore, Otwal (2001:34) and Asayo (2004:11) observed that traditional cattle rustling which had been centred round the use of spears, knives, clubs and home-made guns, suddenly took a new very deadly dimension as a result of the acquisition of a more sophisticated weapon, the AK-47 gun. Following the overthrow of Idi Amin in 1979 and the subsequent ransacking of Moroto Army Barracks armoury by the Karimojong cattle rustlers, Karamoja region became awash with small fire arms with devastating consequences. More guns came into the area from the unstable countries of Sudan and Somalia. The flooding of guns in the North Eastern Region and the commercialization of the traditional cattle raids has intensified the suffering of the people. So the type of cattle rustling which followed after the acquisition of fire arms was more of an invasion than occasional cattle raids. Their observation provided a useful guide in this study as far as change in the balance of power and cattle ownership was concerned. The cattle rustling became more extensive and destructive in the last three decades, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. For example, from 1978 the Karimojong raids transformed from using spears to machine guns. The AK-47 transformed simple theft of livestock into massive raids. About 99 percent of cattle the Iteso had, had been raided (Otwal 2001:39). These changing dimensions of cattle rustling helped in assessing the impact of cattle rustling in Katakwi district.

Lamphear (1994:63) asserted that it was typical in East Africa to see a physically strong herdsman leaning on his spear as he gazed bravely into the distance. This demonstrated

that firearms played little if any role in the military organization or tactics of many East African pastoral and semi-pastoral communities. He further observed that over the past decades, significant numbers of those same communities had become increasingly reliant on large stores of rifles, and those weapons had made a profound effect on social, economic and military structures. This contributed to a tragically endemic climate of violence which beset many parts of the region. He also observed that the older type of guns did not change the balance of power among the *Ateker* groups, and their appearance was not as influential as new forms of military organization. The spread of the AK-47 gun during that decade (1990s), in contrast, had intensified conflict within the larger region. Guns had also made it more difficult to separate conflict from criminality. Lamphear's argument also helped in examining the changing dimensions of cattle rustling in the area of study.

Holger and Twaddle (1991:201) observed that the Iteso suffered more insecurity because of cattle rustling than anything else. They noted that cattle raiding got completely out of hand when the Teso Militia which had provided some protection under Obote II Government were disarmed by the National Resistance Army (NRA) which saw them as a possible threat. To them, the NRA was unable and possibly unwilling to protect the Iteso in early 1986 and the Iteso suffered terribly as a result. The two scholars did not elaborate how the Iteso suffered. This study therefore attempted to highlight how the Iteso have suffered due to cattle raiding.

Ocan (1992:11) pointed out how the colonial policy aggravated the raiding of the agro-pastoralist societies neighbouring Karamoja. Whereas he generalizes the neighbours,

this study specifically focused on Teso sub-region which is neighbouring Karamoja in the West. In the Teso sub-region, the district of Katakwi was taken as a case study. This provided an in-depth study of how cattle rustling affected the Iteso from 1600-2001. Ocan's study of cattle raids in north-eastern Uganda spans a period of twenty years (1970-1990). It did not cover the period after 1990 which this study included. He also treated the colonial period as the background. However, this study stretched far back to the precolonial period to analyse the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Katakwi district from 1600-2001.

Ocan (1994:98) attempted to examine the various factors that had contributed to the current social reality in Karamoja. He analysed the historical turns, twists and influences Karamoja went through to arrive at the current crisis in terms of ecological relations and most important, the wave of violence in the area which caused social instability not only to Karamoja but virtually to eleven districts that constituted north-eastern Uganda. Other factors included the development of merchant trade, land relations, famine and ecology and the state approach to Karamoja problem. Two of these factors had a direct impact in the area of study. During the pre-colonial period, merchant trade had existed, often with cattle as the mode of accumulation and medium of exchange. Although the colonial state and the postcolonial regimes introduced monetary aspects to the economy, cattle remained, for so long, the measure of value, store of wealth and medium of exchange (ibid p.130). Although the study did not include the voices of the Karimojong due to the insecurity in Karamoja sub-region at the time, Ocan's analysis portrays a strong attachment to cattle by the Karimojong which could have caused cattle rustling in Katakwi district.

In conclusion, the reviewed literature provided insights for an investigative study in as far as the achieving of the objectives outlined in the study was concerned. These were: establishing whether the early history of the Iteso (1600-1894) played a role in the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Katakwi district; investigating the causes of cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the colonial period (1894-1962); examining the changing dimensions of cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the post-independence period (1962-2001) and finally, assessing the impact of cattle rustling on the people of Katakwi district.

### **1.7.2 Theoretical Framework**

In analyzing the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region, c.1600-2001, the study was guided by the general framework of the social conflict, ecological systems and materialist theories. The study integrated these three theories in order to throw more light on the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region. Cattle's rustling as a form of conflict was brought about by ecological factors and considerations of materialistic gains. That is why an integrated approach was necessary in this study.

Brecher (1993:4) quoted Gurr's definition of conflict as the overt, coercive interactions of contending collectivities. It is characterized by two or more parties engaged in mutually hostile actions and use coercion to injure or control their opponents. He, however, realized the broadness of this definition as it did not encompass political riots, insurrection, revolution and war. Brecher observed that although conflict was as old as the human adventure, serious inquiry began only in the mid-nineteenth century, notably

by Marx and Engels, social Darwinists such as Spencer and Darwin, and by theorists of power and influence, namely, Mosca, Michels, Pareto and Soret.

The study was guided by the Social Conflict Theory. The social conflict theory was a Marxist-based social theory which argued that individuals and groups (social classes) within a society had differing amounts of materials and non-material resources (the wealthy versus the poor) and that the more powerful groups used their power in order to exploit groups with less power. The two methods by which this exploitation was done were through brute force and economics (<http://en.wikipedia.org>). The second aspect of the Social Conflict Theory in which the more powerful groups exercise their power to exploit the less powerful groups through brute force also applied to this study. The use of the AK-47 gun by the Karimojong revealed themes of modern cattle raids. This created an imbalance between the Karimojong and the less armed Iteso. The Iteso and Karimojong constitute social classes because a division of a society is based on social and economic status. Whereas the Karimojong were pastoralists who accumulated their wealth through raiding, the Iteso were agro-pastoralists (cultivated as well as kept livestock) which were the basis of their economic success.

Okoth (2000:1) in his article “Conflict in contemporary Africa,” came up with some definitions of conflict and drew a distinction between conflict and crisis. In his words, “conflict” referred to the underlying issues in dispute between or among parties and “crisis” referred to the active outbreak of armed hostilities. He went further to state that “crisis” applied to protracted disputes such as guerrilla warfare and then conventional war and also to brief outbursts such as invasions. He categorized the sources of conflict

in Africa into two: domestic sources such as ideology, personality, internal power struggles and the mistreatment of ethnic minorities; and external factors such as decolonization, territorial disputes, external interference and refugee problems. He contended that both the domestic and external causes were closely related. Based on Brecher's and Okoth's definitions of conflict, the conflict theory was applicable to this study. This was because of the underlying issue in dispute between the Iteso and Karimojong. Crisis, as an active outbreak of armed hostilities, very much applied to this study in the sense that cattle rustling were a form of armed hostility because it involved the use of the spear, club and lately the gun. It is also imperative to note that since crisis also applies to brief outbursts such as invasions, cattle rustling were a form of invasion.

Kakai (2000:18) observed that conflict was endemic in all societies and there was no society that was predicated on eternal consensus. Conflicts enabled people to identify what was wrong within society so as to re-evaluate their relations and when they emerged, they affected the structures and relations within society. In this context, cattle rustling affected structures and relations of contending collectivities, namely, the Iteso and Karimojong. According to Kakai, the foundations of conflict theory were laid by ancient philosophers and statesmen dating as far back as the third century before the Christian era. He identifies classical writers like Herodotus and Polybius, Ibn Khaldun of the medieval period, Niccolo Machiavelli of the Renaissance as well as modern European thinkers like Thomas Hobbes, Jean Bodin and Gaetano Mosca as among those who had contributed to the development of conflict theory. European writers like Machiavelli, Bodin, Hobbes and Mosca analysed conflict as a politically organized unit

in terms of power relations. This analysis of the foundations of conflict was relevant to this study in as far as the origins of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region were concerned.

Adekunle (2003:219) while analyzing the foundations of ethnic conflicts in Africa pointed out that conflicts arose out of the desire to secure political, economic, or socio-cultural power, especially in a multi-ethnic and broadly stratified society. One society may use violence to establish political hegemony or economic domination over another. He observed that in pre-colonial Africa, warfare was widely used as an instrument of state formation. The rulers often resorted to the use of force to expand, legitimise, or institutionalise their political power, thereby creating conflicts with neighbouring states. Dynastic disputes and ethnic struggles for political domination, the control of farmland, or economic resources had led to destructive warfare. This observation was relevant to this study because the conflict between the Iteso and Karimojong stemmed from the struggle to control economic resources (grazing lands and water sources). The conflict resulted in insecurity, creation of Internally Displaced Peoples (IDP) camps, misery and disruption of economic activities in the area of study. These are paradigms of underdevelopment which this study investigated.

Ethnic conflicts in the twentieth century were aggravated by the changing political fortunes which Africans experienced with the partition and eventual colonisation. The Europeans divided and merged some ethnic groups with other incompatible groups while they split up others to be governed by different colonial powers. Thus, the arbitrary partition of Africans by the Europeans led to conflicts, insecurity, and

instability during and after colonialism. Therefore colonialism played a major role in the politics of ethnicity in twentieth century Africa. The theory of conflict in the analysis of the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region was applicable to this study because the co-existence that the Iteso and Karimojong had was destroyed by the creation of districts, namely, Teso for the Iteso and Karamoja for the Karimojong. This in away curtailed the free movement of the Karimojong pastoralists to Teso areas where they could get fresh pasture and water for their livestock.

The process of conflict prevention and resolution strategies in Africa involved dialogue, political education, compromise and readiness to engage in open politics. Conflict resolution strategies were divided into two categories: internal and external. Internally a process of reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation were the necessary strategies with political education for the people as the bedrock of conflict resolution. Ethnic diversity did not necessarily cause conflict, but people used it to perpetuate acts of violence (Adekunle 2003:234). Adekunle recognized the need for governments to organize conflict resolution education for conflicting groups in order to enable them to realize that the future of their country is inseparably linked to the peaceful co-existence of its citizens. Thus, conflict prevention and resolution strategies were applicable to this study since cattle rustling destabilized the co-existence of the Iteso and Karimojong.

The study was also guided by the Ecological Systems Theory which dealt with the whole pattern of relations between mankind and his environment. The Ecological Systems

Theory was developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner who was a Russian American developmental psychologist (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia). Bronfenbrenner saw the process of human development as being shaped by the interaction between an individual and his or her environment. The Ecological Systems Theory asserted that human development was influenced by the different types of environmental systems. Though Bronfenbrenner's works were majorly centred on how different levels of environment affected a child's development, the concept was found pertinent to this study.

Nomadic pastoralism as distinguished from sedentary pastoralism was based on the principle that no adequate supply of water and grass was permanent. The seasonal changes which were usually characterised by long periods of drought forced the pastoralists to move to distant places in search of water and fresh pasture for their livestock. As the livestock are at the mercy of the environment, severe droughts have consequently led to heavy losses of animals as well as human beings. In order to replace the animals which were lost in the calamities, those who were still strong enough indulged in cattle raids.

Novelli (1988:23) observed that the habitat of Karamoja as a region was characterized by thorny plants and grasses; a savannah, which became green at the first rainfall, in April, but which dried up again in November, when the rains stopped. During the dry season, the wind reigned supreme, vehemently sweeping the dazzling whiteness of the undulating savannah. He further observed that there was no surface water, except puddles which were formed in the rainy season, only to disappear a few weeks later

when the rains ended. The river beds filled up in a few hours during storms and dried up again when these were over. The only water was that which filtered up in a kind of well dug by the shepherds in the river beds or in their immediate vicinity.

In contrast there were zones which bordered with the Iteso, the Langi and the Acholi to the West, and that with the Pokot and Sebei to the South, where agriculture was possible because they escaped from the conditions described in Karamoja. This explains why agriculture had, of necessity, a very limited role in Karamoja. Therefore, the pastoral condition of the Karimojong was in accordance with the ecological situation of the territory which they had occupied. This was the more reason why the Karimojong depended on livestock in order to survive. So, the process of human development was being shaped by the interaction between the Karimojong and their environment. The zones which separated the Karimojong from the neighbouring communities were characterized by vast extensions of tree-lined savannah. These were the lands used alternatively as grazing grounds during the dry season which ran from November until March. This made the Karimojong come into conflict with the neighbouring communities including the Iteso. This helped to explain the origins of cattle rustling in the area of study.

Ocan (1994:135) pointed out that the understanding and response to ecological pressures by the Karimojong had been adversely affected. The drawing of boundaries and restriction of cattle movements by the colonial administration affected transhumance patterns that the pastoralists had already mastered through the long experience of ecological hardship. To the Karimojong, a boundary was determined by

existing natural conditions in a given year. Also some balance with the natural factors was created by people developing patterns of movement and following areas that maximize the use of grass and water. Since drought and famine were old in the history of Karamoja, the people sought solutions to the calamities when they occurred. One of such solutions was migration to better places. That was why the Bokora (a section of the Karimojong) used to migrate to Teso and any other regions that could provide food. The other solution was cattle raids.

Inselman (2003:168) in his abstract also noted the ecological impact on the Karimojong lifestyle. The limited surface water, a hot arid climate and a short season of torrential rain, compelled the Karimojong to rely on pastoralism. He argued that because of the settlement of the Karimojong in the area not environmentally suitable for habitation, violent conflict had increased. Since the Karimojong's lifestyle had led to societal marginalization and a national policy of militarization, the Karimojong in response believed that they had only two options, either to fight or settle. Inselman proposed that a more sustainable solution for the people and the environment would support the Karimojong's transhumant lifestyle so as to produce peace. However, the gist of this study was not on the Karimojong lifestyle. What is important to note here is that the drought conditions had forced the Karimojong to extend their search upon lands cultivated by sedentary communities and this led to conflict.

The study was also guided by the Materialist Theory. The Materialist Theory emphasized on a preoccupation that stressed upon material rather than intellectual or spiritual things. The theory stems from Historical Materialism, a methodological

approach to the study of society, economics and history as articulated by Karl Marx (1818-1883). It was a theory of socioeconomic development according to the changes in material conditions (technology and productive capacity) which primarily influenced how society and the economy were organised (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia). Historical Materialism started from a fundamental underlying reality of human existence: that in order for human beings to survive and continue existence from generation to generation, it was necessary for them to produce and reproduce the material requirements of life.

Relating this to the pastoral communities, the competition for pastures and watering places was not the only cause of tribal warfare. The desire to acquire livestock through raiding was innate in pastoral peoples who did not have the concept of breeding in order to increase and better the herd but resorted to raiding in order to obtain through quantity what they did not know how to obtain through quality (Novelli 1988:25). However, the assertion that the desire to acquire livestock through raiding was inborn was not scientifically proven. Raiding among pastoral communities was dictated by the ecological environment. With an environment characterized by thorny plants and grasses, it was with livestock that the people were able to live. Taken as a cultural practice, cattle losses could only be made up by wars and raids against neighbouring peoples. This was evident among the Karimojong pastoralists. By contrast, the pioneer Iteso who left Karamoja to settle in Teso which had better soil and reliable rainfall depended greatly upon agriculture as the surest means of recovering cattle losses and building up their herds again. This analysis helped in investigating the causes of cattle rustling in Katakwi district.

To the pastoral communities wealth was judged by the number of animals one had. A person who had no livestock was considered poor. Ogutu (1990:38) while writing on pastoralism in Kenya observed that the animals were taken as a measure of wealth and social status as they provided the owner with access to wives and made marriages possible. In order to marry, one had to strive to own livestock with which to secure a wife. Before the colonial period, cattle rustling were the surest way of obtaining livestock. Ogutu's analysis was used to explain the causes of cattle rustling in the area of study.

Ocan (1992:2) while analyzing the causes of cattle raids in North-Eastern Uganda pointed out that self-acquisition motives were taking the greatest significance. Raiding as a community venture was giving way to motives that were largely individual and narrower in target and organization. Such self-acquisition motivated raids did not simply wait for disasters to deplete stock but they took place anytime. This meant that the final intention was not to increase survival from livestock products such as milk, blood and beef, but the sale of livestock for money for individual gain. Thus, the materialistic gain was useful in establishing the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in the area of study.

Ocan (1994:130) observed that during the pre-colonial period merchant trade existed often with cattle as the mode of accumulation of wealth and medium of exchange. However it was the border restrictions, the gazetting of Karamoja into a closed area by the colonial administration, the restriction of herding and the movement inside Karamoja that destroyed the trade in the region forcing people to resort to barter. He

noted that although the colonial government and the regimes that came after, introduced monetary aspects to the economy, cattle remained, for so long, the measure of value, store of wealth and medium of exchange. This status was affected by the insecurity resulting from cattle raids and this made the fluidity in ownership of cattle great. This now meant that a person with hundreds of cattle today may have none the next day. In such circumstances, the immediate resort usually was the acquisition of guns so as to raid to recover the cattle. This observation was useful to the study as it helped in establishing how the acquisition of sophisticated weapons escalated cattle rustling in Katakwi district.

Though Spencer (2004:72) in his study of the Maasai pastoralists of Eastern Africa discredits the Ecological and Materialist schools of thought by establishing that it was possible for herders to accumulate as much animal wealth through peaceful animal husbandry as through organized rustlings, the circumstances in North-Eastern Uganda still rendered the Ecological Systems and Materialist theories applicable in this study.

In conclusion, the three theories were complementary in this study in that the competition for pasturelands and watering places during the dry seasons and the perception of cattle was a source of material wealth often led to conflict.

## **1.8 Research Methodology**

This study relied on both primary and secondary sources in order to acquire qualitative information on the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region. A case of Katakwi district was taken. This was because of the proximity of the district to Karamoja (See Map 1.1 showing Katakwi district on page 17).

The key research approaches included: one to one discussion, semi-structured interviews based on the use of an interview guide, direct observation and analysis of any reports and statistics related to the study. Though the year 2001 in the study was over ten years ago, direct observation was still possible because the Internally Displaced People's (IDP) camps were still in place. There was still evidence of buildings destroyed or riddled with bullets.

### **1.8.1 Research Design**

The descriptive survey research design was used in this study. This was because the study aimed at collecting information from informants on their attitudes and opinions related to the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region. A cross-sectional study was used because the data was obtained from a cross-section of the people in the six sub-counties of Katakwi district, namely: Magoro, Katakwi, Ongongoja, Kapelebyong, Acowa and Wera.

The researcher used both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained by conducting oral interviews, direct observation and analysing of written evidence in the National Archives at Entebbe and the District Archives in Teso sub-region. Records and personal documents of important personalities were examined and these provided first hand information which was used to corroborate with the information obtained from the secondary data. The secondary data was found from the internet, journals, books, seminar and conference papers as well as newspapers and magazines which specifically handled cattle rustling elsewhere.

### **1.8.2 Variables of Analysis**

In this study, two types of variables were used; independent and dependent variables. The independent variables were factors that were used to explain variation in the dependent variable. The dependent variables were the outcomes the researcher attempted to predict. In the case of the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region, the independent variables included factors that had aggravated conflict in the region of study such as the use of modern weapons (guns). Dependent variables included loss of lives and property, insecurity, displacement of people, outbreak of famine and diseases, and disruption of economic activities in the region. These were paradigms of underdevelopment in the area of study.

### **1.8.3 Study Population**

Katakwi district comprised 18 sub-counties with a total population of 298,950 as per the Uganda Population and Housing Census of 2002. The subjects of the study were drawn from six sub-counties that were sampled. The majority of the informants were men and women aged forty years and above (See Appendix 4). These were knowledgeable about the origins and problems of cattle rustling in the area of study. Among these, the target population included district leaders, retired civil servants, ex-county and ex-sub-county chiefs, clan leaders, community leaders and local council leaders.

### **1.8.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size**

In this study, purposive sampling technique was used. The purposive technique was used when selecting the informants who had experienced or who were knowledgeable

about the problem of study. A sample population of 110 informants was probed for information. Mental judgement was used to randomly sample the 110 informants for effective participation in the study. Since the study was basically qualitative the sample was selected by simple random sampling as no complexities were involved. The sample represented the mix of the larger population in Katakwi and Amuria districts. Out of the 110 informants used in this study, 38 were women and 72 were men. The sample also represented the peasants who were educated upto the level of primary and were engaged in productive agricultural activities, the teachers, retired teachers, ex-county chiefs, ex-sub-county chiefs, civil servants and Local Council Chairpersons. The people interviewed were mainly from forty years and above and were knowledgeable about the problem of study.

### **1.8.5 Research Instruments**

In this study, the following research instruments were used: library search, interview guide and photography as explained below:

#### **1.8.5.1 Library Search**

This was conducted in the libraries of higher institutions of learning such as Makerere University, Kyambogo University, Uganda Christian University Mukono, Centre for Basic Research (CBR) in Kampala and Kenyatta University. The Uganda National Archives at Entebbe, Soroti, and Katakwi and district archives were also consulted. These were used to access information related to the study and conclusions were drawn.

### **1.8.5.2 Interview Guide**

In the process of data collection, the researcher came across knowledgeable people some of whom were illiterate. This called for the use of the interview guide which involved face to face conversation between the researcher and the informant. The main language of conversation was Ateso supplemented with English whenever necessary. The questions were unstructured, only providing key points around which investigative discussion was administered.

### **1.8.5.3 Photography**

This was a technique of recording images of some personalities, events and infrastructure affected by cattle rustling in the area of study. These provided concrete evidence from which descriptive accounts were drawn.

### **1.8.6 Pilot Study**

The semi-structured interview guide was tried out on a small sample of the population. In this study 20 respondents were used for the pilot study. Using mental judgement, this sample population was selected by simple random selection. The purpose of the pre-test was to ensure the effectiveness of the interview guide. That is, the pre-test helped in finding out whether the questions measured what they were supposed to measure, whether the wording was clear, whether the questions provoked a response and whether there was researcher bias. In fact the pre-test proved that there were some flaws in the first question guide. For example, the researcher had assumed that cattle rustling started during the pre-colonial period but according to the respondents, it started during the colonial period. After pilot testing and making necessary amendments, the researcher

evaluated the revised questions. This involved finding out if the questions were clear and specific, where the questions were placed and if the balance of questions was correct.

### **1.8.7 Data Collection**

Data collection was done using various sources. The combination of these sources was appropriate to make use of the different strengths. The major sources of data were the primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included oral interviews and archival sources. The secondary sources included internet, journals and books (documentary sources).

#### **1.8.7.1 Oral Interviews**

This method was adopted in the area of study as some of the respondents were illiterate. Therefore, this would not require administering a questionnaire. It involved face to face discussions with key respondents. The researcher identified the respondents who were required to answer certain questions. An interview guide was used for probing the respondents for information. The language used was mainly Ateso. English was used where the respondents did not know or understand Ateso especially for the district officials. A tape recorder was used for the collection and storage of data, hand in hand with the notes taken in the course of the interviews. The recorded information was then transcribed later.

### **1.8.7.2 Direct Observation**

This method involved looking at the situation on the ground in order to identify some of the devastating effects of cattle rustling in the district of Katakwi. These included dilapidated and destroyed buildings, abandoned facilities, poor roads, evidence of the presence of camps for the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), and so on. The evidence observed was photographed and recorded in the form of descriptive accounts. Observation provided the researcher with first hand and hidden information that the respondents could not reveal in the course of the interviews.

### **1.8.7.3 Documentary Sources**

This involved analysing published and unpublished materials such as books, journals, thesis and newspapers. These contained works on cattle rustling in some areas of the world, Africa and East Africa. From these documentary sources data on the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Katakwi district was obtained and analysed with a view of identifying the missing gaps.

## **1.8.8 Data Analysis**

Data analysis involved scrutinizing the acquired information and making inferences. Since this study was based on qualitative research, the data was analysed by making a generalized judgement. This involved summarizing key findings. In the oral interviews the researcher noted down the frequent responses of the participants on various issues regarding this study. The issues centred on: whether the early history of the Iteso (1600-1894) contributed to the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling; the causes of cattle rustling during the colonial period (1894-1962); the changing dimensions of

cattle rustling during the post-independence period (1962-2001) in Katakwi district and the impact of cattle rustling on the people of Katakwi district. Explanation, in which a narrative report was written enriched with quotations from key respondents, was used. The qualitative data was interpreted by composing explanations or descriptions from the information coded and arranged. The data was coded by re-reading it and re-examining it to identify the important and salient information which was used in writing the research report. Possible quotes were used as examples in this study.

### **1.8.9 Data Management and Ethical Considerations**

The conduct of the researcher was considered and attention was given to the ethical issues associated with carrying out this research. This study was therefore conducted according to the accepted norms and regulations. These included getting an introductory letter from the University in which permission was sought to carry out the research. The introductory letter was duly obtained from Kyambogo University (See Appendices 6 and 7). Informed consent from the persons that were interrogated in the study was obtained. This meant that the respondents freely agreed to participate in the study when the process of data collection was explained to them. Confidentiality was maintained so that the names and identity of the individuals interviewed are not revealed when the findings are disseminated. This was necessary because the population in the area of study had been traumatised by effects of cattle raids and were in perpetual fear.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **2.0 THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ITESO (1600-1894 AD).**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The chapter was based on examining whether the early history of the Iteso (1600-1894) played a role in the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Katakwi district. In order to understand the origin and development of cattle rustling in the area of study, the history of the Iteso in the precolonial period (1600-1894); why the Iteso migrated; the relations between the Iteso and Karimojong and the precolonial occupation of the Iteso were analysed. It was necessary to understand the history of the Iteso vis-a-vis that of their neighbours to the east and northeast (the Karimojong).

The migration and settlement of Iteso into what was known as Teso district was discussed. This gave a background as to where the Iteso come from and why they migrated and settled in the areas they occupied to date. According to the traditions the Iteso and Karimojong are closely related in language, culture, and social organisation. The relations between the Iteso and Karimojong during the colonial period, 1600-1894, was also examined and what the two communities shared in common was highlighted. This helped in answering some of the questions asked. For example, whether the separation of the Iteso and Karimojong in about 1620s contributed to cattle stealing in Katakwi district? An examination of the precolonial occupation of the pioneers of Teso

highlighted the ecological factors that the Iteso took advantage of which made them to change progressively from the lifestyle of their fore fathers in Karamoja.

While analysing the history of the Iteso in the precolonial period and the reasons why they migrated, the Social Conflict and Ecological Systems theories played a significant role in determining the causes and the course of their migration. Moore (2008) observed that conflicts or disputes seemed to be present in all human relationships and in all societies. Moore added that from the beginning of recorded history, there had been evidence of disputes between spouses, children, parents and children, neighbours, ethnic and racial groups, fellow workers, superiors and subordinates, organisations, communities, citizens and their governments and nations. In most conflicts, the parties involved have a variety of means at their disposal to respond to or resolve their differences. The procedures available to them varied considerably in the way the conflict was addressed and settled and often resulted in different outcomes both tangible and intangible.

Lamphear (1994:65) observed that during the earlier part of the nineteenth century, a number of *Ateker* communities, including the Dodos, Karimojong, Toposa, Dongiro and Turkana, had been going through their own process of coalescence. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Ngiro were becoming uncomfortably aware of the growing unity of the Dodos to their north and the Karimojong to the south. Lamphear added that by then, all the *Ateker* groups had developed economies with important pastoral elements, and competition for resources, exacerbated by a deteriorating ecological environment

and expanding population was becoming acute, steadily leading to escalating conflicts. For a while, belts of no man's land in some areas had helped to diffuse tension.

Buckley-Zistel (2008:55) points out that according to local mythology narratives, the Iteso were decedents of the Turkana who still live in Kenya today and that before the advent of colonialism the Turkana, the Iteso and Karimojong were living peacefully together in northern Kenya. Whether because of the difficulties in finding pastures, or because of the scarcity of water sources, they decided to disperse. Hence, the Turkana stayed in Kenya, while the Karimojong and the Iteso moved into what is now known as Karamoja in Uganda. From there only the Iteso continued their journey westwards until they reached what is today referred to as Teso. Their exodus happened between 1600 AD and 1830 AD.

Since the Karimojong and the Iteso were pastoralists, they owned large herds of livestock and depended entirely on them. They wandered in the region grazing their livestock and were constantly in search of green pastures and water. Ocan (1994:133) observed that pastoralists viewed land as a secondary factor of production. The herd was the principal means of production. The extent to which a herder went depended largely on the natural and social conditions, droughts and war (conflict). Ocan added that drought and famine were old in the history of Karamoja and the people were previously involved in seeking solutions to the calamities when they occurred. In support of this Novelli (1988:23) described the habitat of Karamoja from the ecological point of view as a region that had nothing in common with the rest of the country

(Uganda). It was characterised by thorny plants and grasses; a savannah which becomes green at the first rainfall, in April, but dried up again in November, when the rains stopped. Such an ecological environment prevailed in Karamoja and it thus compelled communities to seek solutions as noted above. One of the solutions was migration to better places. In other words the struggle for the available resources such as green pasture and water for their animals degenerated into conflict, which compelled contending communities to seek solutions.

## **2.2 The History of the Iteso in the Pre-colonial Period (1600 AD-1894 AD).**

The oral traditions of the Ateker speakers revealed that in about 1600 A.D, the Iteso and Karimojong lived together as one pastoralist people on Moru Apolon, a plateau which rises on the plain of Turkana in Kenya, on the edge of the Ugandan border with Kenya. The cradle of these peoples was a territory that was not well defined, but which must be located on the northern portion of Lake Turkana. Some sources suggested that the cradle was in the valley of the River Omo, a tributary of Lake Turkana (Novelli, 1988:26-27). But whichever the origin was, the ancestors of the Ateker speakers first settled in the Karamoja region before dispersing. As a consequence of this dispersal, the ancestors of the Iteso moved south-westwards to their present lands towards the end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth century. Lawrance (1955:10-11) pointed out the assumption that the Iteso found their present country empty when they first arrived. This was because there were no traditions of wars with the previous occupants. However, there were stories of a strange, dwarf race of pale-skinned people who lived in the rocks at places as far as Achuloi, Asuret and Nyero. This showed that

Uganda at one time was peopled by the San, whose features and habits corresponded with these accounts. The well-known bent of the San for rock painting has been demonstrated at Nyero, Asuret, and Ngora in Teso. Lawrance also noted that it was possible that the Iteso on their migration found the last survivors of this race of stone-age men still lurking in the rock outcrops, which are a feature of the Teso countryside. With their stone implements, these stone-age men would be no match for the Iteso (Lawrance *ibid*).

Okalany (1980:4) observed that the year 1652 AD was the earliest date of settlement of the Iteso at Kapujan-Kokorio (northern shores of Lake Bisina). By about the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Iteso had settled in present day Soroti and Kumi districts. He continued to note that the separation of the Iteso and Karimojong was brought about by the Nyarubanga Famine in the 1580s and the lesser famine of the 1620s. As a result of the famine, the elders advised and requested the younger generation to take the cattle ahead and save them from starvation arising out of lack of green grass and water. The young men drove the cattle away to the west and south of Karamoja. After the destructive effects of the famine, the young men did not return to their elders (*ibid* p.4-5). Could this break-away be accepted as one of the reasons why the Karimojong raided the Iteso to recover the cattle that the young men drove away? If this would be an accepted premise as to why the Karimojong raid the Iteso, why did practice continue up to period of this study? It was, therefore, the basis of this study to explore the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the period of study (1600-2001).

Okalany's (1980) and Webster's (1970) accounts portrayed that the Iteso and Karimojong had been one people living together in Karamoja before they separated. However, it was characteristic among the pastoral communities for the young men to move far with their animals in search of fresh pasture and water. The need to find new grazing grounds drove them to follow their livestock where grass and water were relatively abundant. Therefore, one after another, various groups scattered in different directions and at the same time, because of increasing distances, they lost contact with other groups (Novelli, 1988:28). It was this loss of contact that may have contributed to the separation of the Iteso and Karimojong.

It was noted that certain forces were also creating a serious division in outlook between the Iteso and Karimojong. For example, the better soil and reliable rainfall that the pioneers of Teso found at Magoro, in Katakwi district, enabled the Iteso to turn more and more to agriculture and away from the pastoralist life of their fathers in Karamoja. Whereas the Iteso became primarily agriculturalists and also kept cattle, the Karimojong who stayed on the arid and dry plains of Karamoja remained largely pastoralists. Agriculture in Karamoja was only confined to a few river valleys and was solely the work of women. It is these geographical disparities that were bound to bring conflict between the two communities. Secondly, the periodic famines and epidemics which drastically reduced their cattle forced the Iteso into greater dependence upon agriculture as the surest means of recovering their losses and building up their herds again. So cattle losses were mainly made up by wars and raids against neighbouring peoples (Webster, 1970: 48-49).

The linguistic classification places the Iteso under the Plains Nilotes which is made up of the Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania, the Karimojong-Teso of Uganda and Turkana of Kenya. The Plains Nilotes is one of the three branches of the Nilotic group that is widespread in East Africa. It extends from northern and north eastern Uganda to north-western, western, central and southern Kenya, and continues into north-central Tanzania. The other two branches are: the Highland Nilotes which consists of the Kalenjin cluster, namely, the Nandi, the Kipsigis, the Tugen, the Terik, the Elgeyo, the Marakwet, the Pokot, and the Elgon Kalenjin (the Sabin, the Kony, the Bok and the Bongomek); and the River-Lake Nilotes which consists of the Lwo groups, namely, the Alur, Acholi, Labwor, Padhola, and Kenya Lwo. According to the linguistic classification, the Nilotes denotes people who originated from an area near the River Nile in present day South Sudan and moved into East Africa (Kahangi 2006: 19-22). Ogot (1980: 157) also pointed out that the people ancestral to all Nilotes probably inhabited an area along the south-western fringe of the Ethiopian Highlands near the regions of Lake Turkana. Both Kahangi and Ogot more or less describe the same region of Nilotic origin.

Scholarly works of Otwal (2001:2); Novelli (1988:27); Okalany (1980:1); Webster (1970:48); Ogot (1968:145); Gulliver (1956:213) and Lawrance (1955:11) revealed that the Iteso originated from South West Abyssinia (Ethiopia) where they had once lived together with the Karimojong, Jie, Toposa of Sudan and the Turkana of Kenya as one ethnic group known as the *Itunga* about 500 years ago. The word "*Itunga*" referred to

“People” just as the word “*Bantu*” has been used to designate “People” (Curtain 1995:15).

The place of origin of the *Itunga* being Abyssinia was corroborated by the majority of the respondents. Osele (O. I., Palam, 2010) asserted that the Iteso came from Abyssinia via Karamoja and then eventually entered Teso. Similar views were expressed by Akwang (O.I., Usuk, 2010). Some of the respondents stated that the Iteso came from Asia Minor (Middle East). Oduc (O. I., Ongongoja, 2010) mentioned Asia Minor as the place of origin of the Iteso before they came to Abyssinia. Edeketa (O.I., Palam, 2010) also mentioned of the Middle East as the place where the Iteso came from and then moved to Abyssinia where further movement took place. These revelations were all based on the oral traditions the respondents got.

Asia Minor which had been mentioned by some of the respondents as a place of origin of the Iteso probably had some truth. The element of the truth here may be pegged to the “Hamitic Myth” which envisaged that the “Hamites” were the “more European-like” of the Africans. That is, those peoples with lighter skins, thinner lips and straighter noses inhabiting most of Northern and North-Eastern Africa (Ogot 1980: 96-97)). Ogot found the use of the word “Hamitic” confusing because of its racist connotations and preferred to classify the lighter-skinned inhabitants of Northern and North-Eastern Africa as “Caucasoid”, semi-Caucasoid” or “Negro- Caucasoid crosses”. Due to the racial connotations given for the use of ‘Hamitic’, ‘Caucasoid’, and ‘Negro’, it was prudent to use ‘Nilotic’, ‘Cushitic’ and ‘Black’ respectively. Cushitic was used to refer

to a member of any of the races of people who have pale skin. He further stated that such descriptions would not be extended to the East African pastoralists such as Maasai, Karimojong, Turkana, Hima and Tutsi who were commonly called “Hamites” or “semi-Hamites”. To him these people are definitely Black (referring to a member of a race of people with dark skin who originally came from Africa), although some of them may have incorporated a small admixture of Cushitic blood in their ancestry. The people formerly designated as “Nilo-Hamites” were considered on both linguistic and cultural grounds to be mixtures of Nilotes and “Hamites”. These belonged to four or five main groupings namely, Kalenjin, Maasai, Itunga (Karimojong-Iteso cluster) and the Bari cluster. By this assertion the Iteso who belong to the group formerly described as “Nilo-Hamites” may have had “Nilotic” or “Cushitic” blood. However modern scholars like Shillington (2005) categorises the groupings mentioned above as Eastern or Plains Nilotes (Shillington 2005:207).

Lawrance (1995:11-12), observed that the ancestors of the Iteso came from the direction of Abyssinia through Karamoja and their travels lasted through six generations or ages. The first of these generations was known as *Ojurit*. These were people of short stature with large heads who lived in swamps and on the lakes. The second generation was known as *Onyangaese* and it was the period when the people began to keep livestock, namely, cattle, goats and sheep. It was also from this time that it became customary for the men to take their names from the cattle they owned.

The third generation was that of *Okori*. In this generation the people began to till the ground and grew crops like millet and sorghum which are now grown in Teso sub-region, an indication that the ancestors of the Iteso came with the idea of growing these cereals. The word “*Okori*” means “cultivate”. The fourth generation was known as *Otikiri*. This was the generation in which people learnt various crafts, bead-making, tanning, beer brewing and making musical instruments. The word “*Otikiri*” refers to a kind of dance (Otwal 2001:3). This implied that the Iteso began to dance to the music they produced after getting drunk with the local brew they made from millet and sorghum. Even to date the Iteso make their local brew, “*Ajon*” from either millet or sorghum or both.

The fifth generation was that of *Arionga*. This was a very important period in the history of the Iteso. It was during this period that the migration from Abyssinia started in about 1600 AD and they eventually established themselves around Mount Moroto and Okong. It was also during this generation that the ancestors of the Iteso broke away from the Karimojong at Mount Moroto area (ibid). The generation of *Arionga* derived its name from the way the people carried their luggage as they migrated. The word “*airiong*” means carrying the luggage on the shoulder. In some cases the luggage was tied onto a long stick which then rested on the shoulder as the people moved on foot. This mode of transportation was even common during the late colonial period because the modern means of transport had not yet spread.

Otwal (2001:2) pointed out that the first group that moved out of Abyssinia were the Turkana of Kenya who settled in the area to the west of Lake Turkana. The departure from Abyssinia was brought about by the need for fresh pastures and water for their livestock. The number of people and livestock had also increased and this generated competition for the limited resources available. As the second group comprising of the ancestors of the Iteso and Karimojong moved from about 1600 AD trying to join the Turkana, they were repulsed by the latter who had already taken control of the area to the west of Lake Turkana. So the ancestors of the Iteso and the Karimojong made a turn to the south-west direction. This confirmed Webster's (1977:48) assertion that the general migration of the *Itunga* into Uganda has been from the north-east to the south-west.

Oral traditions in the area of study asserted that as the ancestors of the Iteso and Karimojong left the land of the Turkana in north-west Kenya, they moved to "*Moruto*" which is now referred to as Moroto. The name "Moroto" was derived from two words "*Moru*" meaning "mountain" or "rock" and "*too*" meaning "west." So the name "*Moruto*" means "mountain of the west". Therefore, the movement from north-east direction towards south-west (Karamoja region) seemed to have been guided by the visibility of Mount Moroto during the course of the movement of the ancestors of the Iteso and Karimojong from the land of the Turkana. Okalany (1980:64) observed that during the movements of the Iteso, the surface of the landscape influenced the movements of the people. Landforms like rivers, lakes and inselbergs contributed to the pattern, direction and speed of movement. In the absence of roads, natural features had

a large part to play in migration. This observation justified that Mount Moroto, a conspicuous landmark, influenced the direction of movement from the north- east to the south- west.

As a result of the constant pressure subjected to the Itunga group around Mount Moroto and Okong by the Turkana to the east and insufficient grazing and water for the increased herds, the group split into three. The first group led by Okong and Angisa entered into what is now Teso sub- region at Angisa (named after Angisa, one of the leaders) near Magoro. A subsidiary group went farther afield through Bugwere to Tororo and Western Kenya (Gulliver 1956:213). The second group occupied the slopes of Mount Kamalinga (Napak) and Mount Akisim lying at the Katakwi- Moroto border. One of the leaders was Alekilek, who gave his name to the curiously shaped volcanic plug which is clearly seen from Ongongoja Sub- County. The third group stayed back in Karamoja. They became known as the Karimojong, a name derived from two words “*aikar*” meaning “to tire” and “*imojong*” meaning “old men”. Therefore the name “*Karimojong*”, means “the tired old men who stayed behind”. It was during this generation of *Arionga* that the two distinct peoples- Karimojong and Iteso emerged.

Okalany (1980:4) asserted that the separation of the Iteso and Karimojong was brought about by the Nyarubanga Famine of the 1580s and 1620s. It was because of this famine that the elders advised and requested the younger generation to drive the cattle ahead and save them from starvation arising out of lack of green grass and water. The young men drove the cattle away to the west and south of Karamoja and after the destructive

effects of the famine, the young men did not return to their elders. Oduc's (O.I., Ongongoja, 2010) statement that the youth moved west from the elders in Karamoja and found fertile and well watered areas and refused to go back, was in agreement with Okalany's findings. It was at this point that the elders (tired old men) who stayed behind began to wonder about what could have happened to the young men who had driven away the cattle. Since the young men did not return the elders concluded that they had met their death. That is, they had become *Atesin* or *Atesia*, meaning "dead bodies", hence the name Iteso. However, Lawrance's (1955:12) explanation of the name "Teso" differed from that of other scholars. To him the name "Teso" was derived from the word "*ates*" meaning "child" (sic). So Teso was the land of the children who left the old men behind. This explanation was not plausible because all the people interviewed were in agreement with the earlier explanation.

It was during the *Arionga* generation that the Iteso came up to where they live today (Otwal 2001:3). According to the respondents in Katakwi district, the Iteso were led by different clan leaders. As pastoralists in Karamoja their two most important institutions had been the *Ateker* (clan) and *Aturi* (age group). In 1700 AD it seemed likely that each *Ateker* claimed descent from a common ancestor (Webster 1977:53). This showed that their political system was segmentary, typical of the pastoralists. That is, where people were largely pastoralist- mainly animal herders rather than crop cultivators or mixed farmers, their settlements tended to be less permanent, They needed to move in search of varying seasonal pastures (Shillington 2005:15). That ecological need made their political system segmentary in that they did not have a central authority as in sedentary

societies. Their political units were made up of several clans. A clan was made up of families who are descended from one ancestor.

The different clan leaders that led the Iteso into Teso were: Oduk, Oleumo, Okolimo, Arionga, Angisa, Asonya, Omaas, Malinga, Omidil, Okongo, Okori, Ocaatum, Achogor, Aukin, and Okalebo. Oduk seemed to have been the most prominent clan leader of the Iteso at the time. Among the present day Iteso the saying “*Odwe Oduk*” meaning “children of Oduk” is very common. It is used to categorize all the Iteso.

The entry point for the pioneers of Teso was Angisa, a place about 12 miles (19km) to the east of Magoro Sub- County Headquarters. From Angisa the Itunga group moved to Magoro which is near to the two water bodies of Lake Opeta and Lake Bisina (see Map 1.1 on page 16). The other gateway to Teso was Napak (Iirir) at the border with Moroto district. This was a clear indication that the proximity of Lake Opeta and Lake Bisina lured the pioneers of Teso. A greater batch of Itunga migrants entered Teso through Angisa. As pastoralists, they were attracted by the presence of the two water bodies. The name Magoro was derived from the word “*Amagoro*” which means “forest”. This implied that the area was forested and because of the better soil and reliable rainfall, the pioneers of Teso turned more and more to agriculture and away from pastoralist life of their fore fathers in Karamoja (Webster 1977:48).

The last generation in this episode of migration was *Asonya*. This was the generation in which the Iteso spread further westwards and occupied most of modern Teso sub-region. Lawrance (1955:15) referred to this as the generation of the second migration.

The Iteso gradually spread along the Northern shores of Lake Bisina towards Toroma-Kapujan areas in Katakwi district. The continued influx of settlers into Magoro inevitably led to further migrations westward to Soroti-Kaberamaido areas (Soroti and Kaberamaido districts) where a fusion reportedly took place between the Lwo, who had already settled there and the Itunga peoples. The fusion of the two peoples ultimately produced the modern Kumam of Kaberamaido districts who speak, *Kumam*, a language blended with Luo and Ateso words.

A new pioneer group moved south from Kapujan across Lake Bisina and established themselves in Ngora-Kumi and Bukedea areas. In these areas live the *Ingoratok*, a general name given to the Iteso living in Ngora, Kumi and Bukedea districts (Report on Teso District, 1949, page 4, Soroti District Archives). As Webster (1977:49) rightly put it,

“Land, land and more land lured them forward,  
for there were greener pastures and good soils  
ahead”.

Webster (1977:48) also pointed out that whereas the settlement of Serere and Bukedea areas had possibly just began by 1830, the move into Amuria came fifty years later (1880). This implied that there was another wave of movement of Iteso from Ngora-Kumi area to Amuria district. However, Webster had also noted that western pioneers around Soroti interacted with the Langi, another group of the Plains Nilotes. As the Iteso –Langi relationship turned sour, the Iteso fell back, turning either towards Amuria or south to Serere.

### **2.3 Why the Iteso Migrated.**

It has already been observed that the Iteso, Karimojong, Jie, Turkana and Toposa of Sudan once lived in Abyssinia as one ethnic group (*Itunga*) about 500 years ago. Due to subsequent migrations, the Iteso, Karimojong and the Jie came and established themselves in Karamoja sub- region in the areas of Mount Moroto and Okong. So before the arrival of Iteso into modern Teso sub- region, they had lived in what is now Moroto district in Karamoja. The Iteso migrated from Karamoja towards the end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth century. The migration was probably due to overstocking, lack of grazing land, over population, as well as pressure from the Karimojong and Turkana (Were and Wilson 1984:48). According to the respondents in Katakwi district, the same reasons and others were mentioned. The reasons as to why the Iteso migrated from Karamoja were attributed to the search for water and fresh pasture, search for fertile land, conflict or wars, drought, population increase, diseases and disasters, love for adventure, famine and cattle theft.

Based on the reasons for the migrations articulated by the respondents in the area of study, an elaborate consideration of each gave an insight as to the relations between the Iteso and Karimojong and the origins of cattle stealing in Katakwi district. Right from their cradle land in Abyssinia the Itunga group of people owned large herds of livestock (cattle, goats and sheep) and depended mostly on them. For that reason it was typical of them to wander in the country grazing their livestock and was in constant search of green pastures and water for their animals. As both the numbers of human and livestock increased it necessitated movement of groups of people away from the cradle land.

Therefore, the movement of Iteso out of Karamoja has also been attributed to the search of green pastures and water. Novelli (1988:23) noted that Karamoja was a land not even suitable for herding. He described the habitat of Karamoja as a region characterised by thorny plants and grasses, a savannah which became green at the first rainfall in April but which dried up again in November when the rains stopped. There was no surface water, except puddles which were formed in the rainy season, only to disappear a few weeks later when the rains ended. In reality the harsh ecological conditions in Karamoja necessitated movement away from Karamoja. The need to find new grazing grounds drove them to follow where grass and water were relatively abundant. Therefore, one after another, various groups scattered in different directions, and at the same time, because of increasing distances, they lost contact with other groups.

Odhambo (2003:16) pointed out that as the populations of cattle and humans increased, the competition for access to the diminishing resources whether these be pastures, water or salt lick became more and more acute. This competition usually degenerated into conflict in an environment like that of Karamoja. In the event of conflict the less favoured communities usually moved away to secure environments. Drought brought about by little and unreliable rainfall in Karamoja contributed to the migration of the Iteso out of Karamoja. Novelli (1988:82) noted that rainfall in Karamoja averaged 1,000mm per year but the potential for evaporation was more than double, that is, 2,200 mm. In such a region a concentration of people and livestock was enough to exceed the limits of tolerance of the land, and there followed the depletion of the vegetation and subsequent erosion of the soil. The dry season in Karamoja set in November up to April

when the first rainfall was expected. During the dry season, the winds reigned supreme. Even puddles of water which had formed in the rainy season disappeared.

The search for fertile land also contributed to the migration of the Iteso. Webster (1977:49) observed that it was the need for more land lured the Iteso forward for better soil ahead. Magoro, which was the entry point to Teso from Karamoja, had better soil and reliable rainfall. For these reasons the pioneers of Teso turned more and more to agriculture and away from the pastoralist life of their fore fathers in Karamoja.

It was also evident that the migration of the Iteso was brought about by conflict. As the populations of humans and livestock increased, the competition for diminishing resources such as pastures and water set in. This made conflict inevitable in an environment like that of Karamoja which was characterized by aridity and scanty vegetation. In such circumstances, the less favoured communities usually moved away to avoid conflict. Here lay the principle of the Socialist Conflict Theory in which the differing amounts of material and non-material resources compelled the more powerful groups to use their power to exploit the less powerful.

Population increase was a cause of migration right from the cradleland in Abyssinia. With the corresponding increase in livestock, it necessitated further movement of groups of people to other areas. The movement of the Iteso from Moroto to Napak and eventually to Teso was partially due to increase in the number of humans and livestock.

It was also observed that the outbreak of diseases contributed to the migration of the Iteso. Rinderpest was the greater killer of animals and the other was pleuro-pneumonia. According to Akwang (O.I., Usuk, 2010) the rinderpest diseases attacked cattle when the Itunga were in Napak. The disease particularly killed the white coloured cattle but the black coloured ones were resistant. The elders advised the younger generation to drive the surviving black cattle farther westwards (Teso) to safeguard them from the epidemic. Okalany (1980:4) had also observed that Nyarubanga Famine in the 1580s and the lesser famine of the 1620s compelled the elders to advise the younger generation to take the cattle ahead and save them from starvation arising out of lack of green grass and water. Thus, the outbreak of diseases and famine compelled the Itunga in Karamoja to take precautionary measures to mitigate the ravages of diseases and famine. It was believed that the younger generation did not go back. The elders who remained behind feared the fate of the young generation who moved further west. The fear was that they could have been killed and become graves (*Atesia*), hence the name Teso. The younger generation also referred to the elders that remained behind in Karamoja, as the “tired old men” (*Ekar imojong*). That was how the name “*Karimojong*” came about.

Other reasons mentioned were love for adventure and cattle theft. The love for adventure came as a result of the drive to explore what lay ahead of them and was stimulated by the existing environmental conditions in Karamoja. Since the political system was segmentary, it was likely that each clan under their leader moved whenever the need arose. Lastly cattle theft, which appeared to have been minimal at the time also

contributed to the migration of the Iteso. However, scholarly works of Webster (1970), Novelli (1988) and Otwal (2001) among others do not cite cattle theft as one of the causes of the migration of the Iteso from Karamoja. The probable reason was that before their separation in the 1620s the ancestors of the Iteso and Karimojong had lived together as one people- the Itunga (see Chapter 2.4). Therefore cases of theft among the two communities could not have occurred, or if it did, they were minimal.

Based on the factors analysed above, it would be acceptable to suggest that several reasons contributed to the migration of the Iteso from Karamoja. However, the search for water, fresh pasture and fertile land seemed to have been the most significant. It should be noted that right from their place of origin in Abyssinia, the Itunga people were pastoralists keeping cattle, goats and sheep and they had also began to till the ground and grew crops like millet and sorghum. This therefore justified the continued search for water, fresh pasture and fertile land.

#### **2.4 Relations between the Iteso and Karimojong**

There have been controversies among earlier writers such as Gulliver and Lawrance about the relationship between the Iteso and the Karimojong. Gulliver (1956:214) pointed out that no writer had given any acceptable legend which definitely relates the origin of the Iteso with the origin of any member of the Karimojong Cluster (Karimojong, Dodoth, Turkana, Jie, Toposa and Donyiro). However, Lawrance (1955:13-14) assumed that such a common origin existed. Furthermore and inexplicably, he asserted that the Iteso were formed by a break away from the Jie

community at Kotido. According to Gulliver (op cit) whereas as the Jie remembered all the legendary process by which the Toposa and Turkana split off from their ancestors to form a separate ethnic group whom they recognized as “*cousins*”, they did not know the origins of the Iteso. This had been strengthened by his findings that to this day in both Jie and Turkana countries the word “*Teso*” is not recognized and the modern inhabitants of the whole Soroti region were only known as “*Kumam*”. However, Gulliver (1956:215) concluded that on the grounds of greater similarity of language, culture and social organisation, it is justifiable to link the Iteso more closely with the Karimojong Cluster than with any other group.

Whereas the earlier writers were sceptical about the relations between the Iteso and Karimojong, it should be remembered that before their separation in the 1620s the ancestors of the two communities had lived together as Itunga peoples. That was why the word “*Teso*” was not recognized in the vocabulary of the Jie and Turkana as observed by Gulliver (1956:214). The separation between the ancestors of the Iteso and the Karimojong was a later development. It was noted that the Iteso legend placed their origin in the east of their present country. At the time immediately before their arrival in modern Teso country, they (Iteso) had lived in what is now Karamoja. Their centres were Mount Moroto and Okong. From these parts of Karamoja, the ancestors of the Iteso moved south- westwards to the present Usuk area (in Katakwi district) from where they spread over the whole of Teso sub- region. From the same bases in Karamoja, a smaller section moved southwards to the Tororo area in eastern Uganda and eventually to Western Kenya (Teso district).

Recent writers such as Novelli (1988:25) reiterated that the Karimojong were related linguistically to their western neighbours: the two branches of the Iteso settled respectively in the area of Soroti (Teso sub-region) and that of Tororo farther south. The Karimojong and the Iteso were able to understand each other when they spoke in spite of lexical differences. As an illustration, it was interesting to note how the Karimojong and Iteso expressed themselves when they asked the basic question: “Who are you?”, and gave the answer: “I am a human being”. They both used slightly different words, but with the same root “*NGA*”. The Karimojong said: “*NGAe iyong?*” (Who are you?). They answered: “*iTUNGANan ayong*” (I am a human being). For the Iteso they said: “*INGAi ijo?* (Who are you?) They answered: “*iTUNGANan eong*” (I am a human being).

It should also be noted that the root word *ITUNGA* meaning “people” was used by both the Karimojong and Iteso in their expression. According to the Iteso traditions, the Iteso and Karimojong were closely related in all aspects- language, culture and social organisation. Epelu-Opio (2009:16) reaffirmed this relationship because the Iteso still referred to the Karimojong as their “uncles” (*luamamai*) while the latter called the Iteso their “nephews” (*icenion*). Akwang (O.I, Usuk, 2010) asserted that the Iteso and Karimojong were related in all aspects since they were staying together as one clan and family. Oduc (O.I., Ongongoja, 2010) pointed out that from their base at Apule in Karamoja the Iteso and Karimojong lived together as one people.

However, a few of the respondents especially in Amuria were very sentimental in their responses and categorically denied any relationship between the Iteso and Karimojong asserting that if the two were related why did the Karimojong raid their cattle and also killed the Iteso? (Okolimong O.I., Acowa, 2010; Apiding O.I., Acowa, 2010; and Akiteng O.I., Acowa, 2010). This was a clear indication that the atrocities committed by the Karimojong on the people of Amuria and elsewhere in Teso sub-region seemed to overturn the aforesaid relationship between the Iteso and Karimojong. However, the denial of that relationship by the people of Amuria was a manifestation of emotional trauma experienced by the people of Amuria but the fact remains that the Iteso and the Karimojong are closely related and at one time lived together.

The animosity between the Iteso and the Karimojong was possibly triggered by the after-effects of the Iworopom War of 1830. Webster(1977:49-51) pointed out that the Iworopom people lived in the country called Woropom which was located between Mount Elgon, Mount Kadam and the Suk hills. They were not of the Itunga family and spoke a distinct language of their own, but because of extensive contact with the Itunga they spoke the Itunga tongue. It seemed likely that a good deal of assimilation and intermarriage had taken place between the two peoples. Webster continued to observe that it was probably a famine and cattle epidemic in about 1830 AD which drove the pastoralist Itunga (Karimojong) around Moroto into a war against the more settled and agriculturalist the Iworopom. This was an aspect of the Social Conflict Theory in which the differing amounts of materials and non-material resources drove the more powerful groups to exploit groups with less power.

The Karimojong drove southward, overwhelmed the Iworopom, destroyed them as a nation and scattered them as destitute refugees. Some sought refuge among the Tepes in the mountains and some became members of the Karimojong society, but possibly the majority fled to the safety of Teso. As a result, we still get the Woropom clan among the Tepes, the Karimojong and the Iteso. Initially, the flight was southwards, crashing through Bugisu into Tororo and further south into Samia, Bugwe and then to Western Kenya. The people through whose land they passed between 1840 and 1860 described them as fierce and warlike hordes. Other refugees began the intensive settlement of Bukedea and friction greatly increased along the southern Teso border facing Bugisu and Bugwere. Though the Iteso-Iworopom built up a powerful military organisation in Bukedea which from 1860 to the 1890's continually pushed armies southward, the Bagisu ultimately contained these attacks. However, hordes of Iteso-Iworopom continued to pour through Bugwere to Tororo and beyond (Webster *ibid*).

Webster (*ibid*) also observed that by the 1860's the fortunes of war appeared to have turned against the Iteso-Iworopom allies in the migration corridor and this resulted in a backward migration from Tororo-Bukedea to Magoro. Since these new settlers were tired of war, strife, and insecurity of life and property in Tororo-Bukedea, they moved into Magoro looking for peace and economic opportunity. After a short stop-over in the heavily populated Magoro; the Iworopom settlers began to move towards northern Usuk which was almost a total wilderness. Most of the modern people of Usuk sub-county and many in Ngariam and Katakwi sub-counties were the descendants of these Iworopom settlers. According to Webster, the Iworopom War possibly began the first

crisis among the Itunga and ultimately led the Karimojong and the Iteso feeling that they were distinct and separate peoples. The genesis of the crisis was that the Iteso were blamed for having given asylum to the enemies of their fore fathers, the Karimojong. To make matters worse the Iworopom influence in Teso was anti-Karimojong. The Iworopom settlers in Usuk soon undertook wars and raids against the Karimojong as a way of revenge. To the Iteso the use of the word Karimojong, in which they recalled the relationship between the Iteso and Karimojong, became less popular. Instead they described the Karimojong as “*Iloke*”, referring to hunters of small animals. To date the Iteso refer to the Karimojong as “*Iloke*”. The absorbing of Iworopom by the Iteso marked the beginning of a strained relationship between the Iteso and Karimojong.

## **2.5 Precolonial Occupation of the Iteso.**

Webster (1977:48) observed that while the Iteso and Karimojong considered themselves one people, certain forces were creating a serious division in outlook between the two. For example, ecological factors began to play a key role in distinguishing between the lifestyle of the Iteso and that of the Karimojong. It was because of better soil and reliable rainfall that the pioneers of Teso turned more and more to agriculture and drifted away from the pastoralist life of their fore fathers in Karamoja. The migration of the Iteso away from the arid north and east brought them to the lush and well-watered south and west (Magoro).

After settling in Teso, the pioneers of Teso took advantage of the good environmental factors that they found in the new area. With better soil, reliable rainfall and well-

watered areas, the Itunga of Teso adopted agro-pastoralism. They primarily became agriculturalists but also kept cattle. The experiences of periodic famines and epidemics which had drastically reduced their cattle compelled them to primarily depend on agriculture as the surest way of recovering their losses and building up their herds again.

The pioneers of Teso embarked on clearing of forested land (*amagoro*) and began cultivating it. Obwapus (O.I., Magoro, 2010) stated that the Iteso at first cultivated the land using “*akuta*” (a shaped piece of hard wood for digging). However, from the mid-nineteenth century the method of agriculture became steadily more efficient and land could be cleared easily and extensively. This was a result of the introduction of red iron hoes brought in mainly from Banyoro markets in Busoga and north of Lake Kyoga (Webster 1977:51). The Iteso mainly cultivated millet, sorghum, cowpeas and cucumber. As a result of adopting a more settled economic activity concentrated settlements began to emerge. They built group homes (homesteads) which eventually became villages consisting of the same clan members. Each clan (*ateker*) claimed descent from a common ancestor.

Fishing was also cited as an economic activity done by the Iteso. The presence of large swamps draining into Lake Opetta and Lake Bisina provided opportunities to carry out fishing. The fishing gear mainly comprised spears and baskets. This was done by both men and women. Barter trade was also conducted with the neighbouring communities. Webster (1977:51) cited that wandering Banyoro and Basoga traders carried hoes into

the Iteso heartland in exchange for goats while Kumam and Iteso traders carried them further, so that by the 1890's most sections of Teso possessed this highly prized agricultural tool. It is noted that in a Northern Busoga market one goat was worth ten hoes. At Wera, in Amuria district the rate was two hoes for a goat and in Toroma in Katakwi district, whose traders bought from Wera, it was one for one. This showed that the hoe was an important item of trade at the time because of its economic advantage.

Hunting was carried out because of the availability of wild game. The Iteso mainly hunted and trapped small animals and the meat from the wild game supplemented the existing diet. Spears and sticks (clubs) were the weapons used in the hunt. A band of hunters usually kept dogs to assist in the hunt.

It was noted that there was certainly division of labour among the Iteso though some activities were shared between men and women. Men grazed livestock and protected them from wild animals. They cleared the bush making land ready for cultivation and hunted and also trapped wild animals. Women mainly cultivated land, cooked food for the family, cared for children, collected firewood, fetched water and constructed houses. This involved thatching and mudding. However fishing and cultivation were a shared activity. It was done by both men and women.

## **2.6 Summary**

In conclusion, the history of the "*Itunga*" peoples from which the Iteso, Karimojong and Jie of Uganda; the Toposa of Sudan and Turkana of Kenya emerged as separate groups of communities takes us to their cradle land in Abyssinia (Ethiopia). However,

some sources have revealed that they may have come from Asia Minor (Middle East) around 1400 before settling in Abyssinia. This assertion may be pegged to the “*Hamitic (Cushitic) myth*” which attributed the “*Hamites (Cushites)*” to be “more European-like” of the Africans.

The reasons for the migration of the Itunga of Teso were varied though according to the study the search for water and fresh pasture was more significant. Other factors such as search for fertile land, conflict, drought, population increase, diseases, love for adventure, famine and cattle theft, also contributed but to a lesser degree. The study also revealed that the Iteso and Karimojong had lived together in Karamoja as one ethnic group (*Itunga*) before they separated and distinctly came to be referred to as Iteso and Karimojong. The different environments that the two communities were subjected to played a significant role in shaping the occupational differences between the two peoples. Inevitably, this was bound to be the source of conflict. Whereas the Iteso turned more and more to agriculture because of the better soil and reliable rainfall in Teso, their fore fathers on the arid and dry plains of Karamoja remained mainly pastoralists. The study was guided by the Social Conflict and Ecological Systems theories. The competition for ecological resources such water and fresh pasture generated conflict between the Itunga people who lived together in Karamoja as one ethnic group. Even when the ancestors of the Iteso and Karimojong separated it was these differences in ecology and occupation that precipitated cattle rustling which is examined in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3.0 CAUSES OF CATTLE RUSTLING IN KATAKWI DISTRICT IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD (1894-1962)**

#### **3.1 Introduction.**

This chapter examines the causes of cattle rustling in Katakwi district during the colonial period (1894-1962). It highlights the extension of British rule in north-eastern Uganda; the role of Semei Kakungulu in Teso (1899-1904); the establishment of British rule in Teso (1904-1962); the origins and the reasons for cattle rustling in Katakwi district during the colonial period. An analysis of the colonial history of Uganda gives a background as to the origins and reasons for cattle rustling in the area of study.

The years 1894-1962 mark the colonial period in which Uganda was under British administration. Between 1894 and 1919 the Uganda protectorate was created upon the headwaters of the Nile by a tiny British colonial government of less than twenty officials (Harlow and Chilver 1965:57). In fact it only comprised a small area in the northwest shore of Lake Victoria. The Uganda Protectorate formally declared in June 1894 had included only the kingdom of Buganda (Oliver and Mathew 1963:430-431). It was from here that the British colonial government began to extend their authority eastwards over Busoga, westwards into Toro and Bunyoro and to the northern parts of Uganda. However, for the purpose of this study, the researcher specifically examined the role of Semei Kakungulu, a Muganda, in the extension of British rule to Teso and the British take over from him. The extension of British rule to Teso and the role played

by Kakungulu was not the gist of this study. However, the activities of the British and Kakungulu provided a background that contributed to the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in the area of study.

In analysing the origins of cattle rustling and the reasons for cattle rustling during the colonial period in Katakwi district, the Social Conflict, the Ecological Systems and the Materialist theories were considered. As already observed in Chapter One, the proponents of the Social Conflict Theory argued that when individuals and groups (social classes) within a society have differing amounts of material and non-material resources, the more powerful groups use their power in order to exploit groups with less power (<http://en.wikipedia.org>). The differing amounts of material and non-material resources drove the less favoured Itunga in Karamoja into a series of conflicts with their relatives in Teso (Webster 1970: 49).

With regard to the Ecological Systems Theory, Novelli (1988:23) observed that the habitat of Karamoja sub-region was characterised by thorny plants and grasses; a savannah which only became green at the first rainfall, in April, but dried up again in November, when the rain stopped. The wind usually reigned supreme during the dry season vehemently sweeping the dazzling whiteness of the undulating savannah. The seasonal changes which were usually characterised by long periods of drought forced the pastoralists to move to distant places in search of water and fresh pasture for their livestock. Since drought and famine were as old in the history of Karamoja, the people in this region sought solutions to these calamities when they occurred. For instance the

Bokora, a section of the Karimojong, used to migrate to Teso and any other region that could provide water and fresh pasture for their livestock. Unfortunately the drawing of boundaries and restriction of cattle movements by the colonial government affected these transhumance patterns through which pastoralists sought to overcome ecological hardships. The entrenching of ethnic boundaries inhibited their territorial expansion (Walter 1985: 347-370). So by invading the lands of their neighbours in times of drought, conflict was usually inevitable.

The Materialist Theory which emphasises on a preoccupation that stresses upon material rather than intellectual or spiritual things was applicable in this chapter. Ocan (1994:130) pointed out that during the pre-colonial period merchant trade existed often with cattle as the mode of accumulation of wealth and medium of exchange. He added that it was the border restrictions, the gazetting of Karamoja into a closed area by the British colonial administration, the restriction of herding and movement inside Karamoja that destroyed the trade in the region forcing people to recoil back to barter. Since cattle remained the measure of value, store of wealth and medium of exchange, cattle raids within Karamoja and which were extended to the neighbouring communities, Teso inclusive, became inevitable.

### **3.2 Extension of British Rule in North-Eastern Uganda**

The analysis of the extension of British rule in Uganda and more particularly north-eastern Uganda was significant to this study in that the British brought communities that to them had thrived through “primitive and savage” activities under their control. Such

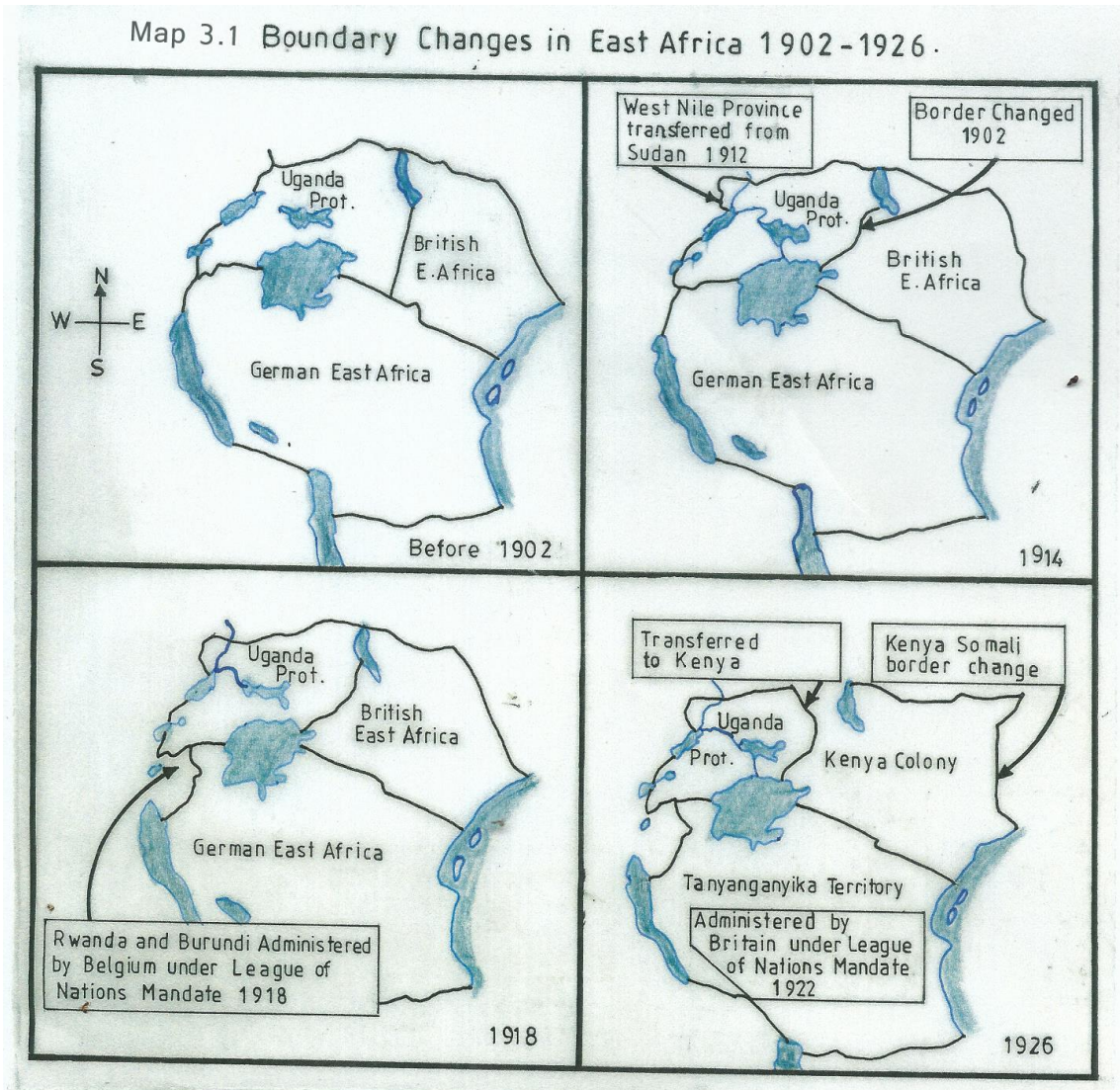
communities were made to see life in another perspective. The role played by Semei Kakungulu and the British rule in Teso district in particular, was examined to give a background to the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region. Whereas from 1904 when the British took over the administration of Teso district from Kakungulu and a “civilized” kind of government was brought, better roads were built to ease communication and a cash crop economy was established, Karamoja district by then remained a tourist attraction because of its backwardness as compared to other parts of the country (Karugire 1980:126). The British attitude was that they would rather concentrate on areas whose resources were known and whose people were already familiar with the presence of Europeans. This was the instruction given to Hayes Sadler, the new Commissioner who replaced Sir Harry Johnston in 1901.

British rule in Uganda spread by force of arms, though in some areas military conquest was disguised by a series of agreements. To begin with, there was the Buganda Agreement of 1900 which was made between the leading Baganda chiefs and the representative of the British government, Sir Harry Johnston, who was a Special Commissioner for Uganda (Ogot 1980:315). This agreement defined the position of Buganda in Uganda, among other things. It ranked Buganda a province in Uganda. The effects of this agreement dominated the history of both Buganda and the Uganda Protectorate throughout the era of colonial rule. By the 1900 agreement a sound basis had been laid for the British rule in Buganda and this was a springboard from which to extend the British Protectorate which came to be known as Uganda. Note that the country’s name ‘Uganda’ was derived from this kingdom’s name, ‘Buganda’. The

question of protecting Buganda was irrelevant since it was not clear what or whom Buganda was being protected from. Although the Uganda Protectorate, declared in 1894, included only the kingdom of Buganda, British influence had already been informally extended over a much wider area through conquest, the signing of treaties, and the establishment of stations. The expansion of the administration in Busoga, Ankole, Toro, Bunyoro and later Acholiland had to be accomplished (Oliver and Mathew 1963:431).

By 1902 the Protectorate had been divided into five Provinces namely, the Eastern Province, the Western Province, the Rudolf Province, the Northern Province and the Kingdom of Uganda (Henry Hesketh Bell's Proclamation Under the Uganda Order in Council, 1902, Article 6 (1), 5<sup>th</sup> April 1907, Entebbe National Archives) (See Appendix 2). Each Province was to be divided into districts. The fifth Province hitherto referred as the "Kingdom of Uganda" actually meant Buganda Kingdom. It should be noted that the Rudolf Province had extended up to Lake Rudolf, now Lake Turkana in Kenya (See Map on Boundary Changes in East Africa 1902-1926 on page 86).

Map 3.1 Boundary Changes in East Africa 1902-1926.



Source: Geography Department, Makerere University.

It should be noted that the arbitrary demarcation of the modern boundaries of East Africa divided communities who had a common historical origin and shared material and non-material resources. The gazetting of Karamoja into a closed area by the colonial administration and the restriction of herding and movement inside Karamoja destroyed the trade in the region forcing people to recoil back to barter. It also curtailed free movement of the pastoralist communities, namely, the Karimojong of north-eastern Uganda and the Turkana of north-western Kenya. In other words, colonial boundaries criminalised pastoral transhumance that had existed. Boundary restrictions were bound to spill to neighbouring communities especially when livestock movements were also restricted due to outbreak of cattle diseases. In such circumstances, conflicts would arise.

In addition, of the ethnic groups later absorbed into the Uganda Protectorate, only the Bakiga in the extreme south-west, and the Acholi, the Lango, the Teso and the Karimojong all to the north of Lake Kyoga, remained uninfluenced by the arrival of British administrators in Buganda (Oliver and Mathew, *opcit*). However, the areas of Lango and Teso were influenced by Semei Kakungulu, a Muganda General, who later extended British rule in those areas. It was against this background that Karamoja remained untouched by new ideas until 1921 when Karamoja was brought under civil administration (Berber 1964: 22). This backwardness of Karamoja was bound to affect the neighbouring districts in the subsequent years.

### 3.2.1 Teso under Semei Kakungulu (1899-1904)

Semei Kakungulu, as already pointed out on page 84, was a Muganda army general who helped the British in their defeat of Kabaka Mwanga and Omukama Kabalega of Bunyoro. Kakungulu entered Teso through Kagaa in Kaberamaido district and Sambwa in Serere district and conquered much of Teso between 1899 and 1904 (Jorgensen 1981:103; Low 1965:88-89). He built forts at Kagaa, Sambwa, Mukongoro and Opege Hill in Ngora after some pitched battles (Otwal 1997:5). Kakungulu made Teso a part of the British Protectorate. Before the arrival of the Baganda into Teso district, the *imurwok* (foretellers) everywhere in Teso had foretold their coming. The foretellers foretold the coming of “butterflies” (a reference made to the clothing of the Baganda) who possessed something dangerous (later interpreted as guns) and who would conquer the Iteso and usher in a new era. The foretellers advised that “butterflies” were not to be resisted (Webster 1970: 55). For that reason, there was conflict between the *imurwok* who advised submission and the *aruwok* (military leaders) who desired to resist. The influence of the *imurwok*'s predictions led to failure of the *aruwok* to raise their fighters and the overall result was far less resistance than the Iteso were capable of. So a great deal of cooperation was extended to the Baganda by the Iteso *aruwok*.

Having controlled the whole of Teso, Kakungulu introduced the Buganda model of administration by dividing the district into sub- parishes, parishes, sub-counties and counties, in that ascending order. This made the administration very easy. Though he put his Baganda agents in each division, he was aided by some opinion leaders like Oumo of Kumi, Ijala in Ngora, Omaswa in Serere and Okolimong in Usuk with others

elsewhere in Teso. By the time Semei Kakungulu left Teso district in 1904, the district was peaceful and orderly. That is, a “civilized” kind government was brought into Teso and better roads had been built for easy communication (Karugire 1980:106). The point to note here is that the Iteso, who shared many cultural and social ways of life with the Karimojong, their neighbours to the north-east, got “civilization”. This gave Teso district chance to have the same footing as the other districts of the Protectorate. Karamoja could have also received “civilization” if Kakungulu had extended his operation to the region at the time.

Much as Kakungulu is credited for having brought development to Teso, he played a role in the initial raids in Teso. From his military base at Nabowa in Bugwere he made a series of coordinated raids into Iteso country during the middle months of 1900. Under the command of Sudulaka Kyesirikidde, his younger brother, raiding parties were dispatched against the Iteso at Mukongoro, Ngora and Bukedea (Twadle 1993: 142). As a measure of consolidating Kakungulu’s authority, attempts were made even to find pretexts for these raids. Local notables were simply summoned to appear before Kakungulu “to make peace” and if they did not appear promptly enough, they would be punished by being raided. The punishment dispensed by Kakungulu’s warriors during 1900 was not particularly pleasant. At Mukongoro it seemed to have been especially brutal as the Iteso captives were herded into their hut and then fired. One of the Baganda responsible for the atrocity admitted that though the act was of excessive cruelty it had served its purpose in dealing with a “primitive” community (Daudi Musoke, “Ebyafayo bya Bugisu”, unpublished manuscript, Mbale District Archives).

Although the Iteso had organised raids into Bugisu during their territorial expansion and captured Bukaro, Moru Obaale (now known as Mbale), Akulony (now known as Kolony), Kamokori (now known as Kamonkoli) and Kabwangasi, the invasion of Teso by Kakungulu in 1899 and his later settlement in Mbale where the administration of Teso was coordinated, brought this to an end. Most of the captured places were returned to Bugisu in good faith. However, the Iteso remained in some of those areas (Otwal 1997: 4-5). The Iteso had raided some animals and children who they named *Asaja*. This is one incidence on record where the Iteso mounted raids during the pre-colonial period.

### **3.2.2 Establishment of British Rule in Teso (1904-1962)**

Otwal (1997:6) observed that the British took over the rule of Teso from Kakungulu in 1904 and retired him when there was civil disobedience over the destruction of animals and food by his chiefs. The British found it convenient to follow the pattern of administration set up by Kakungulu in Teso. However, since they found it difficult to administer the district from Mbale, they had to map the district in 1912 so as to identify the suitable place to administer the district. The expansion of Government projects and Missions necessitated the establishment of an administrative post in Kumi in 1909 (Kumi Annual Report, 1909-10; Entebbe National Archives). Cotton had already been introduced in the district by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1908. Bishop Arthur Leonard Kitching had already established a Mission in Ngora where he served from 1908-1917. He was followed by Rev. Fr. Chiggen in St. Aloysius in 1912 for

Roman Catholics. Missionaries opened schools for both boys and girls to be educated. Dispensaries too were started in 1909 in Ngora for treating both staff and natives. The now Freda Carr Hospital in Ngora district was established in early 1920. The British used educated boys to help in various fields. Some helped to replace the Baganda Kakungulu had put to administer the district. In 1914, the district headquarters was moved from Kumi to Soroti for easy administration of the first counties of the district. The aforesaid social services introduced by the British contributed to the development of Teso district.

When Kakungulu over-ran Teso in 1889-1904, Teso had less than 100,000 heads of cattle because of the rinderpest which hit Teso in 1890 in *Asonya* period. Though agriculture was at its rudimentary level, the barter trade with the Banyoro introduced agricultural tools like hand hoes, axes and knives to replace the sharpened hard wood (*akuta*) (Webster 1970:51; Lawrance 1957:15). The barter trade had already introduced groundnuts and potatoes into the district in addition to the original millet and sorghum which the Iteso brought from Abyssinia, now Ethiopia (Otwal 1997:15).

The British rule undoubtedly transformed the local agricultural set up into a modern mechanised agriculture. This saw the introduction of ox cultivation in Teso in 1910 and the building of a school for training oxen in Kumi, a town for Teso at the time (Otwal 1997:16; Jorgensen 1981:103; Harlow and Chilver 1965:437). The main objective was to assist farmers in expanding their cotton acreage as a major cash crop for the country. The Iteso then understood the trend and progress in agricultural revolution which added

them another advantage. Since the oxen were readily available everywhere in the district as cattle keeping was part and parcel of the economic lifestyle and culture of the people, ox-cultivation was rapidly and successfully adopted in Teso district. The significance of this agricultural revolution was that with the better soils and reliable rainfall (ecological environment), the Iteso were able to recover their cattle losses and build up their herds again without necessarily resorting to raiding. This qualified the argument that the raiding of cattle was not a cultural practise among the Iteso. Instead they were raided by their neighbours, the Karimojong to the north-east. However, it would be a blatant lie to assert that the Iteso did not raid. The incursions by the Karimojong into Katakwi district which started over 50 years ago made the Iteso avenge by raiding Karamoja (Epelu-Opio 2009:38).

However, over the years the outbreak of diseases such as rinderpest and foot and mouth diseases had reduced the number of cattle in Teso considerably. Otwal (1997:17) observed that there was an increase in cattle numbers from 1912 to 1984. The first census recorded in 1912 was 115,991 heads of cattle. As the number of veterinary staff was increased in 1921, the number of cattle also increased tremendously. The vaccination of all cattle within places bordering Karamoja had considerably reduced the danger (See the Memo written by the Provincial Commissioner Eastern Province (P.C.E.P.) to the Governor No. 53, 7<sup>th</sup> April, 1952, Soroti District Archives) (See page 100). By 1952 livestock numbers had increased to 645,807 heads of cattle, 251,047 sheep and goats. In the following years the cattle census was as follows; 1956 there were 703,511 heads of cattle and in 1959 there were 682,494 heads of cattle (Otwal

ibid). The increase in the number of cattle as observed above was attributed to the introduction of vaccination as a measure to control diseases such as rinderpest and foot and mouth diseases which had reduced cattle numbers. However, though it was observed in the later part of this Chapter 3.3, page 98, that cattle rustling had increased in the 1950s, it did not significantly reduce the number of cattle because it involved removing one or two animals.

From 1935, the herdsmen from Ankole (the Bahima) and the Rwandese came and herded the cattle of the Iteso as the boys and girls who used to herd them went to school. They lived well with the Iteso until 1986 when the rebellion broke out in Teso (Epelu-Opio 2009:15). At the time of independence (9<sup>th</sup> October, 1962), the tractor hire service scheme was established followed by the establishment of group farms. The major group farms then were: Amilimil in Amuria, Akuoro in Bukedea and Labori in Serere (Otwal 1997:20). The significance of this agricultural revolution was that it transformed the mindset of the Iteso who would have sought other alternative ways of survival such as raiding cattle.

In contrast though the British first came into contact with the Karimojong in October 1897 when a section of Col. MacDonald's relief column to the Sudan, led by Lt. Hanburg-Tracy, bartered with the community for animals and food, this remained the only form of contact between the British and the Karimojong for fifteen years. However, there was a brisk business of ivory given the large number of elephants in the area. This business attracted mostly the Arabs, Ethiopians, Greeks and Swahilis. By

1903 about 56 trading posts had been established in the area (Wabwire 1993:4). Initially, ivory was traded with trinkets but following the 1890 rinderpest epidemic which killed nearly all the cattle in Karamoja, traders eager for ivory had to barter it with cattle. Not only did the Karimojong receive cattle in trade for ivory, but also received arms and ammunition. Inevitably, the Karimojong raided the Turkana and later on inter-community raids ensued, causing a grave security problem in the area. This raised a concern from other colonial administrators (Welch 1969:46). For instance, in October 1910, the Governor of British East Africa (Kenya) sent a telegram to the Governor of Uganda which was copied to the Secretary of State in London and it read “Uganda appears to have left the hinterland around Elgon to take care of itself for many years” (Governor of British East Africa to Governor of Uganda, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1910, EA 1049, Entebbe National Archives).

Consequently, the Entebbe Government commissioned investigations into Karamoja. It was confirmed that not only were raiding, elephant slaughter and gun-running prevalent but also that there were a number of Ethiopian soldiers in Dodoth County. This was interpreted as a security threat to the Protectorate. To allay these fears, two things were done: first, strongly armed companies of soldiers were permanently deployed in the area and second, the district was closed to all traders in July 1911. This was the beginning of the British military occupation in Karamoja, which later gave way to a civil administration in 1921 (Moyse 1956:456). During the military occupation, the British were pre-occupied with disarming the Karimojong and enforcing hard labour on them through their chiefs.

Meanwhile, Karamoja had its own problems. The human and cattle populations continued to grow as the quantity and quality of grazing land continued to deteriorate. The amount of raiding and insecurity also continued to increase between 1958 and 1961 as it became clear that administrative boundaries of the district imposed without any consideration being given to the needs of pastoralists were being challenged. For instance, from 1958 to 1961, 297 raids by various communities from Karamoja were mounted against other districts. That is, Teso 185 and Kapchorwa 112 (Bataringaya 1961:37). The raids indicated the demands of pastoralists for land and water. They thus raided their former grazing areas now in Teso and Sebei (Kapchorwa) and Karasuk. This explained the theory of ecological imbalance playing a role in bringing about conflict. Furthermore, access to firearms dramatically changed the balance of power between the rival groups in the region. Following the resumption of large-scale fighting in the 1950s and 1960s the warring factions of Karamoja had easy supplies of weaponry from Sudan, Somalia and Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo) (Wabwire 1993:8). This partly explains the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region by the Karimojong.

In the final analysis, it suffices to note that whereas by 1919 the British piecemeal endeavours had brought the whole of the Uganda Protectorate under British authority, the district of Karamoja in the far north-east had been left out (Harlow and Chilver 1965:57). It was against this background that Karamoja district, being virtually neglected, remained untouched by the new ideas. The other districts had turned to the reformed Buganda model for inspiration and Uganda was first becoming a congeries of

“little Bugandas” which was to give its African population both opportunities and problems. In other words, it was the Baganda who eagerly grasped the new benefits in religious teaching, in administration, in economic development and in education for the transformation of their indigenous society. The efforts of Ganda agents such as Semei Kakungulu should not be underrated because they played a great role in the introduction of the refashioned Ganda system of government into most parts of the country, Teso inclusive. The economic development of peasant agriculture which first occurred in Buganda now spread to other parts of the protectorate with the exception of Karamoja. Jorgensen (1981:103) noted that with the first Teso cotton crop harvested in 1908-9, the first ploughing school opened at Kumi in 1910 and a road network already in place, supplemented by waterways, cotton acreage expanded rapidly from 5,000 acres in 1910 to 33,500 acres in 1913 and 68,000 acres in 1923.

The expansion of the cotton acreage was due to the increase in the number of ploughs in Teso. The number of ploughs increased from 240 in 1922 to 8,280 in 1932 and 19,894 in 1939. Virtually all cropland in Teso was prepared by ploughing by 1939 (Watson 1940:210). Such innovations did not take place in Karamoja. This showed that whereas the Iteso were adapting other means of economic subsistence due to better soils and reliable rainfall, the Karimojong remained primarily pastoralists, given the arid and dry nature of the region. Whereas the colonial policy of introducing a cash-crop economy and revolutionising agriculture by introducing the plough in Teso district thereby contributing to the development of a modern economy, the Karamoja district remained backward. British civil administration only reached Karamoja in 1921 (Berber 1964:

22). This background gave an insight as to the origins of cattle rustling and the reasons for cattle rustling in Teso sub-region during the colonial period.

### **3.3 The Origins of Cattle Rustling in Katakwi District.**

The pioneers of Teso (Iteso) who left the main concentration of the Itunga in Karamoja about 1500 and settled in Magoro in Katakwi district had by 1880's occupied almost all their present homeland (Webster 1977: 48). As already pointed out, the better soil and reliable rainfall in the new homeland compelled the Iteso to turn more and more to agriculture and away from pastoralist life of their fore fathers (Karimojong) in Karamoja that was arid. The ecological imbalance between Teso and Karamoja inevitably created differences in the economic activities of the two communities. Whereas the Iteso became primarily agriculturalists but some kept livestock (a practice they came with from Karamoja), the Karimojong remained mainly pastoralists. Though there was some little agriculture done in Karamoja it was confined to a few river beds and was solely the work of women.

As for the Iteso, the periodic famines and epidemics which drastically reduced their cattle compelled them to greatly depend on agriculture as a surest means of regaining their losses and building up their herds again. The Karimojong, on their part, could make up cattle losses only by wars and raids against themselves and neighbouring peoples. It was these basic facts of geography and economics that ultimately drove the less favoured Itunga in Karamoja into a series of conflicts with their relatives in Teso.

The crisis within the family was worsened by the after-effects of the Iworopom war of 1830 (Webster 1977: 49)).

Though cattle raiding (rustling) was the act of stealing livestock, especially cattle, its magnitude differed considerably during the first and second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to the respondents in the sub-counties of Ongongoja, Ngariam and Magoro in Katakwi district, the act of cattle raiding by the Karimojong which involved entering into the neighbouring area using force and grabbing cattle, did not begin during the pre-colonial period (1830-1894). What used to happen was minor stealing of one or two animals by the Karimojong. This minor stealing of cattle involved moving secretly and quietly into the kraal of cattle where one or two animals are removed without being noticed. Forty five of the respondents pointed out that the Karimojong were the ones who stole the cattle. The Karimojong would steal one or two cattle in the night, they added. The Karimojong would create an opening on the side of the kraal and remove the best of the cattle. By avoiding the use of the main entrance of the kraal, the owner would not notice too soon that his kraal had been invaded. And by taking a few of the animals, the owner if not so keen would not realise that his cattle were stolen. By the time the owner realised, usually by day break, the Karimojong thieves would have covered a great distance with the stolen cattle and entered deep into their territory. This made it difficult sometimes to recover the stolen cattle. This nature of cattle rustling differed from the one that took place from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to a large extent. Instead of coming at night to steal the cattle, the Karimojong raiders openly

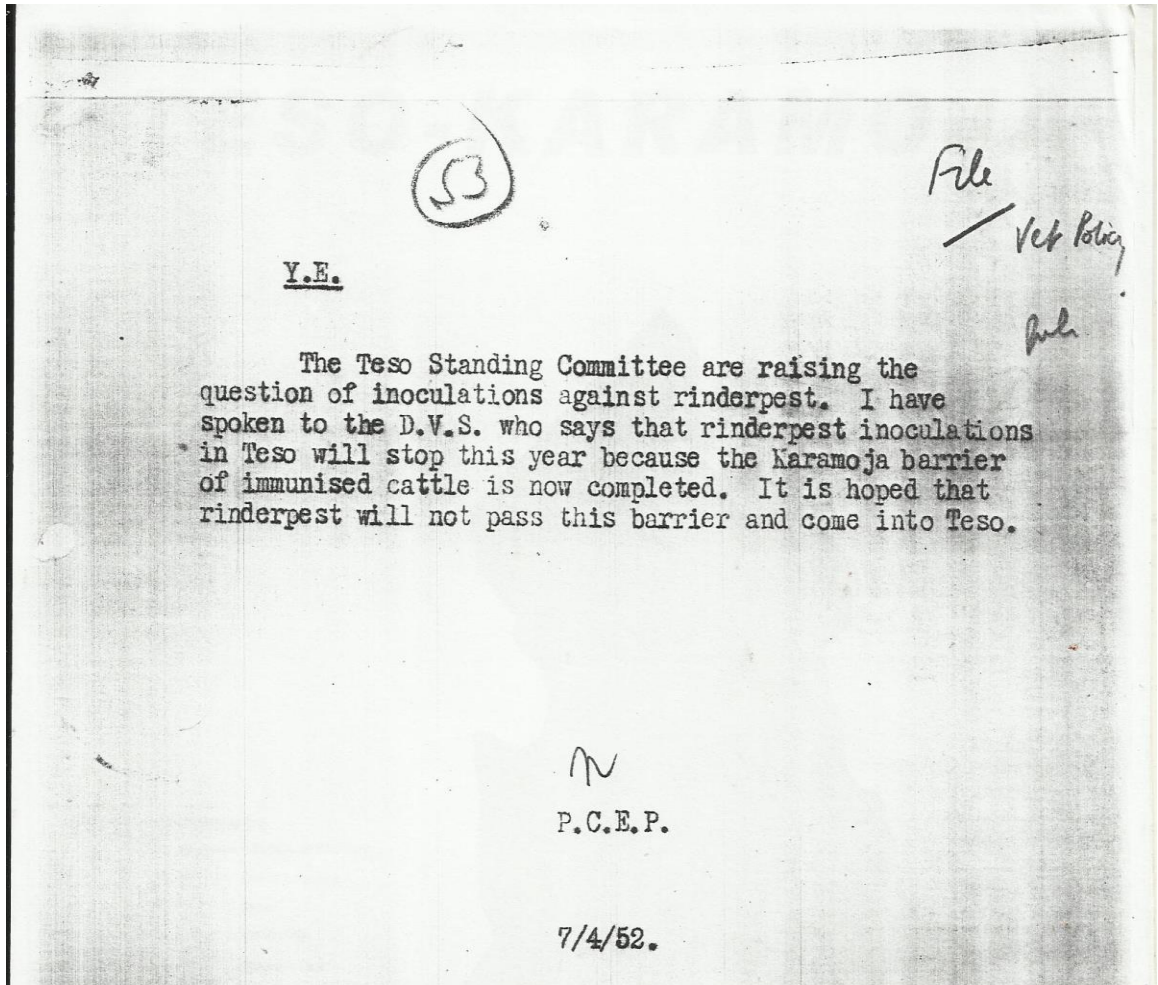
attacked during the day and forcefully grabbed all the cattle they could get and drove them to Karamoja. This was a later development which is discussed in Chapter Four.

Various dates were given by the respondents in the area of study as to when the theft of cattle started. But judging from the years they gave, it was most probable that the practice of cattle rustling started in the early years of the twentieth century (from 1900s) and increased from the 1950s. Most of the respondents were in agreement that cattle theft started in 1952. Cuma (O.I., Palam, 2010) contends that when he was about twelve years of age he remembered about the Karimojong stealing cattle one by one. Another respondent Osele (O.I., Palam, 2010) mentioned of 1920s. Otwal (2001:22) wrote about a generally accepted view by many elders of Teso that cattle raids by the Karimojong started between 1945 and 1950 though he also observed that Teso was first raided by armed Greeks and one Somali in 1906 and also by Lango natives who raided Orungo (in Amuria District) in 1914 and 1915 (Lawrance 1957:18). Otwal (op.cit) added that the Karimojong and their neighbours had enjoyed cordial relationships before the serious raids which started in 1950 or so and at that time there was only minor stealing of one or two animals at night in Teso by the Karimojong. This view was shared by many of the respondents.

Akwang (O.I., Usuk, 2010), a former sub-county chief stated that cattle theft by the Karimojong became more pronounced from 1952. According to him there was a quarantine which was imposed by the Veterinary Officials under the British government in which the livestock of Karamoja were restricted from coming to graze in Teso

because of diseases (See the memo of 7<sup>th</sup> April 1952 on the next page). The cordial relationship that had existed between the Iteso and Karimojong gave the latter the privilege of grazing and watering their livestock in Teso during the dry seasons. But from 1952 the British government had restricted the movement of livestock in and out of Karamoja because of the outbreak of the Contagious Bovine Pleuro Pneumonia (CBPP) and rinderpest diseases (Otwal 1997:23). The Karimojong had stubbornly refused to have their cattle vaccinated.

Memo from the Provincial Commissioner Eastern Province, written to the Governor of Uganda.



Source: Soroti District Archives, 2010.

Since the Karimojong stubbornly refused to have their cattle vaccinated against the killer diseases, they stealthily brought them to graze in Teso. Unfortunately, the cattle that crossed the border were captured and under quarantine regulations they were burnt as sick animals. However, in the course of burning the carcasses of the captured cattle, some Iteso ate the meat though the quarantine regulations did not allow. When the Karimojong learnt about this they were very angry. By this act the Karimojong assumed that the Iteso were behind the plan of the government to take their cattle and be eaten by the Iteso. Since the Karimojong were ignorant of what the quarantine was all about and the need to vaccinate their cattle, they nursed this act of the government and began to raid the neighbouring sub-counties of Ngariam, Usuk and Magoro with the aim of recovering their lost cattle ( Akwang, O.I., Usuk, 2010).

In another related incident in 1955, another group of Karimojong herdsmen forced themselves across the border of Teso at Olilim and Palam Villages in order to find green pastures and water for their animals. The cattle that crossed the border belonged to one Geno, the richest and most feared Karimojong, and Yakobo Lobwok, the county chief of Irir in Karamoja. As a result of this incursion about 350 heads of cattle were captured including Geno's biggest bull named *Apairiono Etome*. This was the biggest bull in the whole of Karamoja (Otwal 1997:24). Geno had adored his bull and worshipped it as a god. Geno and Lobwok travelled to Soroti, the district headquarters of Teso by then, to meet the District Commissioner (DC) and demand back their cattle. Unfortunately the DC refused to accept their demand and instead gave orders to the county chief of Usuk (in Katakwi), Stephen Okurut, to kill and burn all the captured

cattle as per the quarantine regulations. Geno and Lobwak were angered by this decision and act. They returned to Karamoja and organized their people to come for the bloody raid. They raided the sub-counties of Ngariam, Magoro, Toroma and Usuk (Akwang, O.I., Usuk, 2010).

These incidents strained the once cordial relations that existed between the Iteso and the Karimojong. The practice of minor stealing of one or two cattle began to change to more serious cattle raids. Below is the excerpt of the report available in Soroti District Archives written about Karimojong incursion into Teso and the action taken in the early 1950s (See Appendix 1).

#### **3.4 Reasons for Cattle Rustling During the Colonial Period.**

Several reasons have been advanced by the respondents in the area of study to explain why the Karimojong raided the Iteso during the colonial period (1894-1962). The reasons given and explained below are ranked according to the number of responses given by the respondents. According to the respondents, the need to revenge was the most paramount reason for cattle theft by the Karimojong. Obukongor (O.I., Palam, 2010) states that the Karimojong were revenging for their cattle that was confiscated and burnt under the orders of a British colonial Veterinary Doctor, Heliot. Karimojong cattle were captured by the county chief, Stephen Okurut, for crossing the border into Teso region at Iirir area. Thus, violating the quarantine regulations imposed in 1952. The allegation that the Iteso ate the burnt meat, against quarantine regulations, angered

the Karimojong who saw this as a conspiracy between the Iteso and British colonial officials to deprive them of their cattle.

The repugnant belief that all cattle belong to the Karimojong was one of the reasons why the Karimojong raided their neighbours, the Iteso inclusive. Encouraged by their leaders it became a habit to steal (Alemukori, O.I., Palam, 2010). The belief does not sound convincing because if it was so, why then did the Karimojong raid each other? Novelli (1988:91) asserted that there were basically two occasions in which the Karimojong fought for livestock: when it was necessary to secure its survival in the face of external threats, and when the decision was made to increase its number at the expense of neighbouring peoples. In both cases, he added, these operations were carried out as actions planned by the elders and executed by their warrior sons, or decided upon by the latter with the blessing of the elders.

The high bride price among the Karimojong was a contributory factor to cattle rustling. Odhiambo (2003:25) observed that a Karimojong might pay as many as 100 head of cattle for a bride. It should be observed that among the pastoral peoples of East Africa and elsewhere in Africa, the bride price was high. Gambiri (2011) observed that an educated wife in the cattle –herding Mundari community in South Sudan costs 50 cows, 60 goats and 30,000 Sudanese pounds (USDs 12,000) in cash. At that price, some men who otherwise cannot afford a bride turned to stealing livestock in order to “buy” a wife and gain status. A surge in “bride price” fuelled cattle raids in which more than 2,000

people were killed each year, he added (Business Report: The Chronicle with Blooming South Sudan, [http:// www.stgate.com](http://www.stgate.com)).

Novelli (1998:98-99) enumerated some marriage situations among the Karimojong which induced raiding given the premise that livestock needed for a marriage was usually given partly by the father of the young man and partly by his relatives and friends. These included: first, when the father lost all or a great part of his livestock, be it through sickness, raids or any other reason; secondly, when the elder brothers used up all of the father's livestock for their own marriage; thirdly, when a young man had not finished paying the agreed number of head of cattle to the father of the young woman, and another man came forward with the necessary number so that the parents could accept him as a candidate if the first one did not hurry to finish the agreed payment; fourthly, when a father wished to punish his son, for any reason whatsoever, and refused to give him the livestock that he expected; and fifthly, when the father himself had the intention of taking another wife. Given such marriage cultural practices and the high bride price, the Karimojong inevitably raided themselves and the neighbouring communities.

The neglect of agriculture by the Karimojong was also advanced as a reason as to why they raided cattle. However, cognizant of the ecological background of Karamoja sub-region which was characterised by long periods of drought, the Karimojong had no alternative but depend on livestock rearing for survival. It was observed that rainfall in Karamoja averaged about 1,000 mm per year, yet the potential for evaporation was

more than double, that is, 2,200 mm (Novelli 1988:82). The limited surface water, a hot arid climate and a short season of torrential rains compelled the Karimojong to rely on pastoralism. Inselman (2003:168) also added that because of the settlement of the Karimojong in the area not environmentally suitable for settlement, violent conflicts involving cattle raids had increased.

Though Webster (1970:49) observed that agriculture in Karamoja was predominantly done by women along a few river valleys it would not be justified to say that the Karimojong neglected agriculture. It was the climatic conditions in the sub- region that dictated upon the nature of the economic activity that could suit the needs of the people and thereby influence their attitude. The attitude of the Karimojong was summarised and stressed in the words of Novelli (1988:81):

The Karimojong are herders, not only because they engage in this activity, but also because all their being is involved in herding to such an extent that for them to freely change from this activity and to take up another would first have to involve a change in personality.

Jorgensen (1981: 106) observed that the peoples in Karamoja district were too poor in rainfall and too rich in cattle to be willingly drawn into the commercialisation of agriculture. Novelli (1988:93) observed that the help that agriculture could give was conditioned by time given the fact that the products of a normal harvest barely lasted until the next one. The quantity of food produced was also inadequate considering the fact that it was mostly used by part of the population which remained in the villages.

Usually, the young men were away during the dry season herding the livestock on the peripheral zones, mainly the western plateau where it was possible to find water and grass all the year round.

Another reason for cattle rustling was pegged on culture. Odhiambo (2003:25) asserted that for the non- Karimojong, whether within or outside Karamoja, the basic problem behind conflict and insecurity was culture. The Karimojong had a strong attachment to the cow as the definition of wealth and status. It was quite obvious that in any pastoral community cattle was the measure of wealth and status. A poor man was one who had no livestock and in the scale of community values the highest one was the ability to keep and increase one's herd through intelligence, force and cunning. Whoever remained without livestock for a period of time gave signs of having lost those skills. Consequently, such a person was put aside, ignored and sometimes even despised. Novelli (1988:87) observed a unique relation a Karimojong had with his livestock:

A foreigner can never understand why a Karimojong, for example, could commit suicide at the death of his ox. Among all the oxen in the herd there is one which exemplifies the uniqueness of this relationship. It can be recognised by the bell and the leather collar on its neck. The herder received it as a gift while it was a calf from his father. He fed it the best he had, sometimes depriving himself of his own food. It was from it that he has taken the "name of respect" (the owner of the ox which is thus and so), a name by which he is called by his inferiors. He sang to his ox in dances and contests with his friends. He defied death in going to rescue his ox from the kraals of the enemies who raided it.

It was thus evident that for the Karimojong the value that the cattle had, and the roles which it fulfilled in the social and religious life of the Karimojong explained the psychological basis for the relation which every herder had with his livestock. This drove the Karimojong into conflict amongst themselves and with their neighbours.

Cattle rustling by the Karimojong were also attributed to their preference to heifers. Ogotu (1990: 38) in his study of pastoralism in Kenya noted that among the pastoral communities, heifers were prized because of their capacity to produce and provide the badly needed milk which was recognised as a nourishing food. It was for that reason that the Karimojong mainly stole heifers for milk production. The livelihood of the Karimojong mainly depended on the products of the herd: milk, butter, meat and blood. Of these products milk was more significant in the diet of the Karimojong. It could be drunk fresh straight from the cow's udder and as churned milk after the butter had been separated. The milk could also be mixed with fresh blood and drunk. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Karimojong's preference was on heifers.

The Karimojong also raided the Iteso to recover the cattle that the youth brought from Karamoja. The oral tradition which was also confirmed by the respondents stated that the separation of the Itunga peoples (Iteso and Karimojong) was brought about by the Nyarubanga Famine of the 1620s. As a result of the famine, it was believed that the elders advised and requested the younger generation to drive the cattle ahead and save them from starvation arising out of lack of green pasture and water. The young men drove the cattle away to the west (towards north-eastern Teso) and south of Karamoja.

After the destructive effects of famine, the young men did not return to their elders (Okalany 1980:4.5). That is why the Karimojong cattle raiders would retort proudly when intercepted that they were taking back their cattle (Ijuli, O.I., Katakwi, 2010).

In connection to the above, Webster (1970:48) pointed out that the Itunga of Karamoja (Karimojong) got concerned about the young men that went ahead with the cattle and even once sent out a party to look for what they feared would only be their children's graves (*Atesin*)-a word which denotes one origin of the Iteso. The Karimojong (the tired old men who stayed behind) of course got concerned about the fate of the young men who had driven away the cattle but never returned. To confirm this story of separation and in support of the Ecological Systems Theory, Novelli (1988:23) pointed out that the seasonal changes which were usually characterised by long periods of drought forced the pastoralists of Karamoja to move to distant places in search of water and fresh pasture for their livestock. He added that during the dry season herds were taken (usually by the young men) to the peripheral zones, mainly to the western plateau where it was possible to find water and grass all the year round (ibid: 82)

Ijulli (O.I. Katakwi, 2010) as observed above, stated that when the Karimojong cattle raiders were intercepted following a cattle raid, they would proudly say, "We were taking back the cattle that the Iteso brought from Karamoja." Whereas this assertion for cattle rustling would support the justification for the recovery of their cattle, one wonders why the Karimojong do not only raid the Iteso (descendants of the young men who went ahead with cattle) but also neighbouring communities such as the Acholi,

Langi, Sabin and Bagisu. So, cattle rustling by the Karimojong were pegged to more than just the recovery of cattle taken away from Karamoja by the young men. These changing dimensions of cattle rustling are discussed in Chapter Four.

Jealousy was also advanced as the reason for cattle raids by the Karimojong. The factor of jealousy arose from the ecological imbalance experienced by the Iteso and Karimojong in their environments. It has already been cited in Webster (1970:48-49) that because Teso was blessed with better soil and reliable rainfall, the pioneers of the Teso turned more and more to agro-pastoralism unlike their forefathers in Karamoja who remained predominantly pastoralists. It should be noted that long before the fore-runners of the Iteso and the fore-runners of the Karimojong parted company near the Didinga Hills of south-eastern Sudan, the fore-runners of the Iteso were agriculturalists while those of the Karimojong were hunters and gatherers. It is in the course of their migrations that each group evolved a cattle and grain culture. In the long run sedentary agriculture became the primary activity of the proto-Iteso and transhumant pastoralism became the primary economic activity of the proto-Karomojong (Jorgensen 1981: 101-102).

With the adoption of agro-pastoralism, the pioneers of were able to escape the vagaries of weather they had experienced in Karamoja and built up their herds again. Though the Itunga of Teso gradually became primarily agriculturalists, they did not abandon cattle keeping. As for the Itunga of Karamoja, who remained primarily pastoralists, wars and raids against neighbouring communities were the only avenues of recovering cattle lost

through disease and adverse climatic conditions. This ecological imbalance between Teso and Karamoja degenerated to jealousy and ultimately drove the less favoured Itunga in Karamoja into a series of conflicts with their relatives in Teso.

The harsh environmental conditions experienced in Karamoja sub-region was a contributory factor to cattle raids. The hostile environment characterised by thorny plants and grasses, with little rainfall and a long dry season, dictated on the choice of the Karimojong economic activity and the type of cattle to be kept. There was a general belief that the black ones were more resistant to the harsh conditions in Karamoja than the white ones.<sup>5</sup> According to oral traditions, while the Itunga peoples were in Napak (now a district in Karamoja sub-region), the cattle were attacked by diseases killing mainly white ones. The young men moved to Teso with the black cattle that had survived (Oduc, O.I., Usuk, 2010). This possibly explains why during the pre-colonial period and early years of the colonial period (1894-1962) cattle stealing by the Karimojong was selective. They would steal one or two animals in the night by creating an opening on the side of the kraal and remove the best of the cattle. However, as seen in Chapter Four, cattle rustling were no longer selective in the post-independence period. All livestock were rustled including young ones that could not even be driven for long distances.

Poverty was another factor that made the Karimojong to carry out raids. Poverty was brought about by the loss of their livestock due to diseases and raids from the Pokot. In

---

<sup>5</sup> This claim has not been scientifically been proven but is subject for another research.

support of this Novelli (1988:91-92) pointed out that in a pastoral society, the degree of poverty was measured by lack of livestock and the inability to increase one's herd through skillfull means. Whoever remained without livestock for a period of time was mocked at and lost status in the community. The demeaning lack of livestock made cattle raiding inevitable.

Other factors attributed to cattle rustling by the Karimojong are fame -recognition as a warrior; constant famine and shortage of food. The Karimojong believed in heroism and bravery. To them, to become a warrior and later be named a leader of a warrior's group or clan, one had to kill a lion or leopard with a spear or raid a big herd of cattle single-handedly. Bravery was demonstrated by the number of cattle a young man had raided from the enemy and even the number of enemies he had killed (Epelu-Opio 2009:16; Odhiambo 2003:25). For the young men, the high bride price drove them to raid as many cattle as possible and this would be the taste of their bravery. This cultural obligation compelled them to raid neighbouring districts including Teso.

Famine is a condition where there is an extreme and widespread scarcity of food. Experiences of famine dated back to the 1580s and 1620s when the elders advised and requested the younger generation as noted in Chapter Two to drive the cattle ahead and save them from starvation due to lack of pasture and water (Okalany 1980: 4-5). Scarcity of food was usually brought about by conflict and ecological factors such as prolonged drought. Odhiambo (2003:63-64) observed that conflict and insecurity severely impacted on the women in Karamoja. In the event of a raid, they were

vulnerable to attacks, rape and slaughter when the other side came to revenge. As far as food production was concerned it was the women who worked the fields to plant crops that provided food to sustain the population. The prevalence of conflict and insecurity meant that the women could not work the fields, which were usually situated far away from the *manyattas*. Since the women would not safely travel to search for foodstuffs, this rendered them helpless in feeding the children, the elderly and the ailing ones.

In terms of ecological considerations, Okalany (1980:192) pointed out that the famines and droughts experienced in Karamoja compelled the Karimojong to raid Magoro in search of food and cattle. Ocan (1992:8-9) criticized the British colonial policy of demarcating the boundaries, yet prior to colonial boundaries areas of Iriir, Olilim and Apujan used to be shared grazing grounds for both the Iteso and the Karimojong. The restriction of Karimojong cattle to the common grazing lands was a fatal decision because when the animals of the Karimojong died due to lack of water and pasture, the only way to replenish stocks was through raids. Ocan (ibid) cited the 1960 raids on Teso by the Karimojong as result of the 1958 drought.

### **3.5 Summary**

In conclusion, while analysing the history and nature of cattle rustling in Katakwi district during the pre-colonial period (1894-1962), a reflection of the extension of British rule to north-eastern Uganda, which included the area of study, was significant. The extension of British rule from Buganda, after declaring Uganda a British Protectorate in 1894, to other areas of Uganda and in particular north-eastern Uganda

was a gradual one. In some areas, conquest was achieved by use of arms and in some areas diplomacy was used in form of signing agreements. The role of the “men on the spot” such as Semei Kakungulu was highlighted portraying the collaborative effort of the Africans with the British against fellow Africans.

Whereas by 1919 the British piecemeal endeavours had brought the whole of the Uganda Protectorate under British authority, the district of Karamoja in the far north-east had been left out (Low 1965:109). This was attributed to the role of Semei Kakungulu, a British agent. To them it was doubtful whether Kakungulu’s campaigns would have been extended to Karamoja district because by 1901 the British had begun to doubt the propriety of many of his actions. Nevertheless the economic development of peasant agriculture which first occurred in Buganda had spread to other parts of the Protectorate with the exception of Karamoja. In other words, Karamoja sub-region remained backward untouched by new economic developments brought by the British. The lifestyle of the Karimojong remained pegged to the cultural practices of pastoralism and raiding.

It was noted that the ecological imbalance between Teso and Karamoja was a contributory factor that brought about disparity in the livelihood of the Iteso and Karimojong. To make matters worse the colonial policy of demarcating boundaries in Uganda and in particular between Teso and Karamoja districts, brought grazing restrictions which degenerated to conflicts between the two communities. Before that the Karimojong had been grazing freely in Teso areas. The study also established that

the causes of cattle rustling in the area of study were embedded in the socio-economic and ecological factors experienced by the two communities during the pre-colonial period. A combination of these factors contributed to the endemic practice of cattle rustling in Katakwi district. However, since the study was confined to Katakwi district the voices of the Karimojong cattle rustlers were not heard. Even then it would have been very risky to interview a gun wielding Karimojong warrior.

It has also been pointed out that the nature of cattle rustling that took place in the pre-colonial period involved selective stealing of one or two animals by the Karimojong. However the magnitude of cattle rustling differed considerably in the post-colonial period. This is analysed in Chapter Four.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **4.0 THE CHANGING DIMENSIONS OF CATTLE RUSTLING IN KATAKWI DISTRICT THE POST- INDEPENDENCE PERIOD (1962-2001)**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter is to analyse the changing dimensions of cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the post-independence period, 1962-2001. An examination of the transformation of cattle rustling into a big business; how the AK- 47 assault rifle escalated cattle rustling in Katakwi district and who raided the Iteso during the late 1980s elaborates how cattle rustling which started as a cultural practice among the Karimojong changed to alarming levels. This was in due consideration to the Social Conflict, the Ecological Systems and the Materialist theories. Of the three theories, the Social Conflict and the Materialist theories are emphasized in the chapter. The proponents of the Social Conflict Theory stressed that conflicts arose when individuals and groups (social classes) within a society have differing amounts of material and non-material resources and that the more powerful groups use their power to exploit groups with less power.

Whereas the differing amounts of material and non-material resources between the Iteso and their relatives the Karimojong existed, the acquisition of modern weapons by the latter made them a more powerful group than the former. It is true that the ecological imbalance between the two sub-regions, Teso and Karamoja, still manifested even in this post-independence period. This caused the Karimojong to occasionally migrate to

occupy areas of Teso in search of water and fresh pasture for their livestock inevitably leading to conflict. However, the cattle rustling mounted by the Karimojong in the post-independence were pegged to material gains exacerbated by forces of nature and culture.

#### **4.2 Transformation of Cattle Rustling into a Big Business**

The context of cattle rustling in the post-independence period, 1962-2001, transformed into an economic monetary motive. Initially the Karimojong cattle rustlers had perceived cattle rustling as a heroic venture but during the post-independence period it turned out to be an economic venture (Epelu-Opio: 2009: 37-38). The cultural proclivity among the pastoral communities, Karimojong inclusive, was that of viewing their livestock as a “store of value” irrespective of their income potential. Their value was considered in terms of prestige and as a means of paying bride-price.<sup>6</sup> However, with the expansion of education system, such attitudes changed. Livestock owners became more commercially oriented.

With the establishment of cattle markets and improved control of epizootic cattle diseases, stock routes developed. For instance, livestock from Karamoja followed a 50-mile route from Iriri to the rail terminal at Soroti, in Teso, from where they were entrained to the abattoirs at Jinja and Kampala. The Karamoja Cattle Scheme was instituted by the local government as a central buying organisation responsible for the purchasing of all livestock at fixed prices and then, in turn, sold better quality livestock

---

<sup>6</sup> The Economic Development of Uganda: Report of a Mission Organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1962, p.221.

on the open market to butcher.<sup>7</sup> In Teso, cattle sales to Kampala provided the Iteso with their second most important “cash crop” (Jorgensen 1981: 105). It is suffice to note that the development of a livestock market economy after independence in 1962 profoundly influenced cattle rustling during the period.

However, Ocan (1994: 130) observed that merchant trade had already existed during the pre-colonial period often with cattle as the mode of accumulation of wealth and medium of exchange. Although monetary aspects were introduced to the economy, the status quo of the cattle remained. What affected this status were cattle rustling which made the fluidity in ownership of cattle great. A person with hundreds of cattle could have none the next day. The immediate recourse usually was the acquisition of guns so as to raid to recover the cattle. This made cattle rustling endemic and resulted to insecurity.

One of the consequences of insecurity was the emergence of a merchant class dealing in the sale of cattle and exchange of arms. The guns were exchanged, on average, for one to five heads of cattle with the intention of selling the cattle for money (ibid p.131). Ocan noted that whereas the pastoralist’s interest was to acquire a gun to safeguard his livestock, the trader’s motive on the other hand was the monetary gain from the cattle exchanged for the gun. The trader bought the gun using money and sold the cows for more money. Thus, the development of this merchant trade inevitably fuelled gun trafficking which in turn escalated cattle rustling, not only in Karamoja sub-region but

---

<sup>7</sup> Ibid p.228.

also extended to the neighbouring sub-regions of Teso, Lango, Acholi, Bugisu and Sebei.

However, by 1980 there were more than a hundred thousand Karimojong who had not been entirely integrated into the monetary economy of the South, who produced no crops for the international market, and for whom the single most important economic activity was accumulating cattle. The Karimojong considered acquiring cattle as the main measure of economic strength and embraced cattle rustling as an acceptable occupation (Kasozi 1999: 191). To them it was so legitimate that the term cattle raiding did not have negative connotations.

#### **4.3 How the AK-47 Assault Rifle Escalated Cattle Rustling in Katakwi District.**

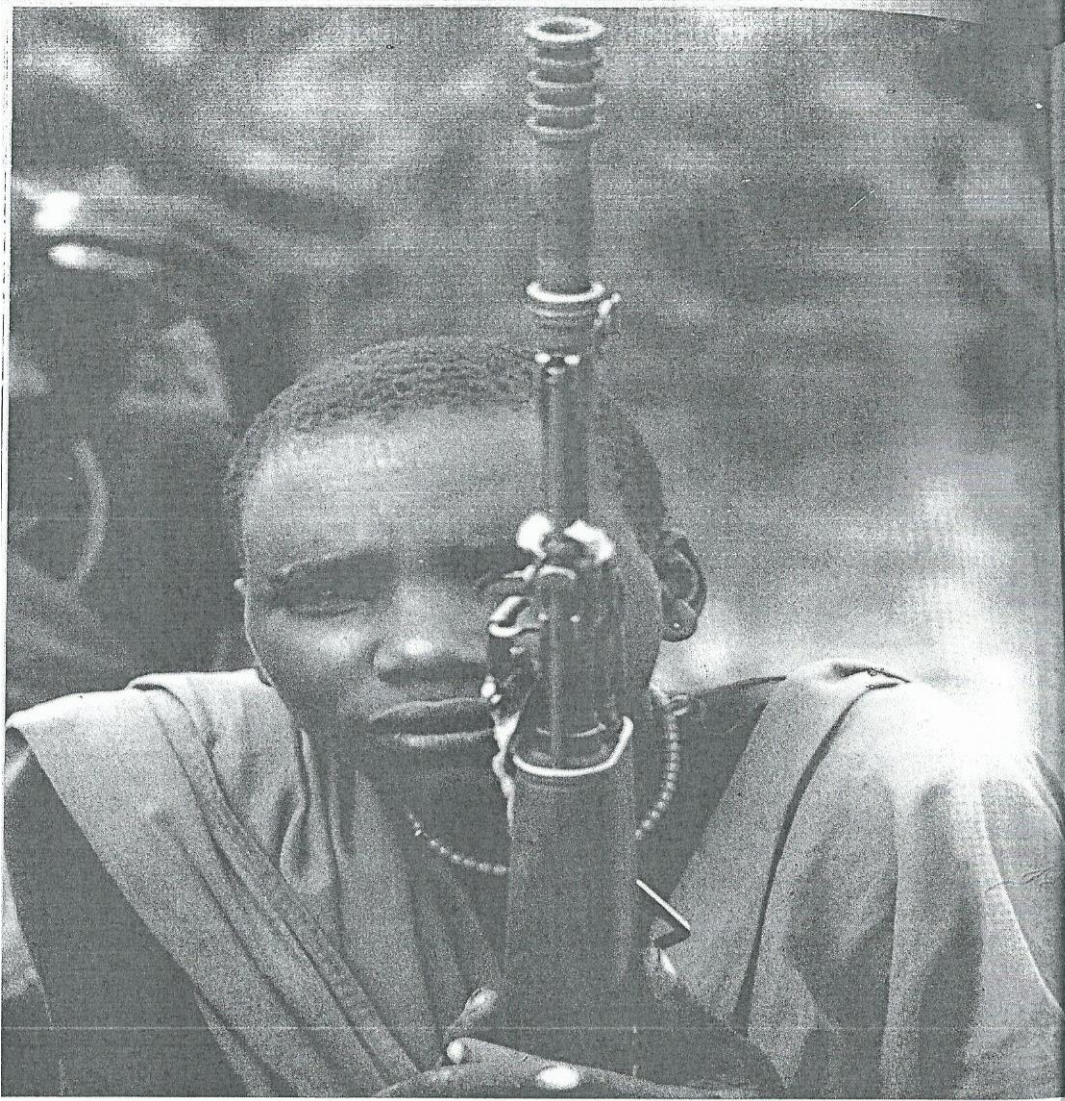
Before the advent of colonialism, the reason for cattle rustling was mainly attributed to the territorial expansion of specialised pastoralist groups such as the Maasai, the Nuer, the Pokot, and the Turkana. However, after independence it continued, regained importance and intensified with the spread of modern firearms from the mid-1970s onwards (Anderson 1986: 399-416; Fukui and Markakis 1994: 1-11).

As noted earlier Kasozi (1999:191), Otwal (2001:84) and Asayo (2004:11) observed that traditional cattle rustling north-eastern Uganda had been centred round the use of spears, arrows, knives, clubs and home-made guns (*Amatidai*). But the situation changed during the post-independence period when the Karimojong acquired

sophisticated weapons. Among the most widely available modern weapons in Karamoja were firearms, mainly AK-47s, which were often used in cattle raids by young warriors. The AK-47 is an automatic rifle designed in 1947 by Alexander Kalashnikov, a Russian. The AK-47 assault rifle had since turned to what specialists called the best example of reliable and full-proof kind of small arm in the world. The small arms or light weapons are the ones that can be easily used or transported by individuals and small groups, such as rifles, handguns, hand grenades, mines and shoulder-mounted rocket launchers.

Kalashnikov had always wanted to improve and expand on the good name of his weapon by doing good things. He was quoted to have told Reuters Television that when he saw bin Laden with his AK-47, he got nervous but could do nothing because terrorists were not fools. They too chose the most reliable guns. He was proud of his invention but was sad that it was used by terrorists. It was painful for him to see criminal elements of all kinds fire the weapon he created primarily to safeguard their fatherland. On his 90<sup>th</sup> birthday on November 2009, Kalashnikov was named a “Hero of the Russian Federation” and was lauded for creating “the brand every Russian is proud of” (<http://en.wikipedia.org>). (See figure 4.1 below showing a Karimojong with an AK-47 gun).

Figure 4.1: A Karimojong warrior with his gun.



Source: Novelli, B. (1988); *Aspects of Karimojong Ethnology*, Verona, Comboni Missionaries, p.90.

How then did the Karimojong acquire the assault rifle that revolutionised cattle raids in Karamoja and Teso sub-regions and beyond? In the 1960s and 1970s, the Karimojong were subjected to frequent raids by their armed Kenyan ancestors and neighbours, the

Turkana, leading to their obtaining guns in the course of the battles (Buckley-Zistel 2008: 56-57). The overthrow of Idi Amin in 1979 was a blessing to the Karimojong because the retreating soldiers left behind a large arsenal of about 30,000 guns which fell into the hands of the Karimojong. Following the overthrow of Obote II government in 1985 and that of Tito Okello Lutwa in 1986, more guns were acquired from the retreating Obote's troops and the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA). It is reported that there are about 80,000 guns in Karamoja (Epelu-Opio 2009:38-39). The Karimojong warriors are also involved in illegal gun trafficking from South Sudan and Kenya and as far as Somalia into the country (Buckley-Zistel 2008:57).

The crisis in governance that manifested in a quick succession of regimes was a crucial factor in creating an insecure environment which fuelled inter-ethnic conflict and cattle rustling in two ways. First, there was a change from the use of traditional weapons to modern weapons which were more deadly and devastating. Secondly, the guns fell into the hands of the Karimojong warriors who created mayhem in the region with impunity.

It should, however, be noted that fire arms were introduced into Karamoja in 1910 by white hunters. Elephant hunting led to the development of ivory trade. As the competition for ivory grew fiercer, some of the traders started to exchange firearms for ivory. For the Karimojong who had always raided neighbouring communities for cattle and women, the attraction of obtaining these arms was so great that what started as trade to obtain ivory soon became a trade to obtain guns (Berber 1964:15-16). However, Lamphear (1994:63) observed that these older type of guns did not change the balance

of power among the Ateker groups and their appearance was not as significant as the new forms of military organisation. To him the spread of the AK-47 during the post-independence period had intensified conflict in the region. The use of this assault rifle has made it difficult to separate conflict from criminality. For instance, 1979 saw the Karimojong raids transformed from spears to machine gun raids. The AK-47 transformed simple theft into massive raids.

According to Otwal (1997:34) when the Karimojong acquired sophisticated arms from Moroto barracks following the coup of 1979, the type of cattle raid that followed was more of an invasion of other districts than occasional normal cattle raids. The Karimojong swept cattle from all their neighbours in an alarming rate. These included Acholi, Lango, Teso, Bugisu, Sebei and Pallisa sub-regions. Unfortunately, the unarmed communities such as the Iteso and Kumam, had no chance to defend themselves, let alone to counter-raid in order to return their animals (Buckley-Zistel 2008:57).

Van der Veen (2004:162) while writing on the proliferation of light weapons in Africa observed that the light weapons were easy to purchase, transport, use, maintain, repair and conceal. He cited the AK-47 automatic rifle as the best-known weapon of this kind and tens of thousands of which could be found in Africa. However, ordinary tools and appliances such as machetes were also regarded as light weapons. In the region of the Great Lakes, in particular, many people were killed with machetes which were essentially agricultural tools. He added that almost anyone could carry and use an automatic rifle which could fire hundreds of bullets a minute, even women and children

and that fact made them potentially full participants in hostilities. Van der Veen (ibid) quotes the cost of the rifle in some African countries. For example, in Angola the rifle cost as much as a sack of grain or about fifteen dollars and in Kenya it cost the same price as a goat. But in Karamoja in Uganda the AK-47 cost six hundred thousand Uganda shillings, an equivalent of two hundred and thirty four dollars (Sangar, O.I, Kaabong, 2013). In contrast, this was rather expensive.

Once a group obtained weapons, it could use them to acquire more weapons. The control of natural resources also opened up plenty of opportunities to purchase weapons. For example, the Karimojong defended their acquisition of the AK-47 rifles as a measure of protecting themselves and their livestock against frequent raids from their neighbours, the Turkana of Kenya, whom they alleged to be armed with modern weapons (Buckley-Zistel 2008:56-57). So the automatic rifle provided power, status and a means to survive. Unfortunately, the Karimojong also directed the weapon against their unarmed neighbours in Uganda. Most of the victims were civilians, including women and children.

The cattle rustling that took place in the post-independence period, was largely brought about by materialist gains. Though the merchant trade had existed during the pre-colonial period with cattle as the mode of accumulation of wealth and medium of exchange, the introduction of the monetary economy, still made cattle to remain the measure of value and the store of wealth. This inevitably resulted in insecurity as cattle raids were mounted to acquire wealth. Much as a cattle rustling by the Karimojong was

not a new phenomenon, the introduction of the AK-47 automatic rifle made the activity take up a new shape. The raiders armed themselves with the spear as the major weapon but the rifle became a new weapon in the hands of the raiders with devastating effects.

In support of the materialist gains as a motive behind the cattle raids in the post-independence period, Ocan observed that one of the consequences of insecurity was the emergence of a merchant class that dealt in the sale of cattle and exchange of arms. The guns were exchanged, on average, for one to five heads of cattle. The final intention for the merchant was to sell the cattle for money (Ocan 1994: 131). That was why in the late 1980s cattle rustling which had been confined to Katakwi district spread to other parts of Teso sub-region and to the neighbouring areas of Acholi, Lango, Pallisa, Bugisu and Sebei. Some respondents in Teso lamented that never before had the Karimojong cattle raiders crossed the railway line and the tarmac road that traverse Teso seemingly dividing Teso sub-region into two-the northern and the southern part.

Initially, cattle raiding were carried out in the night. The Karimojong would move secretly and quietly into the kraal and steal one or two animals. But this trend changed during the 1980s. The Karimojong raiders armed with AK-47 rifles openly attacked the Iteso during the day and forcefully grabbed all the livestock they could get and drove them to Karamoja. This occurred throughout the year unlike in the past when raids took place mainly during the dry season and in the night. This time not only cattle were taken but also goats, sheep, chicken and household items. They would set the homesteads on

fire as the occupants who escaped being killed fled for their dear lives. Chicken would be thrown into fire, roasted quickly before the raiders set off.

Otwal (1997:46-48) narrated how the Karimojong raiders attacked their village of Oseera in Kumi district one morning of September 1987 at about 7.30 am. When he peeped through the holes in the door of his grass-thatched house, he saw seven raiders, four of whom were youths of about 17 years. They were skinny, black, and walking almost naked- typical of the Karimojong appearance. One adult man, who was tall and well, held the AK-47 gun. They drove cattle, goats and another raider pushed an evidently stolen bicycle. The raiders were well-known for their brutality and ruthlessness. They in most cases shot or beat whoever crossed their path. If a victim wore good clothes, he or she would be stripped naked. They looted household property from plates to saucepans, basins and so on. Raids became locally known as “*kokota*” literally implying that everything was gathered. This kind of situation took place in many parts of Teso sub-region that the raiders attacked.

#### **4.4 Who raided the Iteso during the late 1980s?**

An analysis of the responses given by the informants of Katakwi district revealed that the Iteso were raided by four categories of people, namely, the Karimojong, the Uganda People’s Army (UPA) rebels fighting the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government, the government soldiers and habitual thieves or thugs. The rebel groups that were identified to have taken part in the 1980s raids were the Uganda People’s

Army (UPA), the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Holy Spirit Movement (HSM).

Buckley-Zistel (2008:67) observed that Obote the ex-president of Uganda had introduced a paramilitary police force, called the Special Forces, in 1981. Out of the 8,000 recruits, 5,000 originated from Teso. The Special Forces were under the direct control of the Minister of State of Internal Affairs, Col. Omaria, an Iteso. They were well trained professional combatants who had played an instrumental role in Obote II government during the Luwero bush war against the National Resistance Army (NRA) led by Museveni. When Museveni came to power in 1986, his first political decision was to disband the Special Forces, thus making them redundant. Parallel to the regular Kumam and Iteso soldiers and the Special Forces, a third military group was also demobilised. This third military group had been established during Obote II regime with the aim of guarding the borders between Karamoja and its neighbours in order to deter cattle raiding and to guarantee the safety of Kumam and Iteso farmers and herders. Regardless of the moral integrity of the militia, its removal from the Karamoja border in 1986-1987 opened the way for the Karimojong warriors to raid Teso to an extent previously unknown.

Epelu-Opio (2009:15) also observed that the only bank or asset of the Iteso, cattle and property, were plundered by the Karimojong, rebels and undisciplined soldiers. Akwang (O.I., Usuk, 2010), a former Sub-County Chief; Osele (O.I., Palam, 2010); Ekweny (O.I., Magoro, 2010) and many other respondents, named the Karimojong, the rebels and

undisciplined government soldiers as the people who carried out the raids in Teso sub-region in the late 1980s. Omooka (O.I., Asamuk, 2010), a Prisons Officer, identified armed thugs as the people who took part in the raids. In some places, the Karimojong who had been employed by some wealthy people in Teso to look after their animals, took advantage of the insurgency and just moved with people's animals. They were the ones who even collaborated with the fellow Karimojong raiders by disclosing to them where cattle could be found (Okiror, O.I., Palam, 2010 and Alupo, O.I., Kapelebyong, 2010).

The Uganda People's Army (UPA) comprised of Teso youth who resorted to rebellion to counteract the unwarranted atrocious acts meted out to the Iteso by the Karimojong. When the Obote II government was overthrown by the Okello Lutwa military junta, mainly composed of Acholi, in July 1985, the Karimojong jubilated because they saw this as an opportunity to exact revenge against the Iteso (Epelu-Opio 2009:38-39). It was believed that Obote had devised plans to curb cattle rustling by creating local militia forces in Teso. The Uganda government and that of Kenya agreed to carry out joint operations to control cattle raids. Uganda hired Kenyan helicopters to track the movement of the Karimojong warriors, killed some of them and this frightened would be suspects. This move turned out to be futile and made the Karimojong bitter towards the government in Karamoja (Epelu-Opio *ibid*).

Some of the elements within the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA), a regular government force at the time, apparently allied with the Karimojong warriors and raided

the Iteso. This is one incident the finger pointed at the government soldiers to have taken part in cattle raids. It is believed that the junta's troops institutionalised cattle raids (op cit). So when the war between the junta and the NRA, now Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF) intensified, the junta allied themselves with the Karimojong to strengthen the UNLA. The warriors who were armed with new guns were deployed to the frontline at Luwero and Katonga with the promise that they would have opportunity to raid cattle mainly in south-western Uganda, especially in Mbarara, the home town of Museveni. Unfortunately when the war got tough, the warriors abandoned the frontline and retreated to Karamoja fully armed. It was at this time that Katakwi and Kumi districts came under intensified cattle rustling by the warriors. By this time Amuria was still administered under Katakwi (Katakwi District Five Year Development Plan, July, 2010/2011- June, 2014/2015).

When the NRM/NRA overthrew the Okello Lutwa junta in January 1986 and assumed state power, it was received with joy and celebrations in all regions of Uganda with the exception of the north, especially in Acholi sub- region and parts of West Nile (Buckley-Zistel 2008: 65, Epelu-Opio 2009: 41). By the time NRA entered Teso, it was received with ululations and jubilation because the Iteso hoped the new government would help to contain hostilities from the Karimojong. From the beginning there seemed to exist a very strong and solid honeymoon between the Teso people and the NRM government. Though the coming of the NRA raised a lot of hope and erased the fear of the junta, it also opened up new areas of conflict. Since the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), a political party led by Obote dominated Teso politics; the anti-UPC

factions saw this as an opportunity to settle old scores. The old political differences between the Democratic Party (DP) and UPC re-emerged, thus making the political situation in Teso in 1986 volatile (Epelu-Opio *ibid*: 42).

The supporters of UPC were accused of being anti-NRM/NRA and were branded as members of Force Obote Back Again (FOBA) and the 9<sup>th</sup> October Movement. These rebel organisations were formed by disgruntled former forces and political opportunists. They operated along Soroti-Mbale-Tororo-Busia axis. The NRM/NRA district authorities in Teso and especially in Soroti failed to read the political barometer at the time and seemed not to trust Iteso. To make matters worse the memories of the atrocities committed against the NRA forces in Luwero Triangle by the Special Force of which the majority were Iteso, seemed to offer an opportunity for revenge. It was for that reason that Rwakatale Amooti who was the Special District Administrator (SDA) in Soroti was alleged to have said “the strength of the Iteso is in cattle, so we shall remove all these animals and see how Iteso will stand economically and socially”(Epelu-Opio 2009:42). This gave the Karimojong a free hand to raid Teso as they could. That is why a respondent in Amuria district, Akol (O.I., Wera, 2010) stated that the people who were involved in cattle rustling were the government leaders who also wanted cattle from Teso. Some of the government soldiers were therefore alleged to have taken part in the raids following the declaration of the SDA Soroti. It was against this background that the youth in Teso viewed the NRA and the cattle rustlers as their enemies.

These were the circumstances that led to the formation of the Uganda People's Army (UPA) by the youth in Teso. To many of them it was both rewarding as a means of survival and an adventure in addition to creating an opportunity to deal with the rustlers. At this stage the political opportunists took an advantage and manipulated the youth to join the rebel forces to counteract cattle rustling and mount resistance against the government for failure to protect the lives and property of the people of Teso. "Hitler" Eregu, the ruthless UPA commander chaired a clandestine meeting of the fighting force within Teso and urged the youth to train in readiness for the war promising them heaven on earth (Epelu-Opio 2009: 47). Unfortunately the rebels were not able to protect the people or overthrow the government because they were fighting a war on two fronts. As they were trying to counter Karimojong raids, they sometimes found themselves pursued and cornered by the NRA soldiers. In order to survive the rebels could have grabbed some animals in this confusion. Some of the Iteso youth connived with the Karimojong warriors to rustle cattle in Teso. As the situation became hard, the rebels rejected rebellion because the notorious commanders like the so called "Jesus" Ojirot had surrendered. Ojirot who hailed from Katakwi was killed by the NRA when he returned to the bush to start cattle rustling again (ibid: 78). This was why some of the respondents of Amuria pointed an accusing finger at the people of Katakwi for having taken part in cattle rustling during the period (Akol, O.I., Acowa, 2010). Such rebels took part in the raids either to regain their lost cattle or gain wealth.

The last category of people who took part in cattle rustling was habitual criminals who comprised thieves, thugs and robbers. They exploited the prevailing chaotic situation

and also began operating disguised as rebels. They saw this as an opportunity to pay off old scores over land disputes and alleged witchcraft. They not only shared the spoils of the rustlers but also took part in the practice. For instance, if an animal was rustled from an area and managed to return to the area, it was eaten by the thugs or even the rebels. Such an animal would be called a “come-back”. These thugs also looted property from people’s houses and sold or appropriated them. Because of their actions, they were nicknamed “*Lu Osepula*” literally meaning “People of the saucepans” (op cit: 48). That is, they would beat the saucepans to produce noise similar to that made by the guns or bombs to scare off people in villages. The scared people would then run away to the bush leaving their property behind to be looted by the thugs.

#### **4.5 Summary**

In conclusion cattle raiding, which during the pre-colonial and colonial periods was characterised by the use of traditional weapons such as the spear, bows and arrows, clubs and knives, was transformed to the use of modern weapons such as the AK-47 assault rifle. Though the rustlers also used locally made guns, these guns were not as sophisticated and efficient as the AK-47 gun. The cattle raiding which merely involved stealing just one or two animals turned into mass raiding in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Originally, cattle raiding were limited to parts of Katakwi district but by the late 1980s; it had engulfed the whole of Teso sub-region and other districts bordering Karamoja. A practice that was carried out at night was later conducted in broad daylight.

Since the objective of the chapter was to examine the changing dimensions of cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the post-independent period, 1962-2001, we can conclude that the introduction of modern weapons (AK-47guns) into the scene escalated cattle rustling in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Apart from the known Karimojong, the Uganda People's Army (UPA) rebels, the Government soldiers and the habitual thieves or thugs had also got involved in cattle rustling during the period. This time cattle rustling which had been instigated by the elements of historical conflict and ecological imbalance (search of water and pasture), was to a large extent overshadowed by materialist gains. The players at the time took advantage of the prevailing political situation to raid for economic gain.

The extent to which the changing dimension of cattle rustling affected the socio-economic and political development in Katakwi district is what we shall address in the following chapter.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5.0 THE IMPACT OF CATTLE RUSTLING ON THE PEOPLE OF KATAKWI DISTRICT.**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, the impact of cattle rustling on the people of Katakwi district was examined. How the changing dimensions of cattle rustling in the area of study have adversely affected the socio-economic and political development was analysed. In order to achieve the above objective an examination of the political, economic and social effects of cattle rustling was undertaken in this chapter. It was evident that the changing dimensions of cattle rustling adversely affected the political, economic and social development in Katakwi district in particular and Teso sub-region as a whole. As observed in Chapter Four, the acquisition of sophisticated weapons such as the AK-47 automatic rifle and sub-machine gun during the post independence era escalated cattle rustling in Teso sub-region. Instead of the traditionally used spears, arrows, knives and clubs, the introduction of the sophisticated weapons created an imbalance of power between the Iteso and Karimojong.

The three theories that have guided this study, namely, the social conflict, the ecological and materialist theories were again applicable in this chapter. An aspect of the social conflict theory stresses that the more powerful groups use their power to exploit the disadvantaged. In this case the Karimojong having acquired modern guns as a result of the political upheavals in Uganda, mounted raids on the Iteso from the 1980s that have

left the people of Teso impoverished. The ecological imbalance between Teso and Karamoja sub-regions compelled the Karimojong to occasionally cross to occupy areas of Katakwi and Amuria districts in search of water and fresh pasture for their livestock. Inevitably, this has been a source of conflict especially when the Karimojong deliberately graze their animals in peoples' gardens thereby destroying crops. The materialist theory pegged to the acquisition of material wealth drives the more powerful individuals or groups of people to gain economic resources from the less powerful. Such was the case between the Karimojong armed with modern weapons and the Iteso who were not armed with the same.

The position taken in this chapter was that all the three theories in one way or the other affected the political, economic and social development of the people of Teso. Cattle rustling resulted to insecurity, disruption of economic activities and social retardation in the area of study.

## **5.2 Political Effects**

Politically, cattle rustling in Katakwi district degenerated to a border dispute between the Iteso and Karimojong; the emergence of rebellion (Teso War) 1986-1992; the breakdown of law and order; the mistrust of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government; the development of a volatile political situation in Teso and the creation of the institution of "Emorimor" (Paramount Leader). These are analysed below.

### **5.2.1 Border Dispute between the Iteso and Karimojong**

Among the political effects brought about by cattle rustling was the border dispute between Katakwi district in Teso sub-region and Moroto (now Napak district) in Karamoja sub-region. The people in Katakwi district insisted that the border was at River Namalera while the people of Moroto claimed it to be near the former Uganda Meat Packers Ranch and cattle holding ground, four miles before the river. Omara Atubo, the Lands, Housing and Urban Development Minister at the time stated that both Katakwi and Moroto communities had agreed to respect the boundary of 1962. Teso and Karamoja districts as they were formerly called were a creation of the 1962 Constitution placing the Iteso in Teso and the Karimojong in Karamoja (Map 1.2: Uganda, 1967 District Boundaries p. 18).

This was the inherent position from the British colonial government. Western colonialism and imperialism have been faulted for almost everything that went wrong in Africa. Traditionally, the people of Africa had paid little attention to borders. They moved when the need arose, border or no border, as attested by the movement of refugees (Ayittey 1998:42-43). The movement of the pastoral communities did not also respect borders. They moved whenever there was need for fresh pasture and water for their animals. Thus, the ecological need knew no border. The creation of Africa's artificial colonial borders was the source of many of the crises plaguing the continent. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the former president of the Republic of Congo and former Chairman of the OAU is quoted to have said;

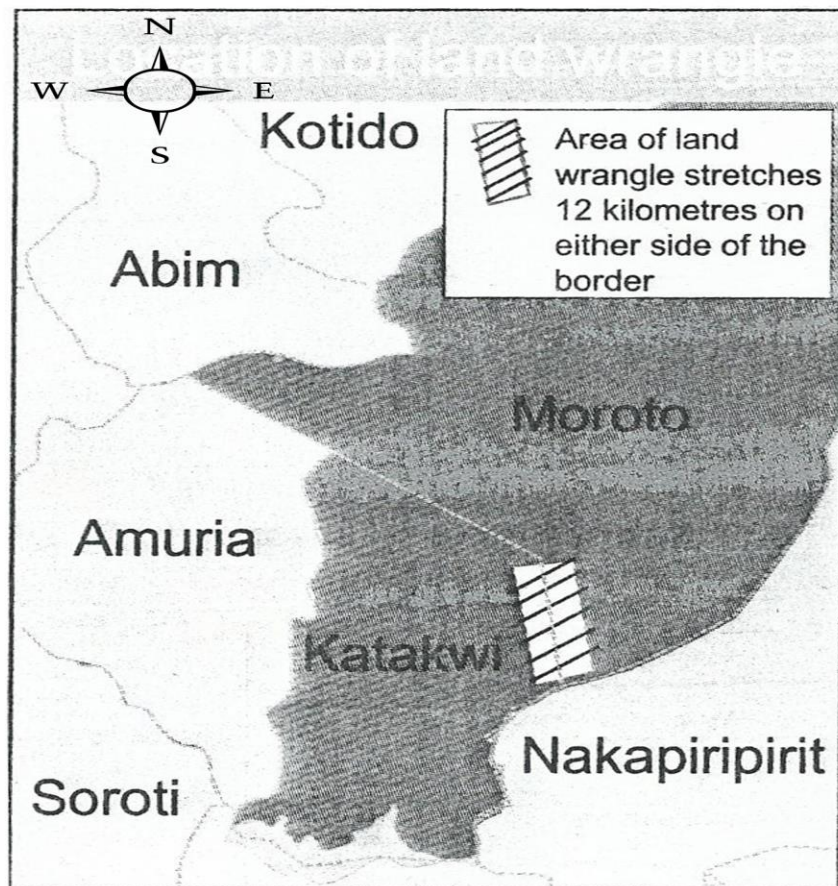
Africans were placed within colonial boundaries. Today, the agitation, the periodic outbursts of rage, the procession of displaced populations, and the trail of refugees reminds us how arbitrary these borders really are... (ibid).

The drawing of colonial boundaries interfered with the Karimojong social system and ecology. This did not only limit access to grazing land and water but also increased social conflicts. The colonial boundaries disregarded the differing nutritional qualities of the grasses at different times of the year and in different locations as well as varying climatic conditions from place to place that were suited to transhumance patterns. The boundaries created ecological hardships and at the same time intensified social conflicts. The area of contest between Katakwi and Napak districts used to be shared and provided common grazing grounds prior to the drawing of colonial boundaries.

The areas of Iriir, Olilim and Apujan used to be dry season grazing areas for both the Iteso and the Karimojong prior to colonial boundary policies (Ocan 1992:7-8). However, the post independence development was that when the Karimojong came to Teso areas in search of grass and water for their animals during the dry season from November to March, they carried guns which were used to attack their hosts, the Iteso. This has resulted deadly armed attacks on the Iteso (Proceedings from a workshop on Hands across the Border: Enhancing Political Leaders' Skills in Conflict Peace-Building held in Mbale, October 12-15, 2002, p.9).

The disputed areas of Iriir, Ongongoja, Obulin, Okoboi and Angisa were originally occupied by the Iteso who vacated them due to insecurity brought about by the Karimojong cattle rustlers. As peace returned to most parts of north-eastern Uganda, the Iteso went back to their homes. Unfortunately, the Napak district administration had already settled street children on the disputed stretch and built two primary schools using the Local Government Fund (*New Vision*, August 3, 2007 p.5). See Map 5.1 below.

Map 5.1: Teso-Karamoja Border Row.



Source: *New Vision*, Friday, August 3, 2007 p.5

In order to settle the impasse, the leaders of Karamoja and Teso met in Moroto District Council Hall on July 23, 2007 and again at Urafiki Foundation House, Katakwi district, on July 24, 2007. Each district appointed three representatives as observers during the exercise. They resolved, among others, not to evict people (the Karimojong) who had occupied the disputed land, but to block new settlement (ibid).

The border dispute between Teso and Karamoja sub-regions compounded the already strained relationship between the Iteso and Karimojong. The Karimojong deliberately moved in to occupy the areas that were vacated by the Iteso due to the insecurity brought about by intensified cattle rustling of the 1980s. These include Amorotoit, Amendera, Olilim, Oeselem and Okulonyo in Ongongoja and Palam sub-counties. The Karimojong have built homes and opened up land for cultivation in these areas (Ekongot, LC V Chairman, Katakwi district, 2010). The two sub-regions have for decades feuded over cattle raiding and stakeholders want government to fix the impasse. The delay by the government to resolve the border dispute was likely to trigger a new wave of conflict. Edeket Phenihus, a peace activist, warned that it would be unfortunate for the surviving elders to pass on the problem to the young generation. He stressed that the dispute was as a result of cattle rustling that had for the past three decades confined the communities in camps (Daily Monitor, Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> January, 2012 p.15). This warning was a harbinger of an impending conflict. Whereas the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda allows every Ugandan to have the right to move freely throughout Uganda and to reside and settle in any part of Uganda, the Karimojong occupation of the areas formally occupied by the Iteso violated the

customary ownership of land as enshrined in the constitution (Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 15<sup>th</sup> February 2006, Articles 29 (2) a and 237 (3) a).

### **5.2.2 Emergence of Rebellion (Teso War) 1986-1992**

Prior to the outbreak of the rebellion in 1986, Teso was a potentially productive and a rich region endowed with many resources. The Iteso were mainly agro-pastoralists engaged in subsistence farming. The pillar of their economic existence depended greatly on cattle-keeping. Unfortunately this occupation was eroded by cattle raids, especially those of the late 1980s. Being a hard-working community, the Iteso produced enough food such as millet, sorghum, cassava, sweet potatoes, peas, groundnuts and sesame, among others. Cotton was the main cash crop. This made Teso once a bread basket, not only for Uganda but also South Sudan and Western Kenya. Teso supplied the bulk of cattle and goats to the butcheries in Kampala and other parts of eastern Uganda. The glory that the Iteso had was destroyed during the rebellion of 1986 to 1992 (Epelu-Opio 2009:15).

The Iteso had been peace-lovers all along. Adams, W.G., the Acting District Commissioner of Teso in his report observed that there had been little change in the habits and customs of the Iteso, who though quick-tempered and revengeful, were a cheerful and simple people (Report on the Teso District for the Year 1914-15, Entebbe National Archives). It is imperative to note that what changed the character of the Iteso was the commercialisation of cattle rustling. The escalating raids of 1985 were instigated by the Okello Lutwa military junta that ousted the Obote II regime in July

1985. The Karimojong exulted because they saw this as a time to exact revenge against the Iteso. The Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA), mainly dominated by the Acholi soldiers allegedly allied with the Karimojong warriors (*Ikaracuna*) who had acquired more guns and ammunition from Moroto barracks, and raided the Iteso. Therefore, the junta's troops institutionalised cattle raids (Epelu-Opio 2009:39).

The Acholi meted out a reprisal against the Iteso for the support they gave Obote. Three-quarters of the Special Force, a paramilitary force created by Obote to counteract insurgency of the National Resistance Army (NRA) of Museveni in Luwero, comprised Iteso (ibid: 40). The Iteso had been enthusiastic about joining the Special Force so as to build the capacity to counteract the Karimojong cattle raids. It is against this background that the Iteso youth joined the Uganda People's Army (UPA) to fight the NRM government of Yoweri Kaguta Museveni. This is because cattle rustling by the Karimojong and their allies continued to be a thorn in the flesh of the Iteso.

### **5.2.3 Breakdown of Law and Order**

The overthrow of the Obote II Uganda People's Congress (UPC) regime in 1985 created a political vacuum in Teso which caused a lot of suffering and dismay. With the apparent breakdown of the state machinery the Iteso took this opportunity to settle old scores. Land and family disputes resurfaced at different levels of society. Many people lost their lives as a result of this (Obwapus, O.I., Magoro, 2010). Some of the Iteso who had embraced the NRM had hidden motives. They were alleged to have taken advantage of being close to the NRM to settle old scores and accused their political,

economic or social opponents as ant-NRM/NRA, branding them as collaborators of Force Obote Back Again (FOBA) Movement. With the disbanding of the Special Force, the Iteso dreaded the Acholi-dominated military junta and were thus encouraged to resist Okello Lutwa's junta. This drove the Acholi soldiers crazy and made them want to show that they were in charge of the state machinery (Epelu-Opio 2009: 40-41).

#### **5.2.4 Mistrust of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) Government**

The coming of the National Resistance Army (NRA) which overthrew the Okello junta on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1986 and took over state power had raised a lot of hope among the Iteso and had erased the fear of the junta. The reaction of the Iteso when the NRA (a military wing of the NRM) entered Teso was that of ululation and jubilation. The Iteso were excited at the coming of the NRA as they hoped for protection from the incoming government. They had looked forward to a government which would avail them another favourable environment like that of Obote II regime which had contained hostilities by the Karimojong (Epelu-Opio *ibid*). They were wrong. They did not know that “they were jumping from the frying pan into the fire” as the saying goes.

Though the NRM government managed to check cattle rustling for some time, it opened up new areas of conflicts. The Special District Administrators (SDAs) of the NRM government that were posted to Kumi and Soroti districts in 1986 did not understand the actual state of mind of the Iteso at the time. Kumi and Soroti districts were created in 1979/1980 to replace the South Teso, North Teso and Central districts created by Amin's regime. Kumi district comprised the counties of Bukedea, Kumi and Ngora.

Soroti district comprised the counties of Kaberamaido, Kalaki, Kasilo, Amuria, Kapelebyong, Serere, Soroti and Usuk (Epelu-Opio 2009:14). The SDAs began to mistrust the Iteso. Apparently some of them had gone to Teso for purposes of revenge because the Special Force dominated by the Iteso had played a key role in fighting the NRA in Luwero in Buganda. The authorities interpreted the accusations and counter-accusations among the Iteso as evidence that the Iteso were opposed to the NRM government. To show that they were bent on revenge, the late Rwakatale Amooti, the SDA of Soroti district in 1986, overtly declared that the strength of the Iteso was in cattle, so they should remove all the animals and see how the Iteso would stand economically and socially (ibid: 42).

In fact the attitude of the NRM authorities opened up a new chapter of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region. At the height of cattle rustling from 1987 to 1990, cattle rustling had covered the whole of Teso sub-region and the neighbouring district of Pallisa. The Karimojong warriors unleashed terror in Teso. To the Iteso, the warriors' marauding activities appeared to have been blessed by the NRM as there were no counter-attacks against the warriors. The Iteso came to conclude that the government connived with the warriors to unleash punitive measures against the Iteso for their allegiance to Obote (ibid: 45-46; Otwal 1997: 38).

Among the people named in this new wave of cattle rustling were the undisciplined soldiers (Akwang O.I., Usuk, 2010; Osele O.I., Palam, 2010 and Ekweny O.I., Magoro, 2010). The allegation that the government soldiers had got involved in cattle rustling in

the late 1980s was also articulated by Musa Ecweru, the State Minister for Disaster Preparedness, who accused Uganda's Ambassador to Burundi, Major General Matayo Kyaligonza of being among the former army officers who stole property and animals from Teso region during the war in the 1980s. Ecweru confessed to having been part of the Uganda People's Army (UPA) rebel group. He also named a one Brigadier Nelson Katagara, for looting the cows that had been rescued from the Karimojong rustlers. In his own words, Ecweru said; "One day the Karimojong rustlers took cows and national army intercepted them and rescued the cows. Instead of returning the cows to the owners, they took them to Kampala" (New Vision Wednesday, April 9, 2014). The actions of the authorities and government soldiers who served in Teso sub-region created suspicion and mistrust of the NRM government and this was bound in one way to influence the political barometer in the region.

### **5.2.5 Development of a Volatile Political Situation in Teso**

During Obote I and Obote II regimes, UPC was the dominant political party in Teso. The overthrow of Obote II government by Okello Lutwa's military junta in 1985 created problems. The anti-UPC factions who thought they were downtrodden contemplated revenge. These groups included the ardent Democratic Party (DP) supporters and some Catholic faithful. Meanwhile, the UPC had its own problems as divisions on the basis of pro-and anti-Obote inclinations developed. Rampant accusations and counter-accusations developed tearing apart the social cohesion that had existed in Teso. This made the political situation volatile in Teso in 1986. The old political differences between the DP and UPC re-surfaced (Epelu-Opio 2009:42).

With the coming of the NRM to power in 1986, the Iteso who embraced it took advantage of being close to the NRM to settle old scores and accused their political, economic or social opponents as anti-NRM. Such opponents were even branded as FOBA or 9<sup>th</sup> October Movement collaborators. The hunt for the alleged FOBA members intensified and affected the whole of Teso. Unfortunately FOBA never existed but was invented as a joke by former UPC politicians in a bar in Kampala (Buckley-Zistel 2008:102). Some of the ruthless SDAs started to crack down on suspected anti-government elements that were arrested and tortured by security agents. As a result some innocent people lost their lives (ibid: 43).

In a measure apparently designed to reduce sectarian violence, political parties were restricted in their activities from 1986. In the non-party “Movement” system instituted by president Yoweri Museveni, political parties continued to exist but could not campaign in elections or field candidates directly (although electoral candidates could belong to political parties), Since parties were not allowed to contest in the elections, the campaign was between individuals as presidential contenders (Buckley-Zistel op cit).

In the “no-party” presidential election of May 9 1996, Museveni defeated Paul Ssemogerere and Muhammad Mayanja by a landslide victory. Museveni got 76.1% of the votes cast, while Ssemogerere, his main rival got 21.9% (The Monitor Saturday, May 11, 1996 p.1, Kyambogo University Library Archives). As Museveni stood for his political organisation the NRM, Dr. Paul Ssemogerere was the joint candidate for the Inter-Party Forces Co-operation (IPFC) comprising three political parties namely: the

Democratic Party (DP), the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) and the Conservative Party (CP) and Mayanja Kibirige Muhammad stood for the Justice, Education, Economic development, Morals and African Unity (JEEMA) party.

In Teso sub-region Ssemogerere and his campaign team capitalised on cattle rustling, poverty, killings and unemployment to decampaign president Museveni. Adonia Tiberendwa, a staunch UPC member, the former headteacher of Tes College Aloet in Soroti district and a former teacher of Yoweri Museveni, caused a stir in the campaign. He told the people that since Museveni had been promising to compensate the Iteso for their cows, he was left with 30 days and if he (Museveni) did not replace them, he would not be voted. Tiberendwa chanted; "The Byanyimas brought up Museveni and I taught him but we have all rejected him... No Cow, No Vote!" (*The Monitor*, Wednesday, April 10-12, 1996 p. 9, Kyambogo University Library Archives).

In Mukura railway station (in Kumi district at the time) where 157 people were locked up in a wagon on July 11, 1989 by the then NRA soldiers during the rebellion in Teso and 47 people died, the "mourning" by Ssemogerere and his campaign team stirred up people's old emotions (Buckley-Zistel 2008:111; *The New Vision* Friday, May 3, 1996 p.2). A song was composed which went like this (*The Monitor*, Wednesday, April 10-12, 1996 p.9, Kyambogo University Library Archives):

...Now that we have lost our  
beloved ones we have nowhere  
to go, we don't know what to  
do with the widows and orphans...

The Chairman of the Mukura Wagon, Widows, Orphans and Survivors Association (MWWOSA), Augustine Okirima, dismissed the “condolences” by Ssemogerere and his campaign team when he read a statement to president Museveni in Soroti town (*The New Vision*, Friday, May 3, 1996 p.2, Kyambogo University Library Archives).

Let the dead rest. Ssemogerere, we the  
survivors know that you were the Minister  
of Internal Affairs, responsible for security.

Such a sarcastic remark did not, however, change the mindset of the people of Kumi. Though the NRM campaign team attempted to buy alcohol for the residents as a diversionary tactic, it never worked. Ssemogerere polled 47,556 (53.8%) while Museveni polled 38,772 (43.8%) of the votes cast.

In Katakwi sub- district, which included Amuria areas at the time, the situation was a little different. People had been intimidated by the Local Council (LC) chairpersons and warned that if they did not vote for Museveni, a new wave of terror and cattle raiding would be unleashed on them. That is why Museveni got 15,125 votes and Ssemogerere got 7,129 votes in Amuria County. In Usuk County in Katakwi, Museveni got 24,492 and Ssemogerere only 2,301 of the votes cast (*The Monitor* Wednesday, April 10-12, 1996 p.9; *The Sunday Vision*, May12, 1996 p.10 and 16, Kyambogo University Library Archives). See the table on the next page.

Table 5.1 Polling Results for Teso Sub-Region, May 9, 1996

District Electoral Area Name	Total No. Of Reg. Voters	Museveni	Mayanja	Ssemogerere	Actual Votes cast
<b>KUMI</b>					
Bukedea County	41,475	14,078	755	12,269	29,799
Kumi County	56,356	15,541	730	21,249	40,457
Ngora County	34,742	9,153	662	14,038	25,831
<b>Total</b>	<b>132,743</b>	<b>38,772</b>	<b>2,147</b>	<b>47,556</b>	<b>96,087</b>
<b>SOROTI</b>					
Amuria County	32,606	15,125	349	7,129	25,082
Kaberamaido County	19,323	7,397	358	5,859	14,713
Kalaki County	22,076	6,623	358	9,097	17,713
Kapelebyong County	14,083	7,668	85	1,219	9,731
Kasilo County	20,725	5,339	288	4,551	11,379
Serere County	28,484	9,273	307	7,327	18,266
Soroti County	38,964	8,542	537	14,666	26,356
Usuk County	39,505	24,492	346	2,301	29,145
Soroti Municipality	19,120	5,158	204	3,329	9,345
<b>Total</b>	<b>234,886</b>	<b>89,617</b>	<b>2,832</b>	<b>55,478</b>	<b>161 029</b>

Source: *The Sunday Vision*, May 12, 1996 p.10 and 16, Kyambogo University Library Archives.

According to Table 5.1 showing polling results for Teso sub-region on 9<sup>th</sup> May, 1996, Ssemogerere won in Kumi district polling a total of 47,556 votes more especially in Kumi and Ngora counties he polled 21,249 and 14,038 votes, respectively, beating Museveni who got a total of 38,772 votes. In Soroti district president Museveni polled a total of 89,617 votes beating Ssemogerere who got 55,478 votes. However, in Soroti district Ssemogerere beat Museveni in the counties of Soroti and Kalaki.

The defeat of Museveni in some areas of Teso did not go well with him. After the 9<sup>th</sup> May, 1996 elections Museveni overtly expressed his disappointment in public

functions. For example, during a thanks giving service held in Luwero where he had gathered his former campaign managers and agents, diplomats and other supporters, he stated that areas that voted against him would not get the cake. He emphasised he would not share the political cake with them but would give them some bits of the development cake (*The Monitor* Friday, May 24-27, 1996 p.5 Kyambogo University Library Archives). In his own words Museveni said;

When it comes to the political cake it is another matter. Where do we get a Minister from? It will mainly be according to the input of votes.

However, Museveni retracted his statement by saying that Acholi, Arua and other areas which overwhelmingly voted against him needed not to worry about the political cake because the NRM government would reward them with the development cake in form of constructing roads for them. But he added that the political cake was better. Nevertheless, the statement had sunk deep into the ears of those people in the areas that had voted against Museveni and was bound to change the political parameter in the next elections.

In 2000, Ugandans had the opportunity to vote in a referendum whether they wanted to keep the Movement system or resort to multi-party politics. They chose the former. Nevertheless, resentment about Museveni's strong position and his grip on power grew steadily, both among Ugandans and from within the Movement. When the general elections were again held on March 12, 2001 Museveni gained 69% and Kizza Besigye, his main contender gained 28% of the votes (Buckley-Zistel 2008:70; *The Monitor* Thursday, March 15, 2001 p.1, Kyambogo University Library Archives). Whereas

Ssemogerere, the presidential candidate in the May 9, 1996 general elections, had taken some areas of Teso by storm using cattle rustling by the Karimojong and the killings at Mukura railway station as bench marks to discredit the NRM government of president Museveni, it had all not been easy for the presidential candidates of the March 12, 2001 general elections. Colonel (Rtd) Dr. Kizza Besigye, the main contender, only defeated president Museveni in Soroti county (Soroti district) when he polled 15,788 votes while Museveni polled 15, 019 votes. In all the counties of Kumi and Katakwi districts and other counties of Soroti district, president Musevei took the vote (*The New Vision* Friday, March 16, 2001 p.7, 8 and 41, Kyambogo University Library Archives).

Several factors had influenced the political barometer in Teso sub-region in favour of President Yoweri Museveni. These, among others, included: first, president Museveni had already sounded the warning drums after his defeat in some areas of Teso in the May 9, 1996 general elections. That is, those areas that did not vote him would not get the political cake. This influenced the vote in the March 12, 2001 general elections in Teso sub-region. Secondly, the president told the people of Teso that he was targeting to collect 50,000 illegal guns from the Karimojong warriors and this disarmament was to take effect from January 20, 2001. The president stated this in January 19, 2001 on Voice of Teso 88.4 FM talk show (*Sunday Monitor*, January 21, 2001 p.1, Kyambogo University Library Archives). This was indeed a sign of relief to the people of Teso who had adversely suffered in the hands of the marauding gun wielding Karimojong cattle rustlers. Later on, the army spokesman, Major Phinehas Katirima, while at a public debate at Makerere University reiterated on government's determination to disarm the

Karimojong warriors by all means (*The Monitor*, Thursday, February 01, 2001, p.4, Kyambogo University Library Archives). Katirima said;

With regard to Karamoja cattle rustling, the Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF) is exercising peaceful means to disarm them. But of course if all these fail, force will inevitably be used to bring about everlasting peace and stability.

Thirdly, president Museveni, while speaking at a campaign rally in Kumi town, apologised for the 1989 killings by the army of people at Mukura railway station in Kumi district (now in Ngora district) (*The Monitor*, Monday, February 26, 2001 p.12, Kyambogo University Library Archives). Museveni was quoted to have said;

I have come to say sorry. In Lunyankole, we say *okuyaga* for the people who died here as a result of bad politics. There was confusion here. It was difficult to know who was who, difficult to tell who is a friend, who is an enemy. People were locked in a wagon because there was no prison and people died of suffocation.

The president also opened an Ordinary (O) Level secondary school built by the government in memory of those who perished in the wagon and pledged to build another school in Nyero (in Kumi district). In this campaign over 500 people crossed from other candidates to Museveni (ibid).

Fourthly, of course there was alleged involvement in vote rigging. A former campaign agent for Kizza Besigye in Soroti district, Omolo, had forgiven the members of the Electoral Commission (EC) for their alleged involvement in rigging the presidential

election. In addition, Omolo also alleged that the majority of their supporters' names were missing on the voter's register and were denied a chance to vote (*The Monitor*, Saturday, March 17, 2001 p.4, Kyambogo University Library Archives). He was quoted to have remarked;

I forgive all those in the Electoral Commission  
because they were also protecting their jobs,  
they were defending their bread.

In spite of the allegations made, president Museveni won in all the districts of Teso sub-region. The table 5.2 on the next page shows a summary of the March 12, 2001 elections.

Table 5.2 Polling Results for Teso Sub-region March 12, 2001

Districts, Constituencies	Number of Registered voters	Awori Aggrey	Besigye Kizza	Bwengye Francis	Karuhanga Chappa	Mayanja Kibirige	Museveni Yoweri
<b>KATAKWI</b>	<b>101,449</b>	<b>1,382</b>	<b>12,024</b>	<b>572</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>720</b>	<b>55,893</b>
Amuria County	38,653	603	7,183	260	79	354	19,159
Kapelebyong County	17,769	165	1,438	80	29	102	11,240
Usuk County	45,207	614	3,403	232	77	264	25,494
<b>KUMI</b>	<b>148,211</b>	<b>1,795</b>	<b>42,390</b>	<b>983</b>	<b>329</b>	<b>1,646</b>	<b>49,642</b>
Bukedea County	45,429	454	13,777	363	111	545	13,985
Kumi County	63,215	862	17,195	340	126	623	22,178
Ngora County	39,567	479	11,418	280	92	478	13,479
<b>SOROTI</b>	<b>175,676</b>	<b>1,923</b>	<b>47,768</b>	<b>995</b>	<b>341</b>	<b>1,815</b>	<b>61,977</b>
Kaberaido County	22,675	211	5,451	113	52	203	11,250
Kalaki County	25,307	327	7,290	172	45	215	11,023
Kasilo County	22,612	168	6,162	129	42	230	7,000
Serere County	34,030	232	8,423	171	68	320	12,187
Soroti County	46,909	713	15,788	375	122	682	15,019
Soroti Municipality	24,143	272	4,654	35	12	165	5,498

Source: *The New Vision*, Friday, March 16, 2001 p.7, 8 and 41 Kyambogo University Library Archives.

The point to note here is that the politicians at the time exploited cattle rustling to canvas votes from Teso sub-region and tarnish the image of the NRM government. Though the opposition won in some areas, the community on the whole supported the NRM party under Museveni. Cattle rustling had also minimised during the period

though the people were uncertain of what would happen next. Nevertheless, the NRM government endeavoured to win back the trust of the people of Teso and in particular, Katakwi district, by establishing the Anti Stock Theft Unit (ASTU) at the border areas between Teso and Karamoja so as to curb cattle rustling. In 2001, the disarmament programme was launched to remove illegal guns from the Karimojong warriors.

#### **5.2.6 Creation of the Institution of “Emorimor” (Paramount Leader)**

The Iteso were a stateless or decentralised society. Stateless in the sense that authority was so dispersed that no permanent rulers could be identified. Even those who exercised authority did so part-time, temporarily, over small groups of people, and over only a limited sector of their affairs. This dispersal of authority was a mark of statelessness (Curtin, et al, 1995: 71). While Webster (1970: 53-54) discusses the Iteso institutions in detail, the point to note is that as the Iteso were pastoralists in Karamoja their two most important institutions were the *Ateker* (clan) and the *Aturi* (age group). Each *Ateker* claimed descent from a common ancestor. The three ancient clans (*atekerin*) were *Ikatekok*, *Ikarebwok* and *Irarak* whose names meant “the people of *Atekok*, *Arebwok* and *Arak*” respectively.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the Iteso were led by different ancestral leaders when they entered into Teso sub-region. Even when the Iteso had turned to settled agriculture by the nineteenth century, many of their institutions were still designed for pastoralism. For instance, it was logical if a man became wealthy and his herds and family had increased, to pioneer a new land (ibid). In the course of the Iteso migration, the clans

were broken up and the settlement pattern in Teso became one where each *Eitela* or community comprised multiple clan clusters. Those living near the fringes of Teso and confronted by large foreign populations were compelled to organise on a large scale placing greater emphasis upon military organisation. Each military organisation was led by a military leader, *Aruwon*. The clan meeting (*Etem*) had originally served as the government of the *Eitela* or settlement. But since there were now numerous *Itemwan* (plural of *Etem*) representing the many clans in each *Eitela*, no political institution developed for the whole *Eitela* which probably would have had a centralised authority (ibid).

Therefore, the creation of the institution *Papa Emorimor* (Paramount Leader) on 30<sup>th</sup> April, 2000 was an “invented tradition” (Buckley-Zistel 2008:117). However, Buckley-Zistel’s assertion is not correct because the concept of *Emorimor* was not new among the Iteso. Traditionally, every individual clan appointed a representative (*Emorimor*) who reconciled internal disputes and held his people together. The word “emorimor” is derived from the word “aimorokikin”, which means “to unite”. So, the creation of *Papa Emorimor* meant that the tradition was altered from one *Emorimor* per clan to one overall *Emorimor* for all the clans of Teso.

Following the reinstatement of the traditional kingdoms in Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro and Busoga which had been abolished in 1966 by Obote I regime (Jorgensen 1981:230; Kasozi 1994:59), Museveni promised he would reinstate the kingdoms when he became President of Uganda. In 1993, Museveni fulfilled the promise seven years after coming

to power. However, the reinstated kings were to serve as cultural leaders without political power.

It was against this background that the Iteso Cultural Union (ICU), an organisation tasked for the creation of *Papa Emorimor*, put their demand to President Museveni. At first, Museveni was not in favour of the Iteso having a cultural leader, but he succumbed to ICU's pressure. Eventually, the first *Papa Emorimor*, Augustine Osuban Lemukol, a retired Commissioner of Agriculture, was inaugurated on 30<sup>th</sup> April, 2000 in Soroti town. The cardinal duty and mandate of *Papa Emorimor* was to promote the unity of Teso. Supporters of the *Emorimor* went as far as suggesting that if he had already been in place in 1986/1987, he would have prevented the insurgency through disciplining the youth and communicating the plight of the Iteso to the President of Uganda (Buckley-Zistel 2008:119). In the same vein he would have been a strong figurehead to speak on behalf of the Iteso on the long standing issue of cattle rustling by the Karimojong in Teso.

### **5.3 Economic Effects**

Cattle rustling profoundly disorganised the economic set up of Teso sub-region and in particular, Katakwi district, especially in the late 1980s. This resulted in the loss of livestock, disruption of agriculture, food shortage, poverty, land disputes and economic backwardness of Katakwi district as analysed below.

### **5.3.1 Loss of Livestock**

Ocan (1994:97) observed that for long the economy in north-eastern Uganda largely depended on pastoralism although agriculture also contributed a significant share to production. However, some areas practiced a mixture of both, that is rearing of animals and cultivation of crops. This is referred to as agro-pastoralism.

During the pre-colonial period cattle losses in Teso were brought about by the outbreak of contagious cattle diseases such as rinderpest and bovine pleuro pneumonia. In 1890 rinderpest had hit Teso and the heads of cattle numbered less than 100,000. However, with the introduction of veterinary services and increase of veterinary staff in 1921, the number of cattle had increased tremendously such that by 1952 the livestock census recorded 645,807 heads of cattle and 251,047 sheep and goats. But after the sweeping bloody cattle raids of the late 1980s, the census of 1990 recorded 13,600 heads of cattle in Teso sub-region (ibid: 17-18). Table 5.3 shows the results of cattle census in Teso from 1890-1995, Table 5.4 shows livestock census in Soroti District in 1980 and Table 5.5 shows the livestock census in Usuk County in 1990 (See the next pages).

Table 5.3: Cattle Census in Teso

Year	Head of Cattle
1890	100,000
1912	115,991
1952	645,807
1956	703,511
1959	682,494
1969	636,019
1980	477,834
1984	486,739
1990	13,600
1995	67,546

Source: Otwal (1997); *Cattle Rustling in Eastern and Northern Uganda*, Kampala, Complex Printers and Stationers, p.53.

Table 5.4: Livestock Census in Soroti District 1980

County	Head of Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Pigs
Soroti	80,058	7,827	21,816	2,817
Serere	84,441	11,159	28,371	3,398
Kaberamaido	71,731	3,913	10,730	3,560
Usuk	40,254	6,405	9,674	2,526
TOTAL	317,563	33,031	81,156	13,380

Source: Otwal (1997); *Cattle Rustling in Eastern and Northern Uganda*, Kampala, Complex Printers and Stationers, p.54.

Table 5.5: Livestock Census in Usuk County 1990

Sub-County	Head of Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Pigs
Katakwi	1,421	254	1,021	316
Usuk	1,520	360	1,158	444
Ngariam	165	103	347	81
Magoro	278	221	680	423
Toroma	148	3	111	143
Kapujan	85	9	50	277
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,617</b>	<b>943</b>	<b>3,358</b>	<b>1,684</b>

Source: Otwal (1997); *Cattle Rustling in Eastern and Northern Uganda*, Kampala, Complex Printers and Stationers, p.54.

Whereas Table 5.3 shows the cattle census for the whole of Teso sub-region, Table 5.4 singles out Soroti district which had comprised Usuk, the area of study. It should be noted that the total figures of livestock in Usuk County during the 1980 livestock census were as follows: 40,252 head of cattle, 6,405 sheep, 9,674 goats and 2,526 pigs (See Table 5.4). This revealed that there was a considerable drop in the number of these livestock in 1990 as seen in Table 5.5 majorly due to the cattle rustling of the late 1980s. For instance, the number of cattle drastically reduced from 40,254 in 1980 to 3,617 in 1990.

However, though cattle rustling by the Karimojong directly contributed to the reduction in the number of livestock in the area of study, it indirectly led to the spread of epizootic diseases such as the Contagious Bovine Pleuro Pneumonia (CBPP) and Rinderpest which also were causative in the reduced number of livestock. In 1980 and 1981 there

was a serious outbreak of CBPP in Teso, especially in Katakwi district and in 1987, there was also a serious outbreak of Rinderpest because people were running up and down with their cattle. Inevitably, the diseases easily spread because of sharing watering sources. The resultant insecurity, compounded by the outbreak of the Rebellion (Teso War) in 1986 led to the break down of veterinary services, made it difficult to control livestock movement.<sup>8</sup>

The loss of cattle adversely affected the economic and social status of the Iteso as analysed later in this chapter. Traditionally, cattle were the measure of wealth. A person was considered rich depending on the number of cattle one had. With the loss of cattle, people lost prestige and the pride they had in cattle (Okulo, O.I., Wera, 2010). As a result of this loss the rich died of stomach ulcers very fast (Odiku, O.I., Wera, 2010; Emaru, O.I., Wera, 2010). Overall, Teso sub-region lost about one million heads of cattle (Ocan 1992: 22).

### **5.3.2 Disruption of Agriculture**

Epelu-Opio (2009:15) observed that Teso was a potentially productive and rich region and the people were mainly agro-pastoralists engaged in subsistence farming. The food crops produced included millet, sorghum, cassava, sweet potatoes, peas, groundnuts, simsim, and so on. Fruits like mangoes and oranges were in abundance. Teso was thus a source of food for Karamoja and other parts of Uganda, South Sudan and western Kenya. Teso was once a food basket for Uganda supplying the entire neighbouring sub-

---

<sup>8</sup> Report from the Department of Production, District Veterinary Office, Soroti.

regions and Kampala with food and beef cattle (Olemo, O.I., District Planner, Katakwi District, 2010). In addition to food crops, Teso produced mainly cotton as a cash crop.

However, the economic prosperity which was attributed to the use of animal power was no more after the loss of cattle due to cattle rustling. Animal traction which used to be a major means of opening land for agricultural production became a thing of the past. The loss of animal draft power for opening land for cultivation drastically affected food and cash crop production (Edeket, O.I., Palam, 2010). In Katakwi, for example, 81.6 per cent of the population depended on subsistence farming for their livelihood (Katakwi District Five Development Plan, July 2010/2011- June, 2014/2015, p.17). So with the loss of cattle and subsequent loss of animal traction, there was little agricultural production which at times was also disrupted by insecurity. To make matters worse, as the people spent about two decades in camps where they depended on handouts from NGOs, they developed a negative attitude towards agriculture because they had been on the receiving end (Atim, O.I., District Education Officer, Katakwi District, 2010). However, as peace gradually began to return in the early 1990s the population began to resettle and engage in small-scale production activities. Through individual and some NGO efforts, the economic recovery began to take shape with livestock and crop production levels rising. In spite of these, persistent cattle rustling continued to affect the economic recovery (Katakwi Five Year Development Plan, op cit).

### **5.3.3 Food Shortage**

The decline of agricultural production inevitably led to shortage of food in Teso sub-region as a whole. As noted in 5.3.2 above, Teso had been the food basket for Uganda producing a variety of foodstuffs which included millet, sorghum, cassava, sweet potatoes peas, groundnuts and simsim. These in addition to meat and milk products from their animals provided a rich protein diet. As observed by Epelu-Opio (2009: 15), diseases associated with malnutrition such as kwashiorkor and marasmus were rare in Teso because of the available sources of animal and plant protein. In addition, fruits like mangoes, oranges and pawpaw were in abundance.

With the disruption of agriculture to which the majority of the population depended for their livelihood, food shortage was bound to arise. The government, in an attempt to protect the civilian population from marauding cattle rustlers, put the people in some sort of concentration camps or what was called Internally Displaced Peoples' (IDP) camps. Whereas these were meant to provide security to the people, the creation of IDP camps adversely downplayed food production because people were virtually cut off from their fields. At times the people would cultivate the nearby fields but their activities would be disrupted whenever cattle rustlers attacked. Consequentially, this led to serious food shortage and famine (Akwang, O.I., Usuk, 2010).

Furthermore, the armed Karimojong warriors moved with large herds of cattle and donkeys in the northern counties of Amuria and Kapelebyong looking for grazing land and water. They had established temporary settlements in Kapelebyong County. In the

course of looking for grazing land, the Karimojong would graze their cattle over peoples' crops (Monthly Report for the months of January and February, from the District Executive Secretary's Office, Soroti District, to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government, Kampala, 15<sup>th</sup> March, 1992, Soroti District Archives). Since the Karimojong came with guns they used them to attack their hosts, the Iteso. It was also during their stay in Teso lands that they spied on areas where cattle were located. As the rains began the Karimojong would destroy lives and property as they go back home. During the rains they would return in the night to steal cattle. In the morning the footmarks led to the direction of Karamoja (Proceedings from a workshop: Hands Across the Border Phase 11 December 2002- January, 2003 held in Mbale, Eastern Uganda, p.5).

Malnutrition which had been rare among the Iteso became widespread. Kakungulu's efforts to plant mango trees in areas he brought under his control were a blessing in disguise because the mango fruits served as manna for the Iteso. They thrived on mangoes, among others, to supplement food shortage. Though the mango trees did not provide the fruit all the year round, twice a year was good enough.

Situations of extreme shortage of food often leading to starvation and death were observed in many parts of Teso sub-region. For instance, in Kapelebyong, Amuria district, a mother committed suicide after coming back from a two day's hunt for cassava only to find that her children had slaughtered their only dog to eat. In Usuk, Katakwi district, people fed on fruits (mangoes) and leaves (Report on Famine Alarm in Soroti District to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare,

Kampala, 13<sup>th</sup> March, 1992, Soroti District Archives). However, food shortage and the consequent famine had not been a result of cattle rustling alone. Other factors played a role. In 1992, cassava mosaic, a disease that affected cassava plants, attacked Soroti district leaving the cassava plants short with no tubers. The weather was equally harsh. The long spells of drought which prevailed meant that no short term crops could be grown (ibid). Lack of livestock, poultry and shortage of food made people to resort to eating rats, sacred birds, tortoise, monkeys, foxes, jackals and wild cats as a source animal protein (Epelu-Opio 2009: 108). Some of these animals and birds had been eaten before to a considerable extent but the food shortage heightened their consumption.

#### **5.3.4 Poverty**

One notable impact of cattle rustling in the area of study was the high levels of poverty. People who once were rich owning large herds of cattle and having plenty to eat were turned into paupers depending on handouts (posho, beans, cooking oil, second-hand clothes, soap and blankets) which were not even sufficient (Olemo, O.I., District Planner, Katakwi, 2010). On average about 64 per cent of the population of Katakwi district, for example, fell below the poverty line. That is, the population was spending less than US \$ 1 per person per day on basic requirements such as health, food, shelter and clothing (Katakwi Five Year Development Plan, July, 2010/2011- June 2014/2015).

John Maitland, the former Director of Ngora Hospital, while criticising the Uganda government for the NRA atrocities in a letter published in *The Independent* newspaper and in a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) interview said that the cordon and

search operations combined with the visitations by rebel militia and raiders from the north had destroyed a once economically self-sufficient area where one and a half million people from Teso suffered from severe poverty, malnutrition and disease. They had lost everything- homes, crops, schools, cattle, clinics and social structures (Buckley-Zistel 2008: 77). In an attempt to crush the Teso rebellion that broke out in 1986, the NRA atrocities meted on the Iteso compounded the already existing poverty brought about by cattle rustling.

### **5.3.5 Land Disputes**

The insecurity brought about by decades of cattle rustling compelled people in Katakwi and Amuria districts to run away to areas of safety. The affected communities ran to other parts of Teso and as far as Busoga sub-region and beyond leaving their ancestral lands (Opolot, O.I., Kapelebyong, 2010; Ojangole, O.I., Magoro, 2010). As noted in 5.2.1, the disputed areas of Iriir, Ongongoja, Obulin and Okoboi were the ancestral lands of the Iteso but vacated them due to the prolonged insecurity brought about by the Karimojong cattle rustlers. Unfortunately, the Karimojong communities moved in and settled in these lands. This has raised a contentious issue that to date has not been resolved.

Incidences of land disputes had been noted within Katakwi district. As relative peace returned, people who had run away came back to claim their land which other clan members or even members of the same clan had grabbed. Killings increased because of land disputes. Families planned to eliminate others through poisoning or other means because of land (Oleemo, O.I., Magoro, 2010; Odil, O.I., Magoro, 2010).

### 5.3.6 Economic Backwardness of Teso Sub-region

Jorgensen (1981: 103-106) and Harlow and Chilver (1965: 104-105) elaborately glorified the economic development of Teso since the first cotton crop was harvested in 1908-9 and the first ploughing school opened at Kumi in 1910. The ox-plough had revolutionised agriculture which once depended on the metallic hand hoe. Virtually all cropland in Teso was prepared by ploughing. Consequently cotton production rose over the years. For instance, annual production of seed cotton in Teso averaged 21,600 metric tons from 1950 through 1959 more than before World War II. On a per capita basis, Teso produced more cotton than Buganda but less than Busoga. In terms of cattle resource, the ratio of cattle to people was exceptionally high in Teso, 6.6 cattle per household in 1963, a figure second only to Karamoja with 21.6 cattle per household. Since the 1930s cattle sales to Kampala had provided the Iteso with their second most important 'cash crop'.

That glory was no more following years of cattle rustling which intensified in the late 1980s. The outbreak of Teso War in 1986 made the already bad situation worse. Olemo (O.I., and District Planner Katakwi, 2010) cited the appalling conditions in Katakwi district where on average about 64 per cent of the population fell below the poverty line spending less than US \$ 1 per person per day on basic requirements following the loss of cattle. In fact Epelu-Opio (2009: 108) summarily put it that the Iteso experienced untold suffering and were reduced from the once prosperous condition to a situation of desperation, hopelessness and with no sense of direction. People were almost taken back to the *Asonya*, the period of "primitivism".

As analysed under social effects, technical and social infrastructure broke down. A case in point was the closure of Soroti Meat Factory which used to produce a capacity of 4,000 tons of meat. The closure of the factory contributed to the loss of foreign exchange earnings estimated to bring US \$ 200,000 per year for the production of hides. The employment opportunities to our skilled citizens estimated to be over 2,000 workers was also lost due to the closure of the factory (Otwal 1997: 59). Such are the paradigms of economic backwardness in Teso sub-region brought about by the loss of cattle. The premises of the once a meat factory are now serving as a warehouse for agricultural produce. See figure 5.1 (next page) showing the researcher standing in front of the closed factory.

Figure 5.1: Researcher standing in front of Former Soroti Meat Factory



Source: Field Data, 2010.

#### **5.4 Social effects**

Socially, the insecurity brought about by cattle rustling greatly affected the pattern of livelihood of the people in the area of study and disrupted the social services as well. This is analysed below.

##### **5.4.1 Loss of Lives and Property**

Cattle rustling contributed to devastation of the area of study as people were killed and property destroyed or looted. Compared to the period when traditional weapons like

spears, arrows, knives and clubs were used, there was much devastation when guns came into use by the Karimojong cattle rustlers. Sources of the guns have already been discussed in Chapter Four. There were a number of incidences on record when the Karimojong raided cattle, killed people and looted foodstuffs in areas of Katakwi and Amuria districts. The most perturbing issue was that the killing of both parents left child headed families (Atim, O.I., District Education Officer (DEO), Katakwi, 2013). Cited here are some of such incidences.

On 20<sup>th</sup> August, 1986 cattle raiders attacked the parishes of Ajaki and Odoon in Asamuk Sub-County in Amuria district. When they did not get cattle, the raiders resorted to goats, sheep, chicken and foodstuffs taking away what they could. The next day, 21<sup>st</sup> August, 1986, a letter written in *Ngakarimojong* (language of the Karimojong) was picked in Asamuk Sub-County headquarters. It was fixed on a piece of grass and put on the door of the Sub-County Chief's Office. They were informing the chiefs not to collect tax from the people of Soroti district and they (raiders) were coming to visit all the chiefs in the district. Consequently, there were raids in Abarilela on 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> August, 1986 mainly covering Katine parish and the second one on 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> August, 1986 when the raiders covered the whole sub- county of Asamuk (Monthly Report for August, 1986 from the County Chief Amuria, Soroti District to the District Executive Secretary, Soroti District, 29<sup>th</sup> August, 1986, Soroti District Archives). The very fact that the letter was written in *Ngakarimojong* implied that the raiders were Karimojong and that they were a literate group, probably doing so not only as a tradition but also for economic gain. This was the basis of the materialist theory in

which the more powerful groups of people driven by the motive to acquire material wealth attacked the less powerful.

On 24<sup>th</sup> June, 1992, the Karimojong shot two people and kidnapped one at Alito parish, Obalanga Sub- County in Amuria district. The people killed were Ebaju Michael and Akello Veronica. The one kidnapped was Ejolu Charles whose whereabouts were not known. In the same month of June, the Karimojong killed one woman by the name Aswei in Achowa Sub-County. On 5<sup>th</sup> July, 1992, Ocilok Charles was also killed by the Karimojong. They also looted foodstuffs (Monthly Report for May to mid July, 1992 from the County Chief of Kapelebyong to the District Executive Secretary, Soroti district, 20<sup>th</sup> July, 1992, Soroti District Archives). See Figures 5.2 and 5.3 on the next pages for other incidences. The report in Figures 5.2 and 5.3 shows that there was an upsurge of cattle rustling by the Karimojong raiders in the late 1980s in which people's lives and property were lost.

Figure 5.2: Cattle Raids in Kapelebyong County, Katakwi District.

REF:SDA/C/23.

COUNTY CHIEF'S OFFICE, KAPELEBYONG,  
SOROTI DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION,  
P.O. AMURIA.  
25th June, 1986.

The District Police Commander,  
Soroti District,  
P.O. Box 279,  
SOROTI.

(56)

RE: CATTLE RAIDS.

This is to report to you that, between the night of 23rd June, 1986 and the 24th June, 86, a worst surprise attack was inflicted by Cattle Rustlers on persons of Achowa Sub-County in the Parish of Amero. Reliable information reaching my desk is that, there were so many of these raiders seen and after their raid, they took a large number of animals and also looted domestic properties, destroyed food crops and also demolished many houses. However, this Office is still waiting for a detailed report from the Sub-County Chief, Achowa. Elders from Kapelebyong told the C.O. 29th BTN, Soroti on the 22nd, June, 1986 that, these cattle rustlers seem to be near or have crossed the border and that is why they have frequented coming to harass the people mostly on Mondays and Tuesdays of every week. The C.O. was addressing the elders in Kapelebyong County Hqs.

It is our hope and pray that, the Government speeds up a programme in whatever formula and method that has been drawn to disarm these group of armed raiders.

In order to try to ease the problems in this area, I am in opinion that, Detachments be introduced in Achowa Sub-County and Obalanga S/c, so that no more loss of lives and property continues at such a speed. Please expedite.

(EMMANUEL O OMOUDU)  
Ag. COUNTY CHIEF, KAPELEBYONG,  
SOROTI DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION.

c.c. The Special District Administrator, ✓  
Soroti District,  
P.O. Box 61,  
SOROTI.

" The District Executive Secretary,  
Soroti District,  
P.O. Box 269,  
SOROTI

" The Assistant D.E.S.,  
i/c, Katakwi Sub-District,  
P.O. Box 1,  
KATAKWI.

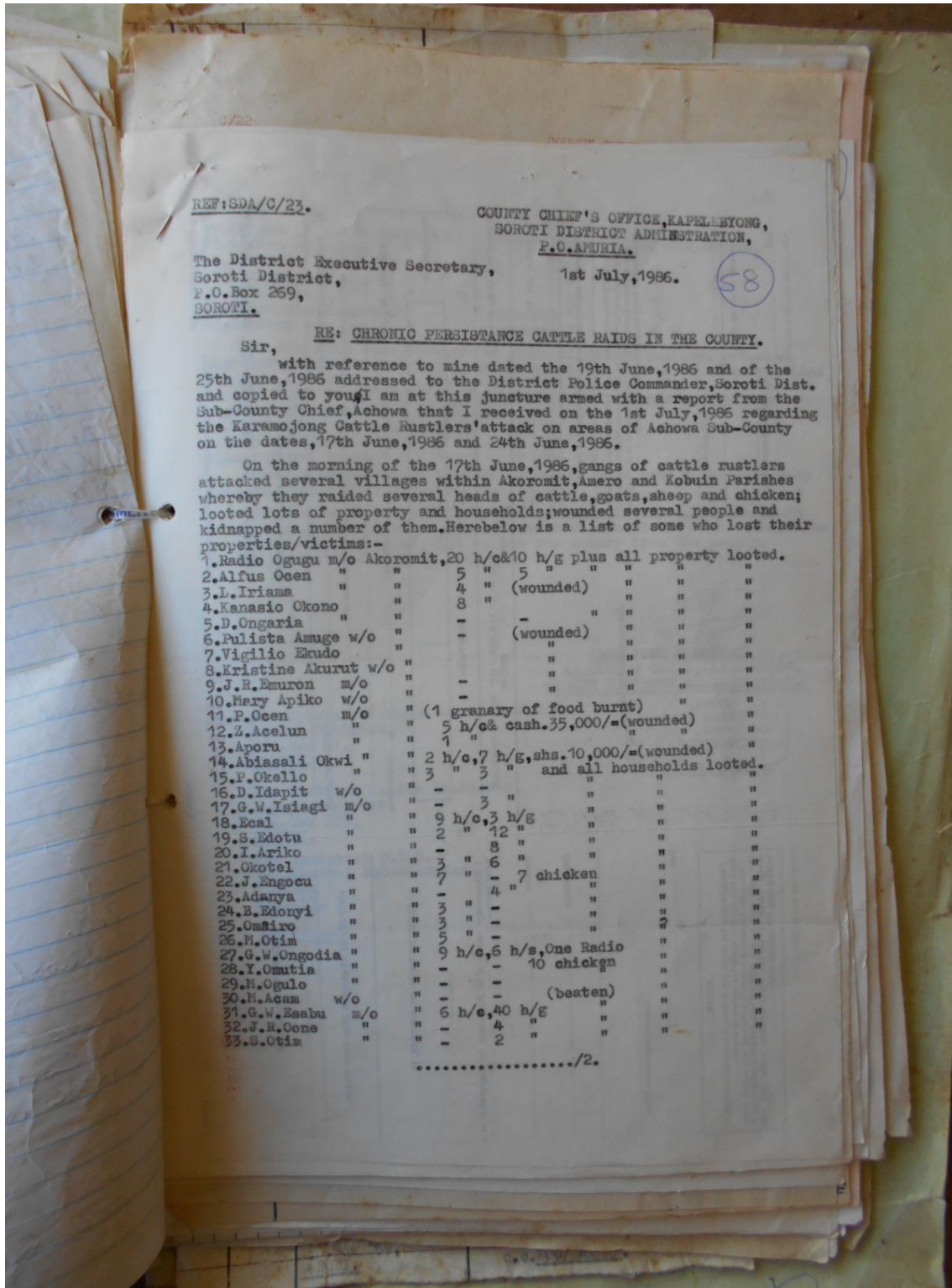
" The Commanding Officer,  
Soroti District,

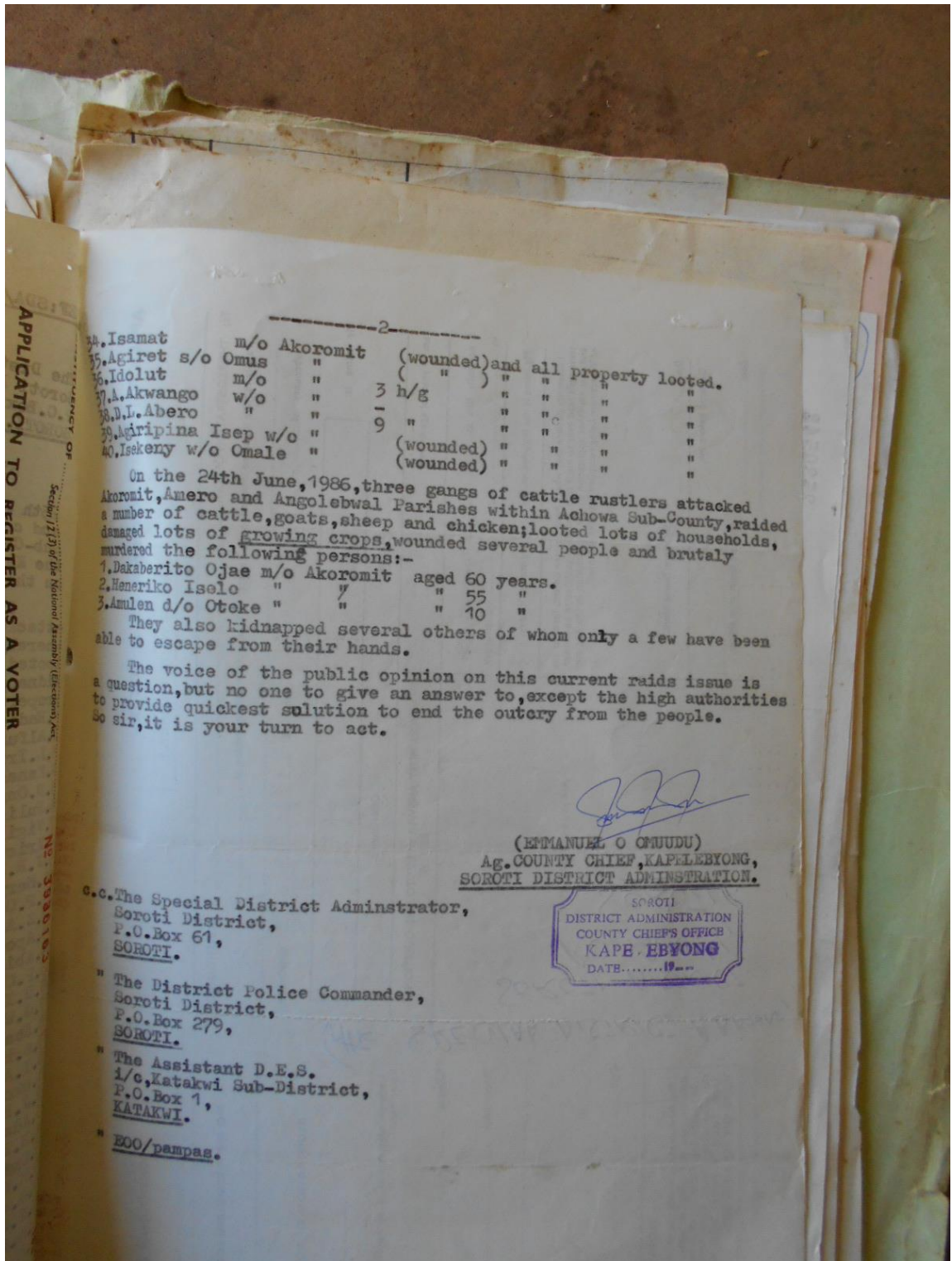
" ECC/pampas.

SOROTI  
DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION  
COUNTY CHIEF'S OFFICE  
**KAPELEBYONG**  
DATE.....19....

Source: Field Data, Soroti District Archives, 2010.

Figure 5.3: Chronic Cattle Raids in Kapelebyong County, Katakwi District.





Source: Field Data, 2010, Soroti District Archives.

Following the 2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census, the Iteso who were the second largest community up to 1959 were the fifth largest in 2002. The Baganda have been the largest community since 1948 to 2002 (Uganda 2002 Population and Housing Census: Analytical Report, October 2006, Uganda Bureau of Statistics, Kampala, p.29). The drop in the ranking of the population of the Iteso from the second in 1959 to the fifth in 2002 was partly due to the killings done by the cattle raiders and during the Teso War of 1986. It should be noted that cattle raids became more pronounced from the 1950s as observed in Chapter Three. See the table below:

Table 5.6: Distribution of Ugandan Population by Ethnic Group, 1948-2002  
Percentage Distribution

Ethnic Groups	1948	1959	1991	2002	Population in 2002(millions)
Baganda	17.0	18.2	18.8	17.7	4.13
Banyankole	7.9	9.0	10.2	10.0	2.33
Basoga	8.7	8.7	8.5	8.9	2.07
Bakiga	5.5	8.0	8.7	7.2	1.68
Iteso	9.4	9.1	6.2	6.7	1.57
Langi	6.4	6.3	6.1	6.4	1.49
Acholi	4.3	5.1	4.6	4.9	1.14
Bagisu	5.0	5.7	4.7	4.8	1.12
Lugbara	3.7	4.1	3.7	4.4	1.02
Other Ugandans	33.1	28.8	28.5	31.4	6.76
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>23.29</b>

Source: Uganda 2002 Population and Housing Census: Analytical Report, October, 2006, Uganda Bureau of Statistics, Kampala, p. 29.

#### 5.4.2 Displacement of the People and Creation of Internally Displaced People's (IDP) Camps.

As cattle rustling intensified from the late 1980s, insecurity also heightened. Coupled with the outbreak Teso Rebellion of 1986, there was a complete breakdown of civil order (Ocan 1992: 22). With no capacity to defend themselves against the gun wielding Karimojong cattle rustlers, the Iteso in those adversely affected areas of Katakwi and Amuria districts bordering with Karamoja were either forced to migrate to areas of safety or placed in the IDP camps. The IDP camps in Katakwi included Ngariam Corner, Kaikamosing, Adacar, Okoco, Ocwiin, Magoro and Acanga. Those in Amuria district were Angaed Akiteng, Agonga, Amootom Original, Oditel and Kapelebyong. The figures of the displaced persons in the six counties of Teso sub-region as per December 1986 were indicated as follows:

Table 5.7: Number of Persons Displaced in the Six Counties of Teso Sub-region 1986.

County	Number of Persons Displaced
Soroti	76,073
Usuk	73,460
Amura	55,034
Kalaki	40,155
Kaberamaido	30,986
Kapelebyong	35,038
<b>Total</b>	<b>310,746</b>

Source: Jjemba's Monthly Report to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation, Kampala, 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1987, Soroti District Archives.

The decision by government to establish camps was that, they were meant for protecting people from the marauding Karimojong cattle rustlers and rebels (Epelu-Opio 2009: 20). The establishment of the IDP camps inevitably had problems associated with them. First, there was scarcity of food for feeding the displaced persons. The food supply also needed improvement so as to be able to satisfy the population's demand. To make matters worse the vehicle available in Soroti district had a mechanical problem and had no tyres. This could not enable the officials to go to the affected areas to assess the people's needs. The storage facility was also very poor. The leaking roof, the poor locking system and the absence of pallets on the floor contributed to the loss of food as waste, not fit for human consumption (Jjemba's Monthly Report to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation, Kampala, 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1987, Soroti District Archives).

Secondly, life in the camps was miserable. The once rich people having plenty to eat were reduced to beggars depending on handouts (Osele, O.I., Palam, 2010 and Ekweny, O.I., Magoro, 2010). It was even in the camps that many deaths occurred due to illnesses that could be treated such as diarrhoea, malaria and malnourishment (Epelu-Opio op cit). The life in the camps affected the economic livelihood of the people. While in the camps they were only drinking the local millet brew (*Ajon*) and the local potent gin (crude *waragi*) and were not productive. Such a lifestyle in the camps increased promiscuity and this eventually led to increased prevalence of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV). Polygamy also increased because a man could easily pick another desperate woman in the camp (Atim, O.I., DEO, Katakwi district, 2013).

By 2010 when the researcher visited Katakwi and Amuria districts, there was still evidence of the existence of camps. The grass thatched settlements had not been demolished. Though some people returned to their ancestral lands or homesteads, if they had not been burnt down, following the improvement of security in some areas, some people continued to stay in the IDP camps because of fear and uncertainty (Ogagul, O.I., and Local Council (LC), 1 Chairman, Magoro Trading Centre, 2010). Figure 5.4 shows respondent standing in front of part of the camp in Magoro.

Figure 5.4 Showing Part of the IDP Camp in Magoro Sub-county.



Source: Field Photographs, 7<sup>th</sup> September, 2013.

### 5.4.3 Violation of Human Rights.

The killings that were committed by the cattle rustlers were a violation of people's right to life. Article 22 (1) of the Ugandan Constitution stipulates that:

No person shall be deprived of life intentionally except in execution of a sentence passed in a fair trial by a court of competent jurisdiction in respect of a criminal offence under the laws of Uganda and the conviction and sentence have been confirmed by the highest appellate court (Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 15<sup>th</sup> February, 2006).

As already discussed in 5.4.1, the cattle rustlers killed people at will. They even had the audacity to inform the raided people of their next 'visit'.

Apart from killings, other forms of human rights violations were manifested in rape, kidnap and child abuse. In the course of executing a cattle raid, women were raped and young girls kidnapped (Alemu, O.I., Magoro, 2010; Ojikan O.I., Magoro, 2010). Okiror (O.I., Palam, 2010), with an expression of hopelessness testified that a young girl of about fourteen years was abducted in 1986 and by the time of this interview (2010), she had not been seen. As a result of poverty parents have married off their girls or encouraged them to get married before reaching the age of eighteen. It was absurd to note that as a long term effect of cattle rustling in Teso, mothers had negotiated with men to marry their daughters in exchange for a sheep, a goat and a sack of dried cassava. A police investigation into child marriages carried out in Teso in 2014 revealed that girls were sold to suitors for as low as shs. 50,000. During famine

girls were married off and the bride price was used to feed the family (Sunday Vision, April 13, 2014, p.7). Marrying off a daughter for a sack of dried cassava showed desperateness and a high degree of levels of poverty among the Iteso. It was also demeaning to the Iteso who had culturally paid a bride price of 10 to 15 cattle on average in the 1950s (Jorgensen 1981: 105). The culture of paying bride price to the parents of as a gift was now commercialised. This was an element of materialist gain and the basis of the materialist theory.

In one incident Annette Akello aged fifteen, a resident of Abule village in Tubur sub-county Soroti district asked her mother for money to buy pads and knickers. But the mother's answer shocked her, "Go get a man", retorted the mother. Since the mother did not have the money to buy pads and knickers for her daughter, the mother's consideration was that the daughter was old enough to get a man to provide those necessities. The Initiative, a partnership between Amuria local government, World Vision and the civil society, cited extreme poverty, child neglect, cultural practices, alcohol abuse, low value attached to education, among others, as the leading causes of early marriages in Teso region (Sunday Vision *ibid*).

#### **5.4.4 Breakdown of Social and Technical Infrastructure**

Social and technical services broke down more especially in the 1980s and 1990s when cattle rustling went out of control. Schools, medical facilities and roads were almost all dysfunctional. In the first place, cattle rustling disrupted education and the standard of education declined. Because of the insecurity brought about by cattle rustling, schools

were not operating normally. Orwanga (O.I., Inspector of Schools Amuria district, 2013) observed that enrolment in schools fluctuated because pupils at times left schools to run for safety. Others left schools because the situation was unbearable. Pathways to schools were not secure compelling very few children to report to schools. This is corroborated with Wangu Mwangi's (2014) observation that access to quality education in the conflict affected areas had seriously been imperilled because schools, teachers and students have been a target of violent attack. Schools had closed down and others had registered a low enrollment. Even the teachers and school managers were on the run with little hope to see the next day. Though makeshift schools were set up in IDP camps in Kapelebyong, Acowa, Acumet and Obalanga and in Mission areas, there were challenges. For example, the local people had to provide their own space, seats and security. Managing teachers was another challenge because no teacher was ready to work under such situations. There were no learning materials and money to run the schools. In fact there was no teaching but merely controlling the children in schools, the Inspector of Schools concluded. This is corroborated with Wangu Mwangi's (2014) observation that access to quality education in the conflict affected areas had seriously been imperilled because schools, teachers and students have been a target of violent attack. Schools had closed down and others had registered a low enrollment.

In Katakwi district, the situation was no different. Atim (O.I., and DEO Katakwi district, 2013), observed that children dropped out of school because they saw no future in education. The negative attitude the children developed was that even if one

was educated, one could still be killed. A good number of schools closed and schools had to be established in the IDP camps. As government resettled the people, children had to walk back to camps where the schools had been established. As a result of this, young children could not walk long distances. So, children who were to start school at the age of six started later at the age of eight and above. In that way, one would get people of twenty years still in primary schools. Because of the trauma subjected to the children in the cause of cattle rustling, it became difficult to handle them in schools, they became unruly. Communities that took refuge in schools vandalised the schools. They used the furniture as firewood.

As a result of the disruption of education, performance in both primary and secondary schools declined. For example, secondary schools in Katakwi district performed poorly in the national examinations set by the Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) compared to the other districts (see Appendix 3). Unfortunately UNEB administered the same national examinations to all the schools in the country regardless of the insecurity that had disrupted education in the affected districts. Parameters of assessment were also the same albeit the circumstances that had affected learning in some districts like Katakwi. The decline in performance in national examinations in the area of study was attributed mainly to insecurity brought about by cattle rustling (Katakwi District Five Year Development Plan; July, 2010/2011- June 2014/2015, p.96; Orwanga, O.I., Inspector of Schools, Amuria District, 2013). Appendix 3 shows the overall performance in the Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE) for the year 2000.

Whereas the best candidate in the best performing schools in the districts of Kampala, Mukono, Mpigi, Mbarara and so on, scored an aggregate of 8 for the best six subjects, in Katakwi district, the best scored 21 (see p.224). Though performance of candidates in Katakwi district was not the worst, compared to Kalangala district where the best candidate got aggregate 35, this poor result was partly due to the insecurity created by cattle rustling. Table 5.8 on the next page shows the academic performance in the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE) in Katakwi district for the years 2001-2010. Although there were no records in Katakwi district to show pupils' performance in the years preceding 2001, the table shows that only 63 pupils got Division 1 out of 2,291. This is attributed to the breakdown of the social and technical infrastructure as a result of cattle rustling. Figure 5.5 on page 185 shows a dilapidated part of Magoro Primary School where the researcher attended primary education from 1965-1967.

Table 5.8 Academic Performance in the Primary Leaving Examinations in Katakwi District 2001-2010.

<b>(ii) Academic Performance in P.L.E</b>								
<b>Year</b>	<b>Grade / Number of Candidates</b>						<b>Passed</b>	<b>No. of Candidates</b>
	<b>DIV I</b>	<b>DIV II</b>	<b>DIV III</b>	<b>DIV IV</b>	<b>DIV U</b>	<b>DIV X</b>		
2001	63	1,112	619	280	120	97	2,074	2,291
%	2.75	48.54	27.02	12.22	5.24	4.23	90.53	
2002	81	1,702	714	272	108	99	2,769	2,976
%	2.72	57.19	23.99	9.14	3.63	3.33	93.04	
2003	74	1,056	596	296	105	966	2,022	3,093
%	2.39	34.14	19.27	9.57	3.39	31.23	65.37	
2004	45	944	526	473	213	278	1,988	2,479
%	1.82	38.08	21.22	19.08	8.59	11.21	80.19	
2005	16	1,111	1,014	508	280	157	2,649	3,086
%	0.52	36.00	32.86	16.46	9.07	5.09	85.84	
2006	28	750	503	250	142	105	1,531	1,778
%	1.57	42.18	28.29	14.06	7.99	5.91	86.11	
2007	30	642	487	199	131	46	1,358	1,535
%	2.0	41.8	31.7	13.0	8.5	3.0	88.5	
2008	15	485	732	257	226	37	1,489	1,752
%	0.86	27.68	41.78	14.67	12.90	2.11	84.99	
2009	33	750	674	282	111	42	1,739	1,892
%	1.8	40.6	36.4	15.3	6%	2.2	91.91	
2010	44	1,064	515	199	77	37	1,822	1,936
%	2.3	56.0	27.1	10.5	4.1	1.9	95.9	

Source: Katakwi District Five Year Development Plan, July, 2010/2011- June, 2014/2015, p. 95-96.

Figure 5.5 Magoro Primary School, Katakwi District



Source: Field Photographs 7<sup>th</sup> September, 2013.

Medical facilities also broke down or served marginally. In the whole of Katakwi district there were no hospitals. The medical facilities there were Health Centres III and IV. There was little medical care and sometimes no treatment at all in this Health Centres (Osele, O.I., Palam, 2010). For example, in Asamuk sub-county, Amuria district, a health centre that once served as a branch of Ongino Leprosy Hospital in

Kumi district was left to ruins. The buildings and furniture had been completely vandalised during the time the centre served as a barracks. See Figure 5.6 below:

Figure 5.6 showing a dilapidated part of the Health Centre in Asamuk Sub-County, Katakwi District.



Source: Field Photographs 8th September, 2013.

The transport network system had also broken down in some areas of Katakwi and Amuria districts. The main form of transport in the two districts was by road. The

feeder roads that connected to the sub-counties of Ongongoja and Magoro in Katakwi district and Kaelebyong and Acowa in Amuria district were badly affected. Small bridges and culverts had broken down rendering the roads not passable in some areas. This was due to years of insecurity brought about by cattle rustling. Figure 5.7 below shows part of the road from Katakwi Town to Magoro Trading Centre.

Figure 5.7 Showing part of Katakwi-Magoro Road.



Source: Field Photographs 7<sup>th</sup> September, 2013.

## 5.5 Summary

This chapter dwelt on the impact of cattle rustling on the people of Teso. Cattle rustling, especially that of the 1980s, adversely affected the political, economic and social fabric of Teso sub-region, and more specifically, Katakwi and Amuria districts that bore the brunt of the atrocities committed by the Karimojong cattle rustlers. Though cattle rustling had been there since the 1950s, the late 1980s saw the kind of rustling that had not been experienced before thereby creating total devastation of a region that once was self-sufficient in foodstuffs and even supplied the neighbouring regions and far areas with food and cattle. Though the wounds inflicted are healing, the scars are likely to remain manifestations of cattle rustling for generations to come.

The very fact that the social conflict was lopsided in that the cattle rustlers were better armed using Submachine Guns (SMGs) and AK-47 assault rifles against the Iteso who were not armed with modern weapons, made the Social Conflict Theory relevant in this study. So, the more powerful group (Karimojong) used their acquired power to exploit the less powerful (Iteso). As the rustlers ravaged Teso seemingly unchecked, the Iteso lost trust in the government's ability to protect them thereby leading to the Teso War of 1986. The government's determination to crush the rebellion added to the adverse impact already created by the cattle rustlers. The actors, who also included government officials and some Iteso, took advantage of prevailing situation to raid cattle for materialist gain. The ecological reasons for cattle rustling as discussed in Chapter Three were just a cover up.

The next final chapter provides the overall summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations geared towards cultivating the spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation.

## CHAPTER SIX

### 6.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 Introduction

Qualitative methodology was used to study the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region and more particularly in Katakwi district in north-eastern Uganda. The main objective was to establish the origins and causes of cattle rustling, which in the post-independence era had engulfed the whole of Teso sub-region. The objectives advanced at the beginning of the study were: to establish the early history of the Iteso from 1600-1894; to investigate the causes of cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the colonial period (1894-1962); to examine the changing dimensions of cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the post-independence period and to assess the impact of cattle rustling on the people of Katakwi district.

#### 6.2 Summary of Findings

The study was guided by three theories namely: the Social Conflict Theory, the Ecological Systems Theory and the Materialist Theory. The Social Conflict Theory is a Marxist-based theory which argues that individuals and groups (social classes) within a society have differing amounts of material and non-material resources, that is, the wealthy versus the poor. The argument is that the more powerful groups use their power in order to exploit groups with less power. The methods used by which this exploitation is done were through brute force and economics. This theory helped in identifying the groups involved and analysing the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in

Teso sub-region. In this case the actors in the cattle rustling that took place in Teso sub-region were the Karimojong, the Uganda People's Army (UPA) rebels who fought against the government in the Teso War of 1986, the Government soldiers and the habitual thieves or thugs. As observed in Chapter 4.4, the Teso sub-region was mainly raided by the Karimojong.

Initially, the Karimojong were using traditional weapons such as the spear, bows and arrows, knives and sticks (clubs) when they mounted the raids and the Iteso used the same weapons to defend themselves when attacked and in an attempt to recover their animals. This balance of power changed when the Karimojong acquired Sub-Machine Guns (SMGs) and AK-47 assault rifles following the turbulent political upheavels that took place in Uganda following the overthrow of Idi Amin's regime in 1979 and Obote II's regime in July 1985. At each of these occasions, the Karimojong warriors broke into the armoury of Moroto barracks and grabbed guns and ammunition after many soldiers had fled. However, the porous borders between Uganda, north-western Kenya and South Sudan had also been sources of illegal guns for the Karimojong.

The acquisition of modern weapons had made the Karimojong a more powerful group against their neighbours, the Iteso inclusive, who were less armed. Though the Government re-introduced the disarmament programme in 2001, less than 1,000 guns had been recovered from the Karimojong. This compelled the Government to introduce the forceful method of cordon and search alongside voluntary disarmament. Since the Government launched the disarmament exercise in 2001, the army had so far recovered

48,000 illegal guns from the Karimojong cattle rustlers (*Daily Monitor*, Monday, 11th November, 2013 p.24).

The Ecological Systems Theory developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) was based on the principle that the process of human development was shaped by the interaction between an individual and his or her environment. Based on this principle, the study found out that the harsh environmental conditions in Karamoja sub-region had compelled the Karimojong to rely on pastoralism as a means of survival. The long periods of drought forced them to extend their search for fresh pasture and water upon the lands cultivated by sedentary communities during the months of November to March. Inevitably, this brought them into conflict with agro-pastoralist Iteso because the Karimojong stubbornly grazed their livestock over people's crops.

Before the Karimojong acquired modern weapons the Iteso and Karimojong had cordial relationship, sharing the grazing and watering places. Joshua Olemunyang, an elder and resident of Okoboi parish, Kapelebyong sub-county, had fond memories of when the Iteso and Karimojong lived at peace with each other. "We only had petty thieves. The Karimojong never raided us like today" recalled Olemunyang (O.I., Kapelebyong, 2010). During the period of their stay in Teso lands, the Karimojong spied on Teso areas where cattle were located. The onset of rains in March made the Karimojong to go back to their lands but would return at night to steal the cattle. Footmarks discovered in the morning led in the direction of Karamoja. This confirmed that the cattle rustlers were Karimojong.

The Materialist Theory which Karl Marx (1818-1883) articulated as Historical Materialism was also used in this study. Historical Materialism is a methodological approach to the study of society, economics, and history. It is a theory of socio-economic development according to which changes in material conditions, technology and productive capacity are the primary influence on how society and economy are organised. It starts from a fundamental underlying reality of human existence that in order for human beings to survive and continue existence from generation to generation, it is necessary for them to produce and reproduce the material requirements of life.

Based on that principle, the study found out that the cattle rustling that took place in the late 1980s had materialist inclinations. As Ocan (1992:2) observed, first phase of cattle raids was an attempt by various communities to re-assert the number of their herds so as to ensure optimal herd sizes in order to ensure community survival. But the second phase, and probably that took the greatest significance, are self-acquisition motives which did not simply wait for disasters to deplete stocks, and took place any time. The final intention was not to increase survival from livestock products but the sale of livestock for money for individual gain.

The people who took part in the 1980s raids in Teso were not only Karimojong but also the Uganda People's Army (UPA) rebels who were fighting the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government in Teso, the government soldiers and the habitual thieves or thugs (See Chapter 4.4). At that time a merchant class dealing in the sale of

cattle and exchange of arms had emerged in Karamoja. The guns were exchanged for one to five heads of cattle on average. The final intention of the merchant was to sell the cattle for money. The Karimojong who in the colonial period and in the first one or two decades of the post-independence period were selective when they stole one or two best heads of cattle in the night, could raid as many cattle as they came across, moreover, during broad day light. This explains the monetary value attached to cattle in the 1980s compared to the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Hence, the changing dimension of cattle rustling.

The Uganda People's Army (UPA) rebels composed of Teso youth initially formed to counteract cattle rustling and mount resistance against the government, also grabbed some animals in the confusion in order to survive. Whichever animal rustled from an area and had managed to return to the area was eaten by the rebels or thugs.

The government soldiers and leaders serving in Teso allegedly took part in cattle rustling not only because of the negative attitude they had against the Iteso who had dominated the Special Force, a paramilitary wing during Obote II regime, but also for economic gain. The Special Force had given the National Resistance Army (NRA) hard time in Luwero Triangle in Buganda in the 1980s. The government soldiers and leaders in Teso saw this as an opportunity to take revenge on the Iteso. As observed in Chapter Five the allegation that the government soldiers took part in cattle rustling in the late 1980s was articulated by Musa Ecweru, serving as State Minister for Disaster Preparedness. When the NRA rescued the cattle from Karimojong rustlers, government

authorities serving in Teso loaded the cattle in trucks and took them to Kampala to sell instead of giving them back to the owners. Some of the cattle were driven and ferried to some parts of western Uganda, most likely, Bunyoro. However, there is no evidence to ascertain the actual number of cattle taken by government authorities.

The objectives outlined in the introductory part of this chapter were achieved as follows:

The study stretched back to the pre-colonial history of the Iteso (1600-1894) and this provided a background to their origins, migration and settlement in Teso sub-region and other parts of Uganda and Kenya, their pre-colonial occupation and relations with the Karimojong. The study revealed that the Iteso originated from South West Abyssinia (Ethiopia) where they lived together with the Karimojong and Jie of Uganda, the Turkana of Kenya and Toposa of South Sudan about 500 years ago. They belonged to one ethnic group known as *Itunga* which means "People". Though informants mentioned Asia Minor (Middle East) as the place of origin of the Iteso before they came to Abyssinia, no substantial evidence had been given to attest to this.

It was from Abyssinia that the ancestors of the Iteso and Karimojong moved to the area west of Lake Turkana. After being repulsed by the Turkana, the ancestors of the Iteso and Karimojong moved in a south-westerly direction into Karamoja. It was in Karamoja that the ancestors of the Iteso separated from the Karimojong and moved into Teso from where others continued on their movement to occupy areas of Tororo. Some groups of the Iteso crossed to occupy the Teso district of western Kenya. The study also found out

that the Iteso and Karimojong were closely related in all aspects of language, culture and social organisation. For instance, they understand each other when they speak.

Several factors were advanced to explain why the Iteso migrated. These included the search for water and fresh pasture, search for fertile land, conflict, drought, population increase, diseases, love for adventure, famine and cattle theft. The ecological factors dictated the lifestyle of the Iteso. The fertile soil, reliable rainfall and well watered areas they found in the new area (Teso) made them to adopt agro-pastoralism thereby drifting away from the pastoral life they had in Karamoja.

In relation to the causes of cattle rustling in Katakwi district during the colonial period (1894-1962), several factors were advanced. These included the need to revenge, the belief by the Karimojong that all cattle belonged to them, high bride price among the Karimojong, neglect of agriculture by the Karimojong, greed, Karimojong preference to heifers, recovery of the cattle that the youth brought from Karamoja, jealousy, harsh environmental (ecological) conditions, poverty, famine and food shortage. The responsibility for cattle rustling in the area of study was painted on the Karimojong because whenever the Iteso made a follow up of the raided cattle, the footprints ended up in Karamoja. However, Otwal (2001:22) had pointed out that Teso was first raided by armed Greeks and one Somali in 1906 and by the Langi in 1914 and 1915. This implied that Teso had been raided by other groups of people apart from the Karimojong.

The study revealed that the separation of the Iteso and Karimojong in about 1620s partly contributed to cattle rustling in Katakwi district. When the Karimojong cattle raiders were intercepted following a cattle raid, they would proudly retort that they were taking back the cattle the Iteso brought from Karamoja.

The study also revealed that the burning of the carcasses of the Karimojong captured cattle in 1952 largely sparked cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the colonial period, 1894-1962. Many of the informants pointed out that the need to revenge was paramount in the cattle rustling that started in the 1950s. In 1952 the British colonial government had restricted the livestock of Karamoja from grazing and watering in Teso because of the outbreak of the Contagious Bovine Pleuro Pneumonia (CBPP) and rinderpest. But the Karimojong who stubbornly had refused to have their cattle vaccinated stealthily brought their livestock to graze and water in Teso. This compelled the British colonial government to capture cattle that crossed the border in violation of the quarantine regulations and be burnt as sick animals. Indeed the cattle that crossed the border from Karamoja were captured, slaughtered and burnt. The alleged eating of the burnt carcasses by some Iteso irked the Karimojong who believed that the Iteso had connived with the government to eat their cattle.

The cattle captured in 1955 had belonged to Geno, the richest and most feared Karimojong. Since his favourite bull was among the cattle captured and burnt after a negotiated settlement with the British colonial government had failed, Geno organised a

bloody raid of revenge in the sub-counties of Ngariam, Magoro, Usuk and Toroma. This marked the beginning of more serious cattle raids by the Karimojong in Teso.

In regard to the changing dimensions of cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the post-independence period, 1962-2001, the study revealed that what once used to be minor stealing of one or two cattle by the Karimojong in the colonial period 1894-1962, greatly changed to a broader scope of cattle rustling. During the colonial period the Karimojong cattle rustlers used traditional weapons such as the spear, bows and arrows, knives and clubs but the raids of 1980s saw them use modern weapons, the sub-machine guns and AK-47 assault rifles. Whereas the Karimojong were selective in cattle theft during the colonial period and the practice took place at night, in the post-independence period they took everything they could. This included not only cattle but also goats, sheep, chicken, food and household property. Moreover, this happened during broad daylight. Initially, cattle raids were confined to parts of Katakwi district but the raids of the late 1980s covered the whole of Teso sub-region. The raids that used to be brought about by cultural practices and ecological needs turned to have an element of economic (materialist) gain in the late 1980s.

The study also established that the changing dimensions of cattle rustling during the 1980s adversely affected the political, economic and social development in Katakwi district in particular and Teso sub-region as a whole. Politically, cattle rustling led to a border dispute between the Iteso and Karimojong which if not amicably solved could open another chapter of conflict between the two communities. The Teso War that

broke out in 1986-1992 was partly brought about by government's failure to curb cattle rustling by the Karimojong. The Obote 11 regime 1984/1985 had devised plans to curb cattle rustling by creating local militia forces in Teso. However, the ousting of Obote 11 regime created a political vacuum in Teso which resulted in causing a lot of suffering and dismay. To make matters worse, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government disbanded the Teso militias which had contained hostilities by the Karimojong. The breakdown of law and order and the Iteso mistrust of the NRM government contributed to the development of a volatile political situation in Teso. Though the concept of *Emorimor* (Clan Leader) was not known among the Iteso, the creation of the institution of *Papa Emorimor* (Paramount Leader) on 30<sup>th</sup> April, 2000 was basically to unite the Iteso and have a strong figurehead to speak on behalf of the Iteso on the long standing problem of cattle rustling by the Karimojong which had devastated Teso sub-region.

Economically, Teso sub-region which once served as the food basket for parts of Uganda, western Kenya and South Sudan was no more after the bloody raids of the late 1980s. Teso lost livestock which had been the backbone of their economy. For instance, Table 5.3 on page 159 shows that of the 645,807 heads of cattle Teso had in 1952, the number drastically dropped to 13,600 in 1990. This is largely attributed to cattle rustling. Agriculture was disrupted due to loss of animal draft power as oxen had been raided. The consequential effects were food shortage, poverty and economic backwardness of Teso sub-region. Land disputes arose because the insecurity created by cattle rustling had compelled people in the affected areas to run to other places of safety

within Teso and other areas of Uganda. Upon returning to their ancestral lands, they found that other people or members of the same clan had grabbed their land. This also led to deadly disputes.

Socially, the livelihood of the people in the area of study was greatly affected by cattle rustling. When the modern weapons came into use during cattle rustling, many people were killed and property looted or destroyed. People were displaced and compelled to live in the Internally Displaced People's (IDP) camps where they led a very miserable life, depending on handouts and were also vulnerable to a number of diseases. The atrocities committed by the cattle rustlers such as killings, rape, kidnap and child abuse were a gross violation of human rights.

Social and technical infrastructure also broke down during the peak of cattle rustling. Schools and health centres were either dysfunctional or left to ruins. Communication was poor as roads were impassable in some parts. Since several schools were run down during cattle rustling and insurgency, much of the region's education progress was almost brought to a halt. Prior to these, Teso had an outstanding education arrangement. Many of those who passed through the schools in Teso received the best instruction and a majority of them were able to join University. For instance, the eastern giant, Teso College Aloet once groomed profound leaders including the Governor, Bank of Uganda, Emmanuel Tumusiime Mutebile. The stardom of Teso schools continued to fade away as the quality of education remained wanting.

### 6.3 Conclusion

The major objective of this study was to establish the origins and causes of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region from 1600-2001. All the specific objectives were achieved and the research premises have been proved correct. The Iteso and Karimojong shared a common origin-south west Abyssinia (Ethiopia) where they lived together as pastoralists before moving into Karamoja from where they separated. The two communities are closely related belonging to an ethnic group known as *Itunga* and their languages “*Ateso*” and “*Ngakarimojong*” have a linguistic similarity. The causes of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region as analysed in this study were partly embedded in the uniqueness (ecological disparity) that existed between Teso and Karamoja sub-regions and these were bound to lead to conflict.

The cattle rustling that took place in Teso sub-region in the late 1980s painted a dark page in the history of the Iteso. Never before had cattle rustling covered the whole of Teso sub-region as it did in the late 1980s. Initially it was confined to areas of Katakwi district using traditional weapons- spears, arrows and bows, knives and clubs. The cattle rustling which from the 1950s was selective in that one or two of the best cattle would stealthily be removed from the kraal and at night became more pronounced in the late 1980s when the cattle rustlers raided during broad day light, all the livestock they came across including foodstuffs and household items. At this stage, modern weapons (guns) were in use and the motive had turned to economic (materialist) gain.

This scholarly investigation on the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region from 1894-2001, more particularly in Katakwi district in north-eastern Uganda was lacking. Therefore, the study has made a contribution of knowledge to fill the gap.

#### **6.4 Recommendations**

The study has revealed that the separation of the Iteso and Karimojong in about 1620 during their early history partly contributed to cattle rustling in Katakwi district; the burning of the carcasses of the Karimojong captured cattle in 1952 largely sparked off cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the colonial period; the acquisition of modern weapons- the sub-machine gun and the AK-47 assault rifles, escalated cattle rustling and the changing dimensions of cattle rustling adversely affected the socio-economic and political development in Katakwi district and Teso sub-region as a whole. Therefore, the following recommendations are pertinent to those findings.

The repugnant belief by the Karimojong that all cattle belong to them should be demystified and the government of Uganda should not treat cattle rustling as a cultural issue and let the world to know that it is a violation of human rights that should be tackled. The Karimojong elders who blessed their sons to go and raid should be sensitised by their elected Members of Parliament (MPs) and other stake holders drop the practice. In addition, the Uganda government should work closely with community representatives, including elders and women, to seek alternative livelihoods without necessarily depending on cattle for their survival. The Iteso, for example, should

diversify their economy by adopting projects such as piggery, beekeeping and growing of citrous fruits as alternative livelihoods. It would be difficult to raid pigs and drive them for long distances the way cattle are raided.

The Uganda government should adopt conflict prevention and resolution strategies so as to avoid conflicts which are usually brought about by sharing ecological resources such as water and grazing lands. Since the establishment of boundaries by the colonial government negatively affected the rules of reciprocity that previously governed mutual relations and promoted trust between the Iteso and Karimojong, the government should resolve the border dispute between the Iteso in Katakwi district and the Karimojong in Napak district to avoid another conflict. It should be noted that the insecurity created by cattle rustling made the Iteso living at the border with Karamoja to flee their ancestral lands which the Karimojong freely occupied and claimed to be theirs. Community representatives from Teso and Karamoja, including elders, women and young people should be engaged in a dialogue so as to address historical grievances. A dialogue between elders with historical knowledge of the whereabouts of community borders and an investigation of documents from the colonial era concerning borders should help in averting a pending conflict.

The Uganda government should also continue and step up the disarmament programme in Karamoja which was resumed in 2001. There is need to involve a broad range of community members in the design and implementation of security and disarmament measures so as to enable them to embrace it and fully the benefits involved. However,

the government should not forget the abuses committed during the previous forcible disarmament programme of Obote 11 regime (1980-1985). The disarmament exercise should not lead to abuses of the rights of the Karimojong or expose them to attack from neighbouring communities. For that reason there is need to engage other regional governments to carry out similar disarmament programmes across the borders to cut off small arms proliferation. Though proliferation of small arms began in the pre-colonial period when communities bartered ivory and weapons, the more recent international and internal conflicts in Uganda and neighbouring countries exacerbated the practice.

Deployment of the Anti Stock Theft Unit (ASTU) to check on cattle rustling at the border areas should continue. The roads at the border between Teso and Karamoja should be opened up to ease movement and monitor security. In addition, the Karimojong warriors engaged in cattle rustling should be made to understand that there is law and order to be observed in any government. They should be apprehended and charged in courts of law. This would serve as a precedent to those others intending to rustle cattle. It should be observed that the Karimojong elders regulated inter-ethnic conflicts by a system of negotiation and compensation. For instance, if two cows were stolen, four cows would be paid in return.

Since the changing dimensions of cattle rustling adversely affected the socio-economic and political development in the area of study, the Uganda government should strive to restore hope and trust in the community. In the first place, the government should ensure that peoples' lives and property are protected as enshrined in the Constitution of

the Republic of Uganda. Secondly, the government should take measures to compensate the people in the area of study for the loss of lives and property. Thirdly, governmental development programmes such as the Northern Uganda Action Fund (NUSAF) and the Northern Uganda Rehabilitation Programme (NUREP) should be strengthened and monitored to avoid diversion of development funds to the pockets of officers given to oversee such programmes. In this the social and technical infrastructure destroyed or neglected as a result of cattle rustling would be refurbished.

### **6.5 Summary**

All in all, the objectives of the study were achieved. These were: to establish whether the early history of the Iteso and Karimojong (1600-1894) played a role in the genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Katakwi district; to investigate the causes of cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the colonial period (1894-1962); to examine the changing dimensions of cattle rustling in Katakwi district in the post-independence period (1962-2001) and to assess the impact of cattle rustling on the people of Katakwi district.

The genesis, development and impact of cattle rustling in Teso sub-region, and in particular Katakwi district, as analysed in this study is embedded in the uniqueness that exists between Teso and Karamoja sub-regions. The ecological disparities between Teso and Karamoja, calls upon the Iteso and Karimojong to revisit their historical connection and understand the basic principle that, they need each other.

## REFERENCES

### 1.1 Primary Sources

Adams, W.G.; Report on the Teso District for the Year 1914-15”, 4<sup>th</sup> May, 1915,  
4<sup>th</sup> May, 1915, Entebbe National Archives.

Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 15<sup>th</sup> February 2006.

Daudi Musoke, “Ebyafayo bya Bugisu”, unpublished manuscript, Mbale District  
Archives.

Governor of British East Africa to Governor of Uganda, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1910, File 1049,  
Entebbe National Archives.

Henry Hesketh Bell’s Proclamation, Under the Uganda Order in Council, 1902, Article  
6 (1), 5<sup>th</sup> April 1907, Entebbe National Archives.

Jjemba’s Monthly Report to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation,  
Kampala, 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1987, Soroti District Archives.

Kumi Annual Report, 1909-10; Entebbe National Archives.

Memo from the Provincial Commissioner, East Province (PCEP) to the Governor,  
7<sup>th</sup> April, 1952, Soroti District Archives.

Monthly Report for August 1986 from the County Chief Amuria, Soroti District to the  
District Executive Secretary, Soroti District, 29<sup>th</sup> August, 1986, Soroti District  
Entebbe National Archives.

Monthly Report for January and February from the District Executive Secretary’s  
Office Soroti District, to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local  
Government Kampala, 15<sup>th</sup> March, 1992, Soroti District Archives.

Northern Province Monthly and Annual Reports, 1911-1919, Entebbe National Archives.

Omuudu, E.O., to the District Police Commander, Soroti District; Report on the worst Cattle raids on 24<sup>th</sup> June, 1986, SDA/C/23, Soroti District Archives.

Perryman, P.W.; "History of Kakunguru", unpublished manuscript, 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1920, Entebbe National Archives.

Proceedings from a workshop on Hands Across the Border: Enhancing Political Leader's Skills in Conflict Peace Building held in Mbale, October 12-15, 2002.

Report on Famine Alarm in Soroti District to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, Kampala, 13<sup>th</sup> March, 1992, Soroti District Archives.

Report on Karamojong (sic) Incursion into Teso, January 1950, Soroti District Archives.

Report on Teso District, 1949 page 4, Soroti District Archives.

Telegram from the Governor of British East Africa to Governor of Uganda, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1910, EA 1049, Entebbe National Archives.

The Economic Development of Uganda: Report of a Mission Organised by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; Battimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1962.

Uganda 2002 Population and Housing Census: Analytical Report, October 2006, Uganda Bureau of Statistics, Kampala.

## 1.2 Secondary Sources

### 1.2.1 Published Books

- Adenkule, J.O.; “Ethnic Conflicts and African Politics”, in Toyin Falola ed (2003); *Africa Volume 5: Contemporary Africa*, Durham, Carolina Academic Press, 2003.
- Atieno Odhiambo, E.S. et al; *A History of East Africa*, Edinburgh Gate, Longman Group Limited, 1977.
- Ayittey, G.B.N.; *Africa in Chaos*, New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1988.
- Berman, B. et al, (eds); *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, Oxford, James Currey Ltd, 2004.
- Black, J. And MacRaild, D.M.; *Studying History*, London, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997.
- Boahen, A.A. (ed); *General History of Africa, VII Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*, London, Heinmann Educational Books Ltd, 1985.
- Brecher, M.; *Crisis in World Politics, Theory and Reality*, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1993.
- Brett, E.A.; *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa: The Politics of Economic Change 1919-1939*, London, Heinmann Educational Books Ltd, 1973.
- Buckley-Zistel, S.; *Conflict Transformation and Social Change in Uganda, Remembering after Violence*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan Publishers, 2008.
- Curtin, P., et al; *African History*, London, Longman Group Ltd, 1981.

- Curtin, P., et al; *African History, From Earliest Times to Independence*, Second Edition, London, Longman Group Limited, 1995.
- Du Toit, B.M. ed; *Ethnicity in Modern Africa*, Boulder, Colorado West Press, 1978.
- Fukui, K. and Markakis, J. (eds); *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, London, James Currey Ltd, 1994.
- Fukui, K. and Turton, D. (eds), *Warfare Among East African Herders*, Osaka, Senri Ethnological Studies, National Museum of Ethnology, 1979.
- Gulliver, P.H., (ed); *Tradition and Transition in East Africa*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1969.
- Gordon, A.A. and Gordon, D.L. (eds); *Understanding Contemporary Africa*, London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992.
- Harlow, V., Chilver, E.M. and Smith, A. (eds); *History of East Africa*, London, Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Holger, B.H. and Twaddle, M. (eds); *Changing Uganda*, London, James Currey Ltd, 1991.
- Jorgensen, J.J.; *Uganda A Modern History*, London, Croom Helm Ltd, 1981.
- Kahangi, G.K.; *A History of East Africa, From Ancient to Modern Times*, Kampala, Wavah Books Ltd, 2006.
- Karugire, S.R.; *A Political History of Uganda*, Nairobi, Heinemann Educational Books, 1980.
- Kasozi, A.B.K.; *The Social Origins of Violence in Uganda*, Kampala, Fountain Publishers Ltd, 1994.

- Lamphear, J.; *The Traditional History of the Jie of Uganda*, London, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Lawrance, J.C.D.; *The Iteso*, London, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1957.
- Leys, C.; *Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo-colonialism 1964-1971*, London, Heinemann, 1975.
- Martin, P.M. and O'Meara, P. (eds); *Africa*, Third Edition, Blooming, Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Mazrui, A.A. and Tidy, M.; *Nationalism and New States in Africa*, Nairobi, Heinemann Kenya Ltd, 1984.
- Moore, C.W.; *The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, San Francisco, Jossey- Bass A Wiley Imprint, 2003.
- Moyse, B.; *The King's African Rifles*, London, Gale and Polden, 1956.
- Novelli, B.; *Aspects of Karimojong Ethnosociology*, Kampala and Verona, Museum Combonianum No. 44, Comboni Missionaries, 1988.
- Odhiambo, M.O.; *The Karamoja Conflict: Origins, Impact and Solutions*, Kampala, Oxfarm Publication, 2003.
- Ochieng' W.R. (ed); *Themes in Kenyan History*. Nairobi, East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1990.
- Ogot, B.A. (ed); *Zamani A Survey of East African History*, Nairobi, East African Publishing House Ltd, 1968.
- Okoth, A.; *A History of Africa, 1915-1995*, Vol.2, African Nationalism and The De-colonisation Process, Nairobi, East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 2006.

- Okoth, P.G. and Ogot, B.A. (eds); *Conflict in Contemporary Africa*, Nairobi, Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 2000.
- Oliver, R. And Gervase, M. (eds); *History of East Africa*, Volume One, London, Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Otwal, J.E.; *Cattle Rustling in Eastern and Northern Uganda*, Soroti, Ateso Language Association, 2001.
- ; *The War in Teso 1987-1992*, Soroti, Ateso Language Association, 2001.
- Pazzaglia, A.; *The Karimojong: Some Aspects*, Bologna, Italy, EMI, 1982.
- Rodney, W.; *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Nairobi, East African Educational Publishers, 1972.
- Semakula Kiwanuka, M.S.M.; *A History of Buganda, from the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900*, London, Longman Group Limited, 1971.
- Seftel, A. ed; *Uganda: The Blood stained Pearl of Africa and its Struggle for Peace*, Nairobi, A Bailey's African Photo Archives Colour Print Ltd, 1994.
- Shillington, K.; *History of Africa*, Revised 2nd Edition, London, MacMillan Publisher's Limited, 1995.
- Sorbo, G.M. and Vale, P. eds; *Out of Conflict: From War to Peace in Africa*, Bergen, Norway Michelsen Institute, 1979.
- Spencer, P.; *The Maasai of Matopoto*, London, Routledge, 2004.
- Twaddle, M.; *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda 1868-1928*, London, James Currey Ltd, 1993.
- Tidy, M. And Leeming, D.; *A History of Africa 1840-1914*, Volume Two,

1880-1914, London, Hodder and Stoughton Ltd, 1981.

Toyin, F. (ed); *Contemporary Africa*, Volume 5, Carolina, Academic Press  
Durham, 2003.

Van der Veen, R.; *What Went Wrong With Africa? A Contemporary history*,  
Amsterdam, KIT Publishers, 2004.

Wangu Mwangi, J.C.; *Influence of Cattle Rustling in Northern Kenya among the  
Pokot*, Lambert Academic Publishing, 2014.

Webster, J.B. (ed); *The Iteso During the Asonya*, Nairobi, East African  
Publishing House, 1973.

### 1.2.2 Published Articles

Anderson, D.; “Stock Theft and Moral Economy in Colonial Kenya”, *Africa* 56, 4, 1986.

Bataringaya, B.K.; “Report of the Karimojong Security Committee”, Entebbe Government Printer, 1961.

Berber, J.P.; “Karamoja in 1910”, in *The Uganda Journal*, Volume 28, No. 1, March 1964.

Fratkin, E.; “East African Pastoralism in Transition: Maasai, Boran, and Rendille Cases; *African Studies Review* 44, 3, 2001.

Galvin, K.A.; “Transitions: Pastoralists Living with Change”, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38 (2009).

Gulliver, P.H.; “The Teso and Karimojong Cluster”, *The Uganda Journal*, Volume 20, No. 2, 1956.

Hendrick, D.; Armon, J.; and Mearns, R.; “The Changing Nature of Conflict and Famine Vulnerability: The case of Livestock Raiding in Turkana District, Kenya, *Disasters* 22, 3, 1998.

Inselman, A.D.; “Environmental Degradation and Conflict in Karamoja, Uganda: The Decline of a Pastoral Society”, *International Journal of Global Environmental Issues* Vol. 3, No.2, 2003.

Lamphear, J.; “The Evolution of Ateker ‘New Model’ Armies: Jie and Turkana”, in Fukui, K. and Markakis, J. (eds); *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, London, James Currey Ltd, 1994.

- .....; “The People of the Grey Bull: The Origin and Expansion of the Turkana”, *Journal of African History* 29, Special Issue 1, 1988.
- Lawrance, J.C.D.; “A History of Teso to 1937”. *The Uganda Journal*, 19, 1, 1955.
- Low, D.A.; “Uganda: The Establishment of the Protectorate 1894-1919”, in Harlow, V.; Chilver, E.M.; and Smith, A.; eds; *History of East Africa*, London, Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Ocan, E.C.; “Pastoral Crisis in North-Eastern Uganda: The Changing Significance of Cattle Raids”, Working Paper No. 21, CBR Publications, Kampala, 1992.
- .....; “Pastoral Crisis and Social Change in Karamoja” in Mamdani, M. and Oloka-Onyango, J.; *Uganda Studies in Living Conditions, Popular Movements and Colonialism*, Vienna, Journal for Entwicklungspolitik (JEP) Book Series, 1994.
- Ogutu, M.A.; “Pastoralism” in Ochieng’, W.R. ed (1990); *Themes in Kenyan History*, Nairobi, East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1980.
- Okudi, B.; “The 1980 Famine and Cattle Raiding” in Oloka-Onyango, Zie, G. and Muhereza, F. “*Pastoralism, Crisis and Transformation in Karamoja*, Institute for Environment and Development, Paper No. 43, June 1993, CBR, 1993.
- Sartman, W.I. “Conflict and Management in Africa”, Paper Prepared for the Subcommittee on Governance and Democracy, The Global Coalition for Africa 1992.

- Siegel, B., "Family and Kinship" in Gordon, A.A. and Gordon, D.L. (eds);  
*Understanding Contemporary Africa*, London, Lynne Rienner  
 Publishers, 1992.
- Utafiti: Journal of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences*, University of Dar es  
 Salaam Volume 3 No. 1 1996.
- Wabwire, A.; "Pastoral Crisis and Transformation: An Evaluation of the Role  
 Of Non-Governmental Organisations in Karamoja". Working Paper No.31,  
 CBR Publications, 1993.
- Walter, R.; "Ecology, Migration, and Expansion in East Africa", *African Affairs* 84,  
 336, 1985.
- Watson, J.M.; "Some Aspects of Teso Agriculture", *East African Agricultural  
 Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 4, April 1940, 1964.
- Webster, J.B.; "Pioneers of Teso" in Segun Osoba and Obaro Ikime, eds;  
*Takikh: The Peoples of Uganda in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, Volume 3 No. 2,  
 London, Longman Group Limited, 1970.

### 1.2.3 Unpublished Works

Amuge-Akol, A.; “The Karimojong Cattle Raids in Neighbouring Districts With Emphasis on Soroti District, Usuk County in Particular”. Unpublished Dissertation, Uganda Management Institute, Kampala, 1983.

Asayo, I.B.; “The Impact of Cattle Rustling on Teso Women (1986-2003): A Case Study of Katakwi District”. Unpublished Dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 2004.

Aseka, E.M.; “Political Economy of Buluyia; 1960-1964”. PhD Thesis, Nairobi, Kenyatta University, 1989.

Kakai, P.W.; “History of Inter-Ethnic Relations in Bungoma, Mt. Elgon and Trans Nzoia Districts, 1875-1997”. PhD Thesis, Nairobi, Kenyatta University, 2000.

Okalany, D.H.; “The Pre-Colonial History of the Iteso, 1490-1910”. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Makerere University, Kampala, 1980.

Omwoyo, S.M.; “The Agricultural Changes in the Kipsigisland, C 1894-1963: An Historical Inquiry”. PhD Dissertation, History Department, Nairobi, Kenyatta University, 2000.

Welch, C.P.; “Pastoralists and Administrators in Conflict: A Study of Karamoja District 1897-1968”, M.A. Thesis, University of East Africa, 1969.

### 1.2.4 Newspapers

Emwanu, S.P.; “Activists ask government to fix Karamoja, Teso border dispute”, *Daily Monitor*, 12<sup>th</sup> January, 2012:15.

Karugaba, M., et al; “Kyaligonza stole Teso cows, says Minister Ecweru”, *New Vision*, 9<sup>th</sup> April, 2014:6.

Kiwuuwa, P.; “Teso girls married off for cassava”, *Sunday Vision*, 13<sup>th</sup> April, 2014:7.

Musamali, G. and Twegumye, M.; “Atubo speaks out on Teso-Karamoja border row”, *The New Vision*, 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 2007:5.

Otim, R.; “Why Teso continues to post poor results in education”, *Daily Monitor*, 13<sup>th</sup> February, 2014:17.

Sang, F.K.; “Regional Harmonization of Legislation Review Process on Small Arms and Light Weapons Workshop in the Great Lakes Region, Horn of Africa and Bordering States”, *The New Vision*, 12<sup>th</sup> March, 2007:55.

Ssuna, I.; “Great Lakes Countries Meet Over Small Arms”, *The Daily Monitor*, 6<sup>th</sup> February, 2006:5.

Wanyama, O.; “Pastoralists asked to respect border”, *New Vision*, 12<sup>th</sup> February, 2013:8.

### 1.2.5 Internet Sources

Agriculture Dictionary (online) available at < <http://www.agriculture dictionary>>

Big, Mathew; Cattle Rustling on the Rise as U.S. Recession Bites (online)

available at < <http://www.reuters.com>>, 2009.

Bryson, Hull; Cattle Rustling Puts Kenya's Pokot in Cross Hairs (online)

available at < <http://www.globalaging.org>>, 2006.

Business Report: The Chronicle with Blooming South Sudan (online) available at

<<http://www.stgate.com>>

Fuchs, B. And Murray, A.; Conflict and Transformation, (online) available at

<http://www.findhorncollege.org>, 2005.

Goldsmith, P.; Cattle, Knat and Guns Trade: Conflict and Conflict Management

Innthe Horn of Africa, (online) available at <http://www.how.org>, 1997.

Hopkins, Curt; As Cattle Rustling Increases, So Does the Need for RFID (Radio

Frequency Identification) (online) available at <http://www.readwriteweb.com>,

2010.

Lines, Kevin P.; PhD candidate in International Studies (online) available at

<http://asburyseminary.academia.edu>, 2009.

Karathi, S. And Swift, J.; Understanding and Managing Pastoral Conflict in

Kenya, (online) Available at < <http://www.eldis.org>>, 1998.

Salesa, Hussein; Kenya: Minister Deplores Cattle Rustling (online) available at

<<http://www.allafrica.com>>, 2011.

Siror, J.K.et al; Use of RIFD Technologies to Combat Cattle Rustling in

East Africa (online) available at <<http://www.ieeexplore.iee.org>>, 2009.

Shah, A.; Conflicts in Africa, (online) available at

< <http://www.globalissues.org>>, 2003.

The 44<sup>th</sup> Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) Held in Addis Ababa in July 1986 (online) available at

<<http://www.africa-union.org>>

UPC (Uganda Peoples' Congress) External Bureau Victoria, British Columbia (2006); Cattle Rustling in Northern & Eastern Uganda (online) available at

< <http://www.upcparty.net>>

United Nations (UN) Report on Sudan: Cattle Raiding has Affected 120,000 (online)

available at < <http://www.globalpost.com>>

Wel, Paanlue; South Sudan Bride Prices, Cattle Rustling Rising (online)

Available at <<http://www.stgate.com>>, 2011.

Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia: CattleRaiding in Kenya (online) available at

<<http://en.wikipedia.org>>

Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia: Materialism (online) available at

<<http://en.wikipedia.org>>

Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia: Social Conflict Theory (online) available at

< <http://en.wikipedia.org>>

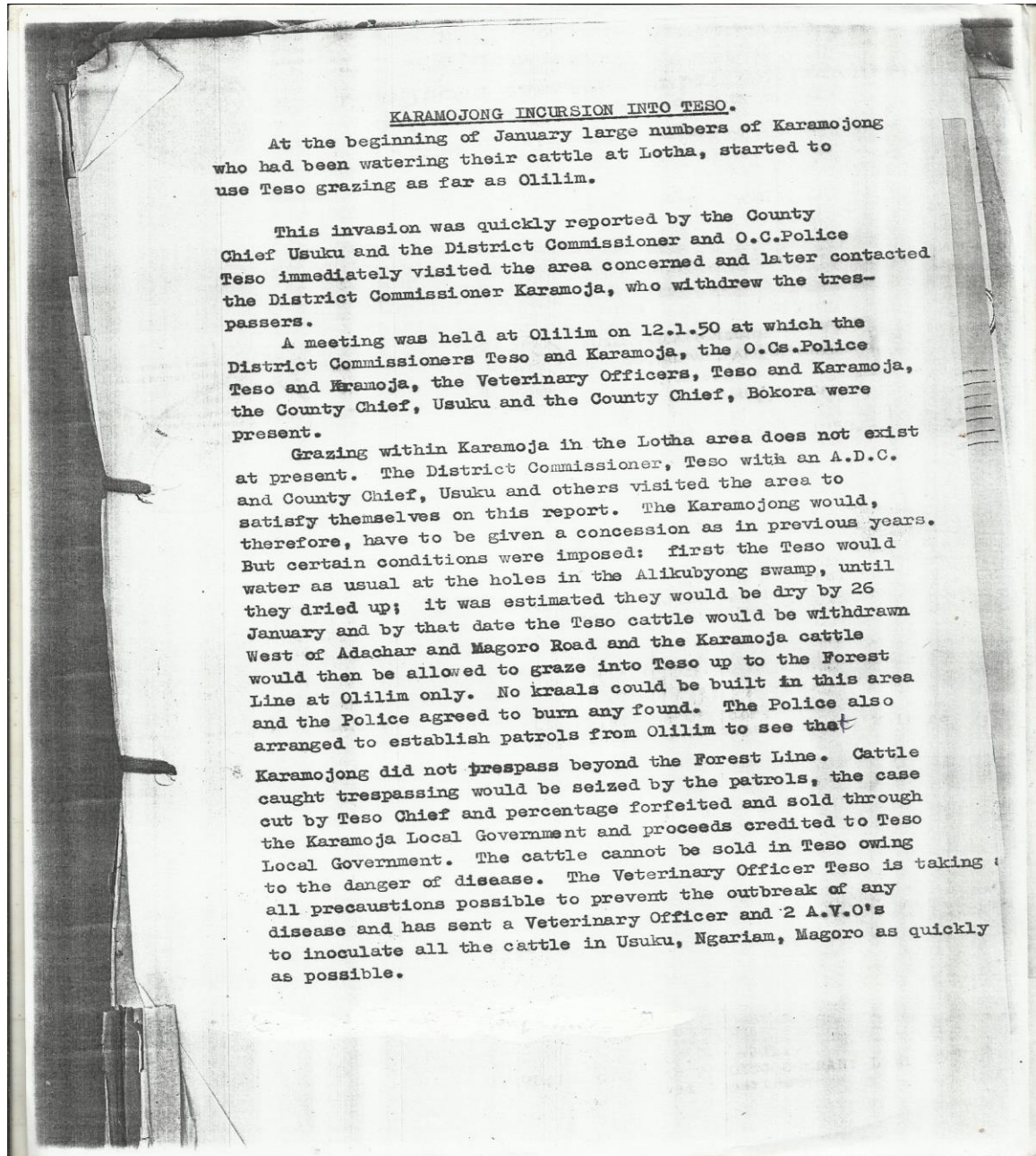
Workshop Organised by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in Jinja, Uganda, 2008

On the Theme: "Cattle Rustling is a Crime" (online) available at

<<http://www.iss.co.za>>

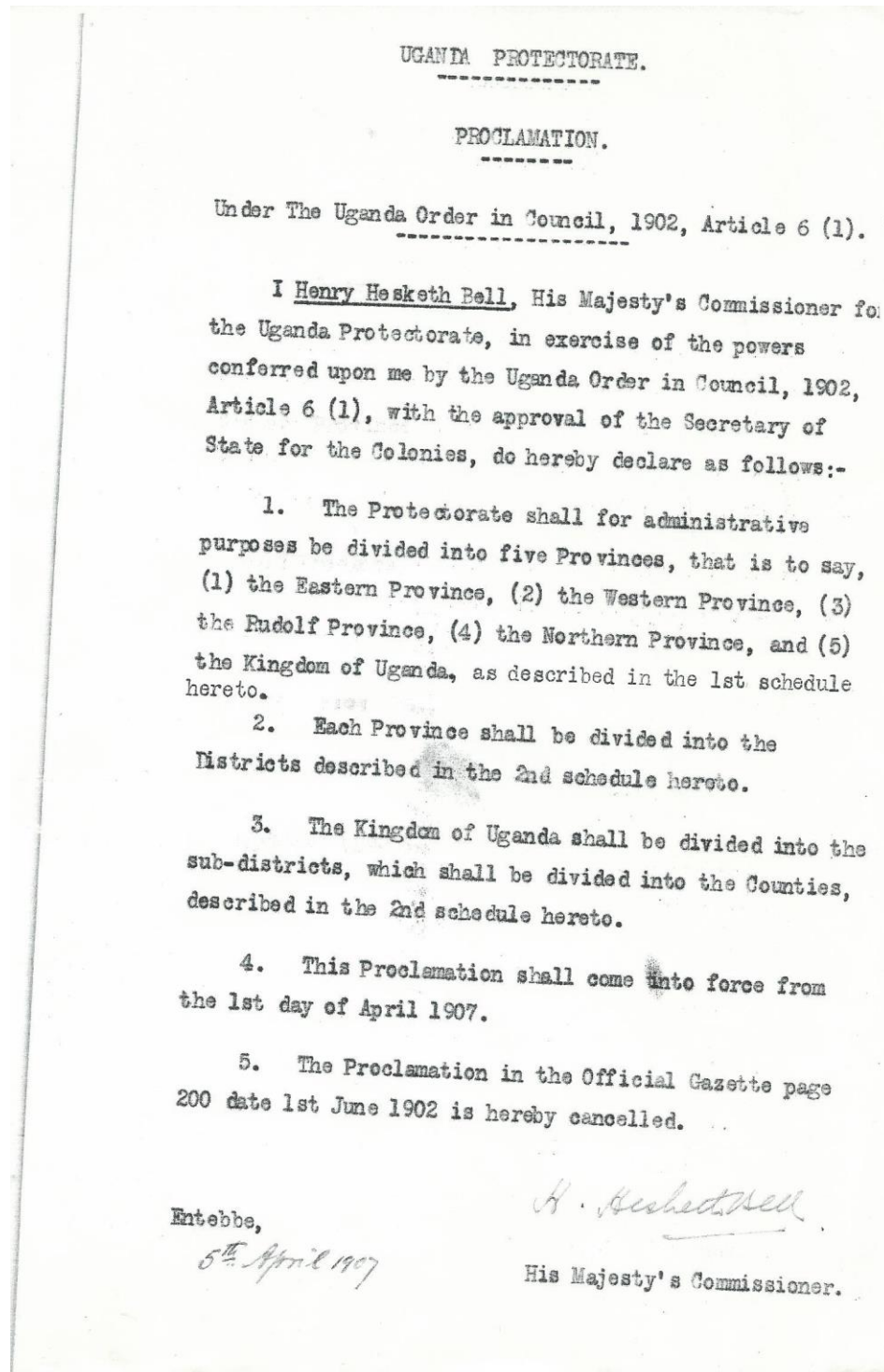
## APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: Report on Karimojong Incursion in Teso, 1950.



Source: Soroti District Archives, 2010.

**Appendix 2: Henry Hesketh Bell's Proclamation, 5th April, 1907.**



**Appendix 3: Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE) Top Performers by Old Districts.**

**UGANDA NATIONAL EXAMINATIONS BOARD**

UCE 2000 TOP PERFORMERS BY OLD DISTRICTS  
AGGREGATE IS FOR THE BEST 8 SUBJECTS

<b>CANDIDATE</b>	<b>AGGREGATE</b>	<b>SCHOOL</b>
<b>01 ADJUMANI DISTRICT</b>		
U0117/080 RAMA MOSES TOE	19	ADJUMANI SS.
U0240/091 ODONGI BANABAKINTU	19	MONSIGNOR BALA SS
U0240/049 IVU CHARLES KENYI	19	MONSIGNOR BALA SS
U0240/065 LOMORO ROBERT B.	19	MONSIGNOR BALA 55
U0 117/013 AMUDA JAMES SCOPAS	20	ADJUMANI SS
<b>02 APAC DISTRICT</b>		
U0 195/035 Bedijo Nelly Grace	15	ST MARY'S ABOKE
U0 195/005 Ocheng Agnes O	15	ST MARY'S ABOKE
U0095/081 Odyomo Micheal O.	17	ADUKU SS
U0195/009 Akello Franceska	17	ST MARY'S ABOKE
U02 67/0 54 Ongom Patrick O.	18	IBUJE SS.
<b>03 ARUA DISTRICT</b>		
U0035/ 078 TABAN WILBERT	13	CHARLES LWANGA
U0243/026 ONYUTHA CHARLES	13	PETER & PAUL SEM.
U0073/090 ONGUA GASPER	14	OMBACI
U0073/070 MAVE ROGERS	14	OMBACI
U0058/130 WATENGA SAM	15	MVARA
<b>04 BUGIRI DISTRICT</b>		
U0325/022 EGESSA ROBERT	18	BUKOOOLI COLL
U0325/131 OTENG ROMAN	21	BUKOOOLI COLL.
U0682/012 JUMA WALTER	22	BUSWALE SS
U0325/136 SHINU7N SULEIMAN	22	BUKOOOLI COLL
U0683/022 OJAMBO HENRY	24	LWANGOSIA
<b>05 BUNDIBUGYO DISTRICT</b>		
U0325/022 KABAGAMBE MAATEE	29	SEMULIKI
U0115/056 SENGI DAVID WATSON	29	SEMULIKI
U0328/139 BASIKANIA KABANGAL	31	SIMBYA
U0687/042 MBABULIMA SAMUEL	33	BURAMBAGIRA
U067/025 KAPIPA ISAAC B	33	BURAMBAGIRA
<b>06 BUSIA DISTRICT</b>		
U0394/093 WANDERA STEPHENO	18	LUMINO HIGH
U0394/013 ATUTTA ROBERT	19	LUMINO HIGH
U0394/028 MANGENI PHILIP	19	LUMINO HIGH
U0114/079 OUMA TA FRANCIS	20	BUSIA SS
U0394/073 OUNDO FRANCIS	20	LUMINO HIGH
<b>07 BUSHENYI DISTRICT</b>		
U0009/021 KYOKUTAMBA HELLEN	12	BWERANYANGI
U0082/044 MUHWEZI ANDREW	12	ST KAGWA'S
U0009/100 NALYBEGA LILIAN	13	BWERANYANGI
U0173/029 SSALI FREDRICK	13	KITABI SEM
U0173/013 HARIMWOMUGASHO F	14	Kitabi Sem

**08 GULU DISTRICT**

U0040/065 AYELLA PAUL	14	LAYIBI
U0040/009 ODOKONYERO DENIS	14	LAYIBI
U0040/001 OCAGIWUPIDO MILTON	14	LAYIBI
U0040/096 KOMAKECH MOSES	15	LAYIBI
U0040/078 OKELLO DENIS O	18	LAYIBI

**09 HOIMA DISTRICT**

U1 148/002 KISEMBO M ROBERT	15	MANDELA SS
U0229/193 AKUGIZIBWE PATRICK	18	HOIMA HALL
U0011/100 SENKOSI KENNETH	21	TITO WINYI
U0011/057 LUBEGA CHARLES	21	TITO WINYI
U0011/047 KOMUGISHA JOSEPH	21	TITO WINYI

**10 IGANGA DISTRICT**

U00 17/009 AKURUT MARY	09	IGANGA SS
U0017/008 AKUMU MARY	12	IGANGA SS
U0 110/033 NAMUTETE ANDREW	14	BUKOYO
U0017/061 TIBUGWISA MILLY	14	IGANGA SS
U0017/003 ACHEN SARAH	15	IGANGA SS

**11 JINJA DISTRICT**

U0027/087 MUBEZI SEZI	08	BUTIKI
U0059/142 SALEH SAIDI YUSUF	09	MWIRI
U0059/109 NTENDE JOHN	09	MWIRI
U0010/047 WAMIKA JOSEPH	10	JINJA COLLEGE
U0027/135 OGWAPIT DENIS	11	BUTIKI

**12 KABALE DISTRICT**

U0019/038 KAMUTEERA NATHAN B	12	KIGEZI HIGH
U0019/0G2 ASHA NA BILLY	12	KIGEZI HIGH
U0019/019 NDEMEERE GODWIN	13	KJGEZI HIGH
U0019/056 TUGUME ISAAC N	13	KIGEZI HIGH
U0186/014 BARIHO B DAVIS	13	STPAUL'S SEMINARY

**13 KABAROLE DISTRICT**

U0031/090 OLANYA JOHN GEOFFREY	12	ST. LEO'S KYEGOBE
U0070/006 AMANYA WILLIAM	14	KYAKUSURA
U0191/011 KABASWAGA ESTHER	17	MARIA GORETTI
U0031/038 KASULE UMAR	17	ST LEO'S KYEGOBE
U0031/050 MAS[KO JAMES	17	ST LEO'S KYEGOBE

**14 KALANGALA DISTRICT**

U0649/013 SSIMBWA GODFREY	35	BISHOP DUNSTAN
U0649/005 KIZITO HENRY	38	BISHOP DUNSTAN
U0649/002 KALUGO FRED	38	BISHOP DUNSTAN
U0649/007 MWANJE HASSAN	38	BISHOP DUNSTAN
U0649/017 NANKINGA JOSEPHINE	39	BISHOP DUN STAN

**15 KAMPALA DISTRICT**

U0031/090 HARIA DHRUV	08	MAKERERE COLLEGE
U0043/014 MARU AMIT	09	MAKERERE COLLEGE
U0043/018 MUYOMBA EMMANUEL	09	MAKERERE COLLEGE
U0069/020 KAGALAMA RICHARD	09	KYAMBOGO COLLEGE
U0025/119 SENNOGA BRIAN	10	KIBULI SS

<u>CANDIDATE</u>	<u>AGGREGATE</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>
<b>16 KAMULI DISTRICT</b>		
U0592/077 MAGALA EMMANUEL	13	LUZINGA
U0592/177 MATEGE GERALD	17	LUZINGA
U0086/009 BALYANANGO ALEX	17	BUSOGA HIGH
U0075/028 NTENDE LU1TI	17	NAMASAGALI
U0592/075 MABIRIZI IVAN	18	LUZINGA
<b>17 KAPCHORWA DISTRICT</b>		
U0864/006 CHEBET ALFRED	16	KAPCHORWA SS
U0074/078 KWEMOI DANIEL B	18	SEBEI
U0074/1 13 SOTEKWO FAIZAL	18	SEBEI
U0152/018 CHELANGAT LILLIAN	19	GAMATUI
U0074/049 CHEPKURUI ISAAC	22	SEBEI SS
<b>18 KASESE DISTRICT</b>		
U0829055 THABUGHA HANINGTON	23	KASESE HIGH
U0495094 SAPEHO ADAMS	23	KARAMBI
U0744010 KARATUNGA PAUL	23	ST JOHN SEMINARY
U0544024 BWAMBALE FELEX	23	KASESE SS
U0326037 BWAMBALE HERIZON	25	MUTANYWANA SS
<b>19 KATAKWI DISTRICT</b>		
U0129/014 IKEESIT GERALD E.T.	21	TOROMA SS
U1041/073 PAYOLEM ROBINSON	26	KATAKWI SS
U0101/022 EDOKET JACOB L.	27	AMURIA SS
U0 101/072 OPIO TOM	28	AMURIA SS
U0823/002 ADUNGO SIMON	30	ACUMET
<b>20 KIBAALE DISTRICT</b>		
U0842/030 BYAMUKAMA VALLANCE	19	MABAALE SS
U0007/048 NYANZI MOSES	21	BUKUUMI
U0007/039 NAKALEMBE MARY STUART	21	BUKUUMI
U0007/02 1 KYABOOWA GEORGE H.	22	BUKUUMI
U0007/051 SSEBUGWAWO ATHANASIOUS	22	BUKUUMI
<b>21 KIBOGA DISTRICT</b>		
U0510/042 NSAMBA ROBERT	23	ST JOSEPH'S VUUMBA
U0757/013 SSENABULYA GODFREY	25	ST FRANCIS BUSUNJU
U0757/001 MUSISI JAMES	25	ST FRANCIS BUSUNJU
U0757/002 AKELLO CAROLINE	26	ST FRANCIS BUSUNJU
U0757/021 KEEYA PAUL	26	ST FRANCIS BUSUNJU
<b>22 KISORO DISTRICT</b>		
U0057/055 SEMUCHO STANLEY	18	MUTOLERE
U0057/029 MUHUMUZA T. ALLAN	21	MUTOLERE
U0284/099 DUHIMBAZE BONIVENTURE	22	KABINDI SS
U0370/001 MONDAY GIDEON	23	IRYARUVUMVA H.S
U0057/021 MUGABO CHARLES	23	MUTOLERE

**23 KITGUM DISTRICT**

U0006/016 ONEN TONNY	14	KITGUM HIGH SCH.
U0006/142 ONYANGO DANIEL	14	KITGUM H. SCHOOL
U10006/064 OKOT J.B KENNETH	16	KITGUM H. SCH
U0006/019 PEBALO FRANCIS P	21	KITGUM HSCH
U0130/021 ODONG BOSCO HELLEN	23	LIRA PALWO S.S

**24 KOTIDO DISTRICT**

U0100/044 WANG CHRISTOPHER O.	23	KOTIDO SS
U0100/039 OCHEN PAUL P	23	KOTIDO SS
U0100/032 MUSOKE LAMECK	28	KOTIDO SS
U0100/069 OTIM CLEMENT A	28	KOTIDO SS
U0100/046 OJOK OYIRE DAVID	29	KOTIDO SS

**25 KUMI DISTRICT**

U1101/061 ABOK ANDREW	22	KUMI HALL
U1042/020 AKEBA JOSEPH	22	TESO INTEGRATED SS
U1006/043 EMERUKA CHARLES M	22	NGORA HIGH
U1042/085 ESIMU SIMON PETER	23	TESO INTEGRATED SS
U1042/110 OJOK ROBERT	23	TESO INTEGRATED SS

**26 LIRA DISTRICT**

U0012/066 OKELLO ARMGOD B	14	COMBONI COLLEGE
U0012/034 OBONYO DAVID O.	17	COMBONI COLLEGE
U0012/012 ODAWA HENRY O.	18	COMBONI COLLEGE
U0072/035 OGWANG DENIS	19	DR OBOTE COLLEGE
U0039/096 ONGOM MORIS CHRIS	19	LANGO COLLEGE

**27 LUWERO DISTRICT**

U0065/020 KIYINGI ABSOLOM	09	NDEJJE SS
U0065/034 MULINDE SABASTIAN	11	NDEJJE SS
U0065/001 BUSULWA ISRAEL J	12	NDEJJE SS
U0065/125 SEMUGOOMA AHAMED	12	NDEJJE SS
U0065/022 MAJWALA ROBERT K	12	NDEJJE SS

**28 MASAKA DISTRICT**

U0034/141 SSENTONGO HENRY	09	ST HENRY KITOVU
U0034/131 SSEGWONYI JOHN	09	ST HENRY KITOVU
U0034/138 SSENIONGA ANDREW	09	ST HENRY KITOVU
U0034 102 MULWANA COLLINS	10	ST HENRY KITOVU
U0034/02 ERIMA PETER	11	ST HENRY KITOVU

**29 MASINDI DISTRICT**

U0049/046 AMANYIRE COLLINS B	15	KABALEGA SS
U0049/036 OKONGO SIMON KNOX	17	KABALEGA SS
U1074/090 MUHUMUZA PATRICK	17	EXCEL H.S.
U0049/048 ATUGONZA ROBERT	18	KABALEGA S S
U0049/052 AYESIGA GONZAGA	19	KABALEGA SS

**30 MBALE DISTRICT**

U0062/160 OKWANY ROBINSON O	11	NABUMALI H.S
U0051/080 KALINAKI CHARLES	15	MBALE SS
U0047/064 WONIALA ISAAC	16	MASABA SS
U0062/018 BUKUWA NAMBALE E	17	NABUMALI HS
U0168/011 OKOL DENIS	18	ST PAUL'S MBALE

<b>CANDIDATE</b>	<b>AGGREGATE</b>	<b>SCHOOL</b>
<b>31 MBARARA DISTRICT</b>		
U0068/105 TWINOMUGISHA B STEPHEN	08	NTARE SCHOOL
U0346/031 RUCUKYE ANTHONY K	08	ST JOSEPH'S VOC SCH
U0068/115 ASIIMWE DENIS DOUGLAS	10	NTARE SCHOOL
U0052/006 ASIIMWE PAUL KYOMA	10	MBARARA HS
U0068/114 ASASIRA C. AGABA	11	NTARE SCHOOL
<b>32 MPIGI DISTRICT</b>		
U0033/036 KAKANDE JOSEPH KAGGA	08	ST. MARY'S KISUBI
U0033/015 BAINGANA BRIAN	08	ST. MARY'S KISUBI
U0033/107 NKWANGA JOHN BAPTIST	08	ST. MARY'S KJSUBI
U0033/119 OKEMA LOUIS	08	ST. MARY'S KISUBI
U0033/142 SEMAKADDE ISAAC KIMAZE	08	ST. MARY'S KISUBI
<b>33 MOROTO DISTRICT</b>		
U0247/002 ALEPER KIZITO ZIDANE	17	NADIKET SEMINARY
U0247/005 LOKAWA ABRAHAM DOVE	18	NADIKET SEMINARY
U0247/012 LOTYANG ANGELO VINCO	19	NADIKET SEM.
U0099/023 AKELLO TEDDY	21	KANGOLE GIRLS
U0247/009 NANGIRO AMBROSE N	22	NADIKET SEM.
<b>34 MOYO DISTRICT</b>		
U0288/039 KOMA DENTS J DONATO	13	METU.S.S
U0288/113 IDHA FILBERT AJAX	16	METU.S.S
U0288/056 OJHARAA MICHEAL	19	METU.S.S
U0288/048 MAWA JOHN SANTOS	20	METU.S.S
U0758/063 NINA VINCENT AMAZA	21	BISHOP ASILI S.S
<b>35 MUBENDE DISTRICT</b>		
U0685/037 MUTAASA JOSEPHAT	14	MITYANA MODERN
U0076/060 SSENTUMBWE TONNY	15	MITYANA 5.5
U0076/112 NJAGARAH H JOHN B	17	MITYANA S.S
U0076/122 NDYAMUHAKI CHARLES S.	18	MITYANA S.S
U0076/003 MALUGGE JAMES K	20	MITYANAS.S
<b>36 MUKONO DISTRICT</b>		
U0063/104 NAMAZZI RUTH	08	NAMAGUNGA
U0063/040 KAMAREBE OLIVIA KIM	08	NAMAGUNGA
U0063/074 MWENYANGO REGINA	08	NAMAGUNGA
U0063/056 KOBURUNGA HILDA	08	NAMAGUNGA
U0063/128 OKUMU WENGI PAULA	08	NAMAGUNGA
<b>37 NAKASONGOLA DISTRICT</b>		
U0161/048 SEBBUGA DAVID	19	NAKASONGOLA SS
U0771/028 OKLROR CALVIN	19	NAKASONGOLA ARMY
U0771/109 OGWAL MARTIN	22	NAKASONGOLA ARMY
U0771/128 KATUSHABE B. AMBROSE	23	NAKASONGOLA ARMY
U0771/068 OLABORO GEORGE ROBERT	23	NAKASONGOLA ARMY

**38 NEBBI DISTRICT**

U0071/018 OCHAN GILBERT	14	ST ALOYSIOUS NYAPEA
U0156/031 JAKECH ROBERT	16	PAKWACH SS
U0071/044 YONDI WALTER	17	ST ALOYSIOUS NYAPEA
U0283/003 OLOYA BENSON	17	ERUSSI S.S
U0071/015 NGAGENO O ISAAC	18	ST ALOYSIOUS NYAPEA

**39 NTUNGAMO DISTRICT**

U0032/029 KALIBALA HASSAN	15	MUNTUYERA H.S
U0032/003 AHEBWA VINCENT ABBEY	16	MUNTUYERA H.S
U0032/066 MWESIGWA AMON	16	MUNTUYERA H.S
U0032/064 MUTUNGI GEOFFREY M	16	MUNTUYERA H.S
U0032/035 KWIKIRIIZA GORDON K	17	MUNTUYERA H.S

**40 PALLISA DISTRICT**

U0105/034 KIMBOWA JOSHUA	13	BUGWERE SS
U1094/016 JWADDE MARK B.	23	VICTORY SS
U0125/068 OJANGA SYLVESTER DICK	23	PALLISA SS
U0105/021 GALANDI TONY KIIRE	24	BUGWERE SS
U0125/104 OSIRE EZEKIEL	24	PALLISA SS

**41 RAKAI DISTRICT**

U0022/050 NAMUGUMYA ROSETIE	16	CHRIST THE KING SS
U0165/036 SSUUNA ROBERT	19	KETEREDDE SS
U0022/004 BABIRYE GERALDINE	19	CHRIST THE KING SS
U0022/044 NAMANDE GLORIA	19	CHRIST THE KING SS
U0022/045 NAMASINGA HAMIDA	19	CHRIST THE KING SS

**42 RUKUNGIRI DISTRICT**

U0028/037 BIRYABAHO SIMPSON	14	MAKOBORE H.S
U0083/038 KANSIIME NOEL	18	IMMACULATE HEART
U00831/004 AHAB WE PRECIOUS	18	IMMACULATE HEART
U0493/078 NAHABWE RONALD	18	KYAMANDA SS
U0083/041 KATUSIIME SULAINA	19	IMMACULATE HEART

**43 SOROTI DISTRICT**

U0319/035 TECHA DICK DAUSON	13	SERERE SS
U0038/168 PAGA REX ROY	14	TESO COLLEGE ALOET
U0024/122 OKELLO MICHAEL	15	SOROTI SS
0038/058 ENYUKU JAMES B	15	TESO COLLEGE ALOET
U0038/074 ETUNGANAN JACOB	16	TESO COLLEGE ALOET

**44 SSEMBABULE DISTRICT**

U0932/021 SSEMAKULA SAMUEL	25	ST KIZITO VOC SS
U0877/015 MUDUMIZI EDWARD	28	SSEMBABULE SS
U0932/004 DDIJNGU PETER	29	ST KIZITO VOC SS
U0446/001 ARINEITWE ISAAC	31	LWEBITAKULI SS
U0932/009 KAKANDE RONALD	31	ST KIZITO VOC SS

**45 TORORO DISTRICT**

U0042/031 ODONGO JAMES	10	ST PETER'S COLLEGE
U0050/139 NEKAKA REBECCA	13	TORORO GIRLS SCH
U0042/011 BARASA RONALD	15	ST PETER'S COLLEGE
U0050/006 ACIO DINAH	15	TORORO GIRLS SCH
U0050/034 ASINDE MARGARET	15	TORORO GIRLS SCH

Source: Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE) 2000 Top Performers by Old Districts,

(2001, March), *The Monitor*, p.3

**Appendix 4: Names of Persons Interviewed**

1. Agnes Apiso, 43, Tailor, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
2. Alex Obwapus, 67, Retired Catechist, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
3. Alex Okello, 76, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
4. Alfred Elungat, 68, Peasant, (Katakwi District), 2010.
5. Alsitina Apiding, 55, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
6. Alugeresia Ajibo, 62, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
7. Angela Asamo, 58, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
8. Angela Atim, 46, District Education Officer, Katakwi District, 2013.
9. Anthony Okou, 61, Peasant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
10. Bacilisa Angecere, 65, Peasant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
11. Basil Abwaimo, 60, Peasant, Ngariam (Katakwi District), 2010.
12. Ben Opolot, 49, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
13. Benasio Opolot, 40, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
14. Bernard Cuma, 76, Peasant, Palam, (Katakwi District), 2010.
15. Betty Akurut, 63, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
16. Bosco Epoku, 71, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
17. Celina Apio, 43, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
18. Charles Ogulo, 59, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
19. Charles Ojikan, 56, Peasant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
20. Charles Okure, 48, Peasant, Ngariam, (Katakwi District), 2010.
21. Charles Oswede, 61, Peasant, Toroma, (Katakwi District), 2010.
22. Christine Akareut, 86, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.

23. Christine Akello, 48, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
24. Cornelius Aurumo, 34, Teacher, Ngariam, (Katakwi District), 2010.
25. Desderio Okolimong, 58, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
26. Desta Akiding, 61, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
27. Donato Odee, 70, Peasant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
28. Edison Emongot, 67, Retired Prison Officer, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
29. Edison Oleemo, 50, Peasant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
30. Elizabeth Alupo, 46, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
31. Esther Akurut, 52, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
32. Eugenio Osele, 95, Peasant, Palam, (Katakwi District), 2010.
33. Felix Otinomo, 78, Peasant, Palam, (Katakwi District), 2010.
34. Florence Asinai, 44, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
35. Florence Imodot, 72, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
36. Francis Ochole Iyeset, 42, Marketing Officer, Omodoi, (Katakwi District), 2010.
37. Geberito Alemukori, 75, Peasant, Palam, (Katakwi District), 2010.
38. Geoffrey Ekoluot, 50, Civil Servant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
39. George William Ounyo, 60, Peasant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
40. Gilbert Onaga, 48, Headteacher Orungo Secondary School, Amuria District, 2013.
41. Giribita Akello, 52, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
42. Gladesi Acam, 78, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
43. Grace Akol, 43, Tailor, Acowa (Amuria District), 2010.
44. Grace Anyait, 52, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
45. Gusberito Aleu, 78, Peasant, Palam, (Katakwi District), 2010.

46. Hellen Ariokot, 52, Peasant, Kapelebyong,(Amuria District), 2010.
47. Ignatius Okwi, 67, Peasant, (Katakwi District), 2010.
48. James Adoa, 64, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
49. James Emielu, 43, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
50. James Obuin, 52, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
51. James Odiku, 43, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
52. Jenifer Rose Atim, 43, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
53. John Bosco Omooka, 50, Prisons Officer, Asamuk, (Amuria District), 2010.
54. John Bosco Opio, 47, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
55. John Boston Emaru, 44, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
56. John Francis Emuron, 60, Retired Teacher, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
57. John Olinga, 37, Teacher, Katakwi, (Katakwi District), 2010.
58. John Robert Ekongot, Local Council 5 Chairman, Katakwi District, 2010.
59. Joseph Erianu, 76, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
60. Joseph Odongo, 42, Security Officer, Town Council, (Katakwi District), 2010.
61. Joseph Otim, 44, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
62. Josephine Apio, 43, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
63. Joshua Olemunyang, 72, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
64. Keletesia Akello, 41, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010,
65. Keletesia Akello, 86, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
66. Kolostika Alungat, 54, Peasant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
67. Madesta Irutu, 78, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
68. Magdaline Apio, 62, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.

69. Marisilina Emojong Okello, 56, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
70. Martin Robert Opio, 49, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
71. Mathew Olemo, 52, District Planner, Katakwi District, 2013.
72. Max Okuluma, 77, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
73. Michael Otim, 48, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
74. Michael Richard Orwanga, 45, Inspector of Schools, Amuria District, 2013.
75. Moses Ebulu, 41, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
76. Naboth Oduc, 70, Retired Teacher, Ongongoja (Katakwi District), 2010.
77. Nico-O- Akwang, 64, Retired Sub-County Chief, Usuk (Katakwi District), 2010.
78. Ojikan, 70, Hand Pump Mechanic, Katakwi, (Katakwi District), 2010.
79. Pampas Okiror, 53, Local Council 1 Chairman, Palam, (Katakwi District), 2010.
80. Pantaleo Ojangole, 72, Peasant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
81. Peter Oduc, 68, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
82. Peter Odwara, 72, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
83. Phoebe Akiteng, 61, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
84. Phoebe Imecu, 77, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
85. Pilomina Apio, 48, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
86. Pius Akongo, 74, Retired Veterinary Officer, Katakwi, (Katakwi District), 2010.
87. Pius Ogagul, 58, Local Council 1 Chairman, Magoro Trading Center, 2013.
88. Pius Okello, 49, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
89. Richard Aliau, 76, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
90. Richard Ekweny, 49, Peasant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
91. Rose Aloket, 60, Palam, (Katakwi District), 2010.

92. Salim Akotoi, 42, Peasant, Ngariam, (Katakwi District), 2010.
93. Sam Aminu, 49, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
94. Santina Sangar, 45, District Inspector of Schools, Kotido, 2013.
95. Scola Alupo, 34, Administrator, Katakwi, (Katakwi District), 2010.
96. Scolostika Anamo, 60, Peasant, Acowa, (Amuria District), 2010.
97. Silver Ojikan, 68, Peasant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
98. Siras Amodoi, 64, Peasant, Palam, (Katakwi District), 2010.
99. Stephen Opolot, 60, Peasant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
100. Steven Ijuli, 61, Peasant, Katakwi, (Katakwi District), 2010.
101. Surubaberi Obukongor, 80, Peasant, Palam, (Katakwi District), 2010.
102. Tadeo Alemu, 68, Peasant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
103. Teresa Imoru, 52, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
104. Venansio Edeket, 66, Retired Agricultural Officer, Palam, (Katakwi District), 2010.
105. Victor Odil, 56, Peasant, Magoro, (Katakwi District), 2010.
106. Vigilio Okello, 49, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
107. Violet Adome Akurut, 35, Palam, (Katakwi District), 2010.
108. William Opule, 52, Peasant, Kapelebyong, (Amuria District), 2010.
109. Yusuf Okulo, 40, Peasant, Wera, (Amuria District), 2010.
110. Yusuf Osele, 75, Peasant, Palam, (Katakwi District), 2010.

## Appendix 5: Interview Guide

Dear Respondent,

A study is being conducted on “**The Genesis, Development and Impact of Cattle Rustling in Teso Sub-Region, 1600-2001. A Case of Katakwi District, Uganda**”.

Therefore, this is to request for your cooperation in answering these questions as accurate as you can.

### PART A: PERSONAL DATA

1. Name:-----
2. Sex: Male  Female  Age:-----
3. Occupation:-----
4. Village----- Sub-County-----  
County----- District-----

### PART B: BACKGROUND; MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE ITESO

5. Where did the Iteso come from?
6. When did they arrive in Teso?
7. Which direction did they come from?
8. Who led them (Iteso)?
9. Where did the pioneers of Teso first settle?
10. What were the reasons for their migration and settlement in Teso?
11. How related are the Iteso and Karimojong peoples?
12. How did the Iteso acquire their name?

13. After settling in Teso, what economic activities did the pioneers of Teso practice and why?
14. What was the occupation of the men?
15. What was the occupation of the women?

PART C: ORIGINS OF CATTLE RUSTLING IN KATAKWI DISTRICT IN THE  
COLONIAL PERIOD, 1894-1962.

16. When did cattle rustling in Katakwi district begin?
17. Who stole the animals of the Iteso during this period?
18. What were the reasons for this cattle rustling?
19. What kinds of weapons were used during this period?
20. What commodities were also stolen?
21. How did the Iteso respond to this cattle rustling?
22. Which areas of Katakwi district were affected by cattle rustling?
23. During which season of the year were cattle rustling conducted?
24. Why in that period?
25. In the event of cattle losses due diseases and theft by other communities, how were the cattle regained?
26. Was there cattle rustling among the Iteso themselves?
27. If so, why?

PART D: CATTLE RUSTLING IN THE POST- INDEPENDENCE PERIOD, 1962-  
2001.

28. When did cattle rustling in Katakwi district begin?
29. Who raided the Iteso during this period?
30. What commodities were also raided?
31. What were the reasons for cattle rustling during this period?
32. What kinds of weapons were used during this period?
33. How did the Iteso respond to this cattle rustling?
34. Which areas of Katakwi district were affected?
35. During which seasons of the year was this cattle rustling conducted?
36. How were the cattle regained after they have been rustled?
37. Was there cattle rustling among the Iteso during the period?
38. If so why?
39. In the late 1980s, cattle rustling covered virtually the whole of Teso Sub-Region,  
who were the people involved?
40. How did cattle rustling affect the lives of the people in Katakwi district?

**Appendix 6: Introductory Letter 1**

**KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY**

P.O. BOX 1 KYAMBOGO

Tel: 041-286238/285001, Fax: 041-220464

E-mail: [vckyu@kyu.ac.ug](mailto:vckyu@kyu.ac.ug) / website: [www.kyu.ac.ug](http://www.kyu.ac.ug)**VICE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE**

October 7, 2010

Mr. John A Okoboi  
Lecturer  
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences  
Kyambogo University

Dear Mr. Okoboi,

**LEAVE OF ABSENCE**

Reference is made to your communication dated October 7, 2010 requesting for leave of absence from October 11, 2010 – November 9, 2010 in order to conduct your Ph.D research in Katakwi and Amuria Districts.

Please note that permission is granted as requested.

I have also noted that in your absence, Mr. John Baptist Okware will take charge of your teaching load.

Yours sincerely,



Prof. Isaiah O. Ndiege

**VICE CHANCELLOR/CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER**

*Copied to* DVC – Academic Affairs  
Ag. Academic Registrar  
Ag. Dean, Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences  
HoD, History Department  
Mr. John b. Okware

## Appendix 7: Introductory Letter II

  
**KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY**  
 P.O. BOX 1, KYAMBOGO  
 Tel: 041-286238, Fax: 041-220464  
 Email: [vkyu@kyu.ac.ug](mailto:vkyu@kyu.ac.ug), website [www.kyu.ac.ug](http://www.kyu.ac.ug)

*Office of the Vice Chancellor*

---

September 6, 2013

Mr. Okoboi John Amodoi  
 Lecturer/PhD Candidate  
 Department of History  
**Kyambogo University**

Dear Mr. Okoboi,

**LEAVE OF ABSENCE**

Thank you for your letter dated 28<sup>th</sup> August 2013 on the above captioned subject.

This is to inform you that your request to be out of station from 1<sup>st</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> September 2013 to enable you to travel to Katakwi and Amuria Districts to collect data to back up chapter four and five of the research topic: 'The Genesis of Cattle Rustling in Teso Sub-Region 1894 – 2001: A Case of Katakwi and Amuria Districts in Uganda.' has been granted.

I also note that during your absence, for HS 111: History of East Africa up to 1880 AD and Dr. Adupa Cyprian B. will take charge of HS 312: History Teaching Methods II.

Yours sincerely,

  
 Assoc. Prof. Fabian Nabugoomu  
**AG. VICE CHANCELLOR**

*c.c. Deputy Vice Chancellor (AA)*  
*Deputy Vice Chancellor (F & A)*  
*Ms. Ojok Filda*  
*Dr. Adupa Cyprian B.*

FN/nm