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Extension of State Power in Karamoja **Part 2: Karamojan Politics: Creation and Cooptation of a New Political Elite**

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Introduction

The process of extension of state power in Karamoja, which Ugandan state managers¹ initiated with the 2006 disarmament campaign, has allowed them to establish effective control over the previously restive region and exploit its considerable natural resources. I explore these developments in Part 1 of this working paper (Czuba 2017), which also details some of the tools on which the state managers have relied to subdue Karamojans and forestall the possibility of forceful resistance to extension of state power: deployment of the coercive apparatus of the state, primarily in the form of the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF), and subversion of Karamojans' livelihood systems. In Part 2, I investigate another component of the system of control that Ugandan state managers have constructed in Karamoja. Specifically, I explore the creation of a new subordinate Karamojan political elite that in recent years has largely supplanted the indigenous governance systems developed by the ethnic groups that inhabit the region. I argue that most members of this new political elite have been coopted by the state managers to represent their interests in Karamoja in exchange for government positions and wealth, including access to large-scale land acquisition. There is, however, some notable variation between Karamojong and Pokot members of the new elite, the latter of whom have been able to retain a higher degree of autonomy from the National Resistance Movement (NRM) regime due to their connections with their powerful co-ethnics in the neighbouring West Pokot County in Kenya. The paper is based on field research conducted in Kampala and in Amudat, Moroto, and Nakapiripirit districts between October and December 2016.

Emergence of a new class of Karamojan leaders

Disarmament, the opening phase of the process of extension of state power in Karamoja, was imposed and ruthlessly implemented without consultation with the region's inhabitants or their leaders. The campaign met some resistance: in Kotido District significant numbers of its Jie inhabitants took up arms against the UPDF, but elsewhere in Karamoja armed confrontations with government forces were rare and small-scale (UO119). None of these incidents were, however, coordinated by elders or other leaders, who recognized Karamojans' relative weakness vis-à-vis the Ugandan state. The customary governance systems in the region had been significantly weakened in the course of three decades of conflict between different Karamojan communities (Czuba 2011; Gray 2000; Mkutu 2010; Stites et al. 2007). Relatedly, the peace and stability promised by the government offered elders, and other leaders who had gradually begun to emerge in previous decades, an opportunity to reassert their control over their societies. For this reason, disarmament was accepted, or even welcomed, by Karamojan leaders (although some of them denounced the human rights violations that accompanied the campaign) (UO4; UO5).

In the early stages of the process of extension of state power in Karamoja, the Ugandan government recreated in the region the Local Council (LC) system of administration that had existed elsewhere in the country since the 1980s.² Although the government has consistently chosen to ignore Karamojan customary leaders, Karamojong and Pokot elders took advantage of the stability brought by disarmament to reassert their dominant position in their communities. In order to manage the impact of the expansion of the Ugandan state's administrative apparatus they often appointed young community members (almost always men) who had received some (usually primary school-level) formal education to serve as LC1 (village) chairpersons. In the

process, the Karamojong and Pokot customary governance systems gained a degree of control over the lowest rung of the formal LC system (Czuba 2011; also UE15; UE17; UE19; UE92; UO3; UO54; UO65; UO68; UO109). In the years since the introduction of the LC system to Karamoja, however, many LC1 chairpersons have been able to develop support bases independent of community elders and establish strong relationships with agents operating at the higher levels of the parallel administrative and political systems. No longer young, easily manipulable men, the LC1s have emerged as influential political agents in their own right.³ This does not mean that the gains made following disarmament have been fully reversed: elders have retained their control over ritual and, in some communities, conflict resolution and adjudication of disputes over land, even as LC1 chairpersons have increasingly begun to chip away at some aspects of their authority (UE18; UE90; UE91; UO2; UO3; UO4; UO5; UO56; UO58; UO65; UO67; UO68; UO114; UO117).

The emergence of this dual governance system (which combines customary and formal government structures) is not, however, the most important recent shift in the organization of Karamojong and Pokot societies. Historically, essentially all governance functions in Karamojan societies were performed at the level of individual settlements, by elders resident in those settlements and, on occasion, in neighbouring communities. Large-scale meetings involving many elders were rare. Today, both elders and LC1 chairpersons continue to operate at the village level. The primary arena of Karamojan politics has moved, however, to a new stage dominated by political leaders who operate at the higher levels of the LC system, especially LC5 (district-level), and in parliament. Regardless of the relative distribution of power between elders and LC1 chairpersons in their communities, the importance of these local-level community leaders is dwarfed by that of those new Karamojan political agents who, in the course of their

interactions with Ugandan state managers, have obtained access to resources that far exceed those that had ever been available to customary leaders.⁴

Extension of state power has stimulated the emergence of this new class of Karamojan leaders, who are better positioned to act as intermediaries between their societies and the Ugandan government. Some of these new leaders, whose kin relations had previously served a similar role as intermediaries between their communities and previous governments, owe their influence in part to family connections (Ariong 2017; UO3; UO58; UO67; UO93; UO109; UO120; UO121; UO122).⁵ Such leaders have leveraged the respect accorded to their parents to position themselves as their communities' representatives. Other new leaders have promoted their own contributions to their communities to build their influence or relied on their relationship with the government (UO1; UO5; UO67; UO93; UO119; UO120; UO121; UO122; UO124; UO125).⁶ The primary cause of these leaders' prominence is, however, their membership in the small (even now, but much more so when most of them joined politics) class of Karamojans who have received formal education (UO119; UO120; UO121; UO125).⁷ Because Ugandan state managers have preferred to deal with local intermediaries who speak their language (English and, to a lesser degree, Kiswahili), this new elite has been able to accumulate considerable political power and supersede the role that elders had historically played in the governance arrangements of Karamojan ethnic groups (Ariong 2017; UO58; UO67; UO68; UO93; UO109; UO119; UO120; UO121; UO122; UO124).⁸

Karamojan leaders' response to extension of state power

Some educated Karamojans (but not those who became elected officials) simply accepted extension of state power in Karamoja and chose to serve Ugandan state managers as bureaucrats and military officers in exchange for salaries and other sources of wealth:

The elites play a big role in exploiting the locals. The local elites connive with outsiders, connive with the government, with powerful businessmen, powerful, rich people, who have interest in the region. A few of the Karamojong who are the elites can benefit from what the NRM has done. (UO114)

This fully coopted segment of the new Karamojan elite includes military officers and high-ranking national government officials, as well as local government administrators.⁹ Lacking an independent power base, they serve at the discretion of state managers, who can deprive them of their positions, influence, and wealth at will.

Because of the way in which the Ugandan system of government is organized, however, these government appointees have never assumed the role of primary intermediaries between the government and their communities. The administrative system made up of these civil servants exists in parallel to the six-level political system through which citizens directly elect their preferred representatives. The LC structure (which I describe in detail in endnote 2) comprises the five lower levels of the system. The sixth level of this hierarchy (officially outside the LC system) is Uganda's parliament, which (as of the 2016 elections) includes nineteen members from Karamoja.¹⁰ It is these elected officials who act as the primary intermediaries between state managers and the Karamojan population. Together with the nature of Uganda's authoritarian regime, this extensive system of political representation co-constitutes the parameters that have shaped the interactions between Karamojan leaders and Ugandan state managers.

This system offers ambitious Karamojans an opportunity to use the structures of the Ugandan state to surmount the restrictions on participation in decision-making that are inherent to the authoritarian regime and to establish themselves as influential political agents in their own right. The offices of the MP or LC5 (district) chairperson,¹¹ in particular, grant their holders significant political power and a degree of autonomy from the wishes of state managers. Such is

their appeal that some high-ranking appointed government officials from Karamoja have chosen to give up their positions to pursue elected office (UO65; UO67; UO122).¹²

Although political space in Uganda is increasingly restricted, even following the widespread rigging of the 2016 elections (Abrahamsen and Bareebe 2016; UO2; UO3; UO4; UO113; UO119) the popular support received by the holders of these elected positions vests in them, as chosen representatives of the people, considerable political authority. Simultaneously, however, continuation of elected officials' popularity depends on their ability to address their constituents' interests and needs. As a result, Karamojan leaders have to be at least somewhat responsive to their supporters' demands. However, the options of Karamojan politicians are heavily constrained by the dominance of Ugandan state managers, whose objectives are manifestly at odds with the interests of the politicians' constituents. Caught between the divergent interests of state managers and their constituents, elected Karamojan officeholders face a difficult choice if they wish to retain their influence. In practice, their responses to this challenge have involved five distinct strategies.

First, elected Karamojan leaders can push back against the national government's (that is, state managers') policies and actions that harm their supporters.¹³ While open attacks on the regime and, especially, the Museveni family are tellingly infrequent, Karamojan MPs frequently express their dissatisfaction with the government's professed efforts to end the continuing poverty of their constituents (Mugerwa 2013; UO2; UO3; UO67; UO114).

The *second* strategy is inherent to the Karamojan leaders' position as elected officials within the structure of the Ugandan state. Instead of publicly denouncing the regime, many of them strive to work from the inside of the system to realign its objectives for the benefit of Karamoja's inhabitants. In the words of one former Karamojan MP: "[b]eing in parliament is

about how you're able to advocate, to lobby, to enter into a personal relationship with the speaker and the president, about convincing" (UO4). To this end Karamojan leaders promote cooperation with donors, United Nations agencies, and non-governmental organizations active in the region. They also petition for increased government spending on Karamoja and reallocation of resources towards socially beneficial programmes that support pastoral livelihoods or education (UO2; UO3; UO42).

Attempts to promote policies likely to lead to socially efficient outcomes are, however, usually undermined by the high level of control that state managers, whose objectives in Karamoja are, after all, inimical to its inhabitants' interests, exercise over the political system. For this reason, the *third* option is in many ways more attractive to Karamojan politicians. It entails full cooptation with the regime that is, however, concealed from their constituents through 1) the propagation of government rhetoric about the beneficial impact of its policies, 2) vocal demands for investments and policies that ostensibly benefit local people but in fact serve state managers' interests, 3) incitement of interethnic tensions, and 4) distribution of the limited resources that the leaders can obtain to specific groups within their support bases.

The Ugandan government has deployed an impressive *propaganda* apparatus in Karamoja to further its agenda. The purpose of this apparatus is, *first*, to promote the government's role in bringing peace to the region and the supposed benefits of agricultural production and sedentarization. Simultaneously, and *second*, it serves to obscure government efforts to undermine pastoral livelihoods and the scale of human rights violations, land-grabbing, and exploitation of natural resources in Karamoja. As important conduits through whom the pro-government rhetoric reaches individual communities, Karamojan elected leaders have made a significant contribution to this campaign. As the former Kaabong Woman MP Akello Rose has

admitted: “[a]s leaders from Karamoja, we are sensitizing our people to complete[ly] stop moving up and down. Our people value cows so much, [but] we want them to embrace change and government programmes” (*IRIN News* 2012). By promoting the government agenda, Karamojan leaders demonstrate both their loyalty to the regime and their professed commitment to the wellbeing of their co-ethnics. In order to persuade constituents of their personal contribution to the ostensible beneficence of the NRM regime, Karamojan leaders often articulate *demands for investments to which the state managers are already committed*. To this end, Karamojan MPs have insisted that the government allocate funds for the construction of a tarmac road linking Karamoja with the rest of Uganda and extension of the government electrification programme to the region, projects that offer more benefits to Ugandan state managers than to the local population (UO2; UO67). Karamojan leaders have also taken advantage of the *interethnic tensions* in the region in order to bolster their political support. In particular, the antagonism between the Bokora and Matheniko has played a major role in elections in Moroto District, where Matheniko politicians have successfully mobilized the longstanding grievances of members of their Karimojong section to defeat the Bokora incumbents in the 2016 parliamentary elections (UO2; UO4; UO113; UO119; UO121).¹⁴ Interethnic divisions encourage political leaders to channel resources to their particular ethnic constituencies. Such *favouritism* predictably leads to further demands for the creation of ever smaller, and more ethnically homogenous, administrative units (UO119; UO122; UO125) that serve the ethnic bases of support built by politicians.¹⁵

If none of these methods proves sufficient to retain popular support, Karamojan leaders have the *fourth* option: to simply buy the votes of their constituents. This type of electoral fraud has become increasingly common in the region. No major candidate for a parliamentary seat or

LC5 (district) chairmanship in the 2016 elections appears to have refrained from this practice, which in some cases has been decisive (Omoding 2016; UO3; UO56; UO93; UO114).¹⁶

Most, if not all, Karamojan leaders have employed some combination of these options to retain power. Their tactics have often been effective, and many of the most influential members of the new elite have successfully retained their offices for long periods of time (UO5; UO48; UO55; UO56; UO58; UO59; UO60; UO65).¹⁷ The political system is, however, sufficiently open to allow constituents to vote their elected representatives out if they are dissatisfied with their performance. Accordingly, a number of elected officials lost their positions in the 2016 elections (UO5; UO48; UO53; UO67; UO109; UO113; UO119; UO120; UO124).¹⁸ On the other hand, the consequences of displeasing the state managers can be far more serious than alienating constituents. None of the elected leaders who have openly challenged the regime won subsequent elections, apparently due to electoral fraud perpetrated at the behest of the NRM regime. Some of them have been physically attacked by security forces (UO2; UO3; UO5; UO67; UO113).¹⁹

As a result, the Karamojan political elite's autonomy is often illusory. Although they have successfully taken advantage of Uganda's political system to acquire a degree of influence, as well as wealth, their ability to meaningfully affect government policy is severely constrained by the state managers' hegemony. Elected Karamojan officials are allowed to deliver muted rebukes of government policies and programmes, but serious criticism, and especially criticism aimed personally at President Museveni and members of his family, is not acceptable to the regime:

They find it's very difficult for them to speak against their master, so that even when things go wrong, your mouth is sealed. If you want to win in Karamoja, you have to be on the NRM ticket. Even if you have very good ideas, you have to have NRM support. [...] When you stand against the NRM, you become an enemy to political leaders (UO114).

The ruling party, the NRM (National Resistance Movement), is a primary tool used by the state managers to keep Karamojan leaders in line. Elsewhere in Uganda, although the government ensures the NRM's continuing political dominance, other parties are allowed to operate. In Karamoja, however, formal opposition is essentially nonexistent.²⁰ One of the few opposition party candidates who was elected to serve in lower-level LC positions in 2011 provides the following account of his experience:

I was the only member of opposition on the district council. They used to put a lot of pressure. They wanted to arrest me, said that it was treason, that I wanted to overthrow the state. In 2016, I had to join the NRM, for the safety of my life, for the safety of my position, and for the safety of my people. Because they vowed they wouldn't give any services to the people of [my community] if I stayed in opposition. So I joined the NRM and became the NRM flag bearer (LC5 councillor in Karamoja).

The effectively compulsory character of membership in the NRM reflects the extent of regime control over Karamojan leaders. Because it contains the political rivalries between different Karamojan leaders within a single party, it also has peculiar consequences for political life in the region. Prior to the 2016 elections, several NRM primaries featured bruising battles between influential politicians.²¹ All of the defeated incumbents subsequently vied for their positions in the elections as independent candidates (against official NRM candidates) while simultaneously retaining their NRM membership (UO2; UO3; UO4; UO55; UO56; UO58; UO59; UO60; UO65; UO67).²²

The case of Amudat²³

The interactions between Karamojan leaders and state managers across the region, in both Karamojong and Pokot areas, initially largely followed the same trajectory. Among the Pokot, a few educated leaders²⁴ served as the primary intermediaries between state managers and their community, which has historically had more limited contact with the Ugandan state (and

access to government services) than even the Karamojong parts of the region. In exchange for their support of disarmament and other government policies, these leaders were rewarded with positions and some influence over the distribution of resources. In 2009, the then Upe County MP Kiyonga Francis Adamson persuaded Museveni to grant the Ugandan Pokot their own district—Amudat District.²⁵ This development was largely analogous to those unfolding in the Karamojong districts of Karamoja, where creation of districts in lieu of service provision and contestation between political leaders became the norm and formed an important component of the cooptation of Karamojan leaders.²⁶

However, whereas the Karamojong leaders have by and large resigned themselves to the government's hegemony, a few Pokot politicians have pursued an alternative strategy that has allowed them to retain a greater amount of autonomy than their Karamojong counterparts. These politicians have constructed a coalition that allowed them to win the 2016 elections in Amudat District despite their lack of formal affiliation with the NRM—the only such case in Karamoja.²⁷ This (relative) success was made possible by a number of factors.

First, although an important road used to transport limestone and marble from Tapach on the eastern slopes of Mount Moroto to the Tororo Cement factory in Tororo runs through Amudat, the Pokot section of Karamoja has no exploitable natural resources. For this reason, Ugandan state managers²⁸ have less interest in Amudat than other, more economically important, parts of the region. *Second*, popular dissatisfaction with the local representatives of the NRM gradually increased prior to the 2016 elections.²⁹ *Third*, members of the future independent coalition had built relatively strong independent power bases among their constituents.³⁰ *Fourth*, in exchange for their declaration of support for President Museveni's re-

election in 2016, these politicians successfully obtained assurances that the national government would not intervene in local politics.³¹

Their success would have been unlikely, however, without—*fifth*—outside support from West Pokot County in Kenya. The Ugandan Pokot retain strong ties with their co-ethnics who live across the national border. “To us those borders are imaginary,” says one influential Pokot politician. “We the Pokot don’t know the border. It’s a colonial thing,” adds another and continues: “[i]t’s imperative to have friends in West Pokot. This had a huge impact on our campaign.” Indeed, in contrast to their Karamojong counterparts, whose access to resources, both to fund election campaigns and to build personal wealth, is heavily dependent on Ugandan state managers, Pokot leaders can easily tap into an alternative source of funding from outside the country.³² In addition, the leaders who built the independent coalition for the 2016 elections sought to take advantage from West Pokot’s positive experience of devolution of power to county governments that Kenya has experienced since 2013; their campaign emphasized their plans to implement similar reforms in Amudat.³³

The West Pokot connection proved decisive in the election. The cross-border alliances provided the Amudat leaders with a support base and funding independent of Ugandan state managers. Their existence allowed the independent coalition to articulate a more pronounced critique of government policies and programmes in Amudat (but not of President Museveni), which paved the way for its electoral success. In the process, they formulated an alternative strategy for interactions with the Ugandan state managers. However, even this alternative strategy does not challenge Ugandan state managers’ hold on power. All it does is allows local leaders a degree of autonomy from the control of the NRM structure. This strategy is, however, only made viable by the relationships between Pokot politicians in Amudat and West Pokot and

Ugandan state managers' indifference towards the influence exerted on "domestic" politics by "foreign" (Kenyan Pokot) political agents. The latter condition emphasizes Ugandan rulers' continuing hegemony over Karamoja, even if the political maneuvering undertaken by the Amudat politicians—and, to a lesser extent, other Karamojan leaders—points to their remarkable ability to take advantage of the limited political opportunities offered by the Ugandan system of representation.

Karamojan elite's involvement in exploitation of natural resources in the region

The Amudat leaders' relative autonomy from the NRM regime comes at the cost of their ability to access some of the opportunities for wealth creation that Ugandan state managers have offered to those members of the Karamojan elite who have readily accepted cooptation. In Appendix 1, I document Karamojong leaders' participation in illegal (or, at least, legally dubious) land acquisition and mining. In particular, local leaders in the region have taken advantage of Ugandan government's *laissez-faire* attitude towards large-scale land acquisitions. Unlike their superiors in the state-managing elite, these individuals "don't necessarily have the military to protect them at a phone call, but they have access to positions of authority and can over time make their interests realized" (UO126). As a result, while "initially the land thing was done by outsiders who based their knowledge of the land from maps [...] as of now 90 percent of land-grabbers are the Karamojong themselves" (UO128). In other words, land-grabbing in Karamoja has become just another business opportunity—for wealthy Karamojans as much as for Ugandan state managers and their associates. As a result, a victim of an illegal land acquisition observes:

I foresee the eighty percent who are not educated becoming squatters, beggars. When those rich men sell to investors, those investors will take the land. Those people won't have anywhere to go. It is more dangerous than cattle thefts. We suffered them, but we had coping mechanisms. You knew how to take cattle back.

But this stealing of land, title theft is so complicated. The majority of the people have now realized that something can be stolen without a raid happening or, when investors come, they will understand. I fear for their reaction when that time comes. I foresee people being forced to fight (Land-grabbing victim).

In the early 2000s, Ben Knighton suggested that, from Karamojans' perspective, the Ugandan government, brutal and complicit in thefts of their cattle, "is just another raider" (Knighton 2003). Little more than a decade later, this characterization has never been truer. The Ugandan state managers' efforts to possess the region's natural resources have also, however, had another, and perhaps unintended, outcome: Karamojan leaders have become raiders of their own people's wealth, too.

Conclusion

The brutal, but effective disarmament has successfully contained raiding and violent conflict, perhaps for the first time since the region was settled by Nilotic societies. The customary governance systems that these societies had built have been reshaped: although Karamojong and Pokot elders remain influential within their settlements, the primary arena of Karamojan politics has moved to a new stage on which new local leaders, drawn from the small class of educated Karamojans, compete with one another and interact with Ugandan state managers. Because of the organization of Uganda's political system, these new leaders have been able to gain a small degree of influence over the policies pursued by the government. Access to the political system, which is more restricted in Karamoja than elsewhere in Uganda, is, however, conditional upon acquiescence to the hegemony of the NRM regime led by President Yoweri Museveni. Given the control that the highly-entrenched regime exercises over Uganda's increasingly closed political space, the new Karamojan leaders have for the most part found opposition to the state managers' objectives in the region inimical to their interests.

Instead, many of them have joined their superiors' pursuit of personal enrichment through involvement in illegal land acquisitions. The plunder of Karamoja's natural resources has been made possible by the policies instituted by the state managers and accepted, and often supported and implemented, by the Karamojan leaders. These policies have kept the region stable and its inhabitants docile and unthreatening—at the cost of the destruction of pastoral livelihoods and Karamojans' continuing ill-being.

Appendix 1. Mining operations and land acquisitions in Karamoja involving members of the new Karamojan elite.

Location	Dates	Investor	Type	Strength of evidence	Discussion
Rupa, Moroto District	2012-2014 or 2015	Jan Mangal (Cornelius Lorika Kodet with Engola Sam)	Gold mining	High	Cornelius Lorika, an influential Pian Karimojong businessman who owns Mount Moroto Hotel in Moroto, Apule Lodge in Mbale, and Entebbe's tourist attraction the Aero Beach, appears to be the only Karamojan involved in a major mining operation. Together with the State Minister for Housing Engola Sam and a Gujarati businessman, Lorika owned a company called Jan Mangal, which operated a gold mine at Nakiloro and Nakibat in Rupa Sub-county in Moroto District from 2012 to 2015 or 2016. I provide further details in Part 1.
Kautakou, Napak District	2010-present	Amodoi Peter	Illegal acquisition of land	High	The most prominent (and most thoroughly documented) case of land-grabbing in Karamoja has involved the acquisition of a land title to 169 hectares of land at Kautakou by Amodoi Peter Ayopo, a high-ranking Tome Bokora Karimojong official in the Office of the Prime Minister (and, at one time, the Acting Commissioner for Karamoja at the Office). Located on the border between the Bokora and Matheniko territories—and, more recently, between Napak and Moroto districts—Kautakou was deserted by its Bokora inhabitants during the period of conflict in the 1980s and 1990s; some of them began to return in the wake of disarmament (Tebanyang et al. 2015; UO127). At around the same time, government agencies—including the Ministry for Karamoja Affairs (housed in the Office of the Prime Minister, which

					<p>employs Amodoi), Karamoja Private Sector Development Promotion Centre (a parastatal run by Lomokol Jimmy, Amodoi’s brother), Ugandan Investment Authority, and Moroto District Local Government—decided to establish an industrial park (intended to host Tororo Cement’s Karamoja factory) at Kautakou, which is also conveniently situated along the main transport route from Moroto to Nakapiripirit (and Mbale) and Soroti, and across the road from Moroto Airstrip. Amodoi took advantage of his knowledge of the impending government investment, persuaded some Matheniko Karimojong elders in the nearby Nadunget to declare themselves the lawful owners of the land, which he purchased from them in March 2010 for UGX 20 million (at that time, approximately USD 8,000). In May 2011, Amodoi sold the land to the Uganda Investment Authority for UGX 623 million (approximately USD 250,000) (PPDPAA 2012; UO123; UO127).</p> <p>The transaction generated widespread discontent among the customary owners of Kautakou. In 2014, they staged a demonstration that briefly blocked Janet Museveni’s motorcade travelling between Moroto and the State Lodge at Morulinga (near Kangole) and, subsequently, initiated legal proceedings against Amodoi and the Uganda Investment Authority for fraud and illegal acquisition of their land; as of early 2017, the court case had not been resolved, although the proposed industrial park has been relocated (Tebanyang et al. 2015; UO68; UO127). The legal documents shared with me by a community representative confirm the account of the land acquisition that I relate above. (In addition, Karamoja Development Forum, a Moroto-based civil society organization, has published a report on the incident: Tebanyang et al. 2015; also UO93; UO121; UO126).</p>
Kamsalaba, Nakapiripirit District	2013 - present	Lokeris Peter and his sons: Koriang Ben and Felix Apo-Oroma	Irregular acquisition of land	Moderate	<p>Together with his sons Koriang Ben and Apo-Oroma Felix, Lokeris Peter, the Chekwii County MP and junior Minister for Minerals has used their company Welt Machinen Engineering (through which they previously supplied machinery for a widely ridiculed tractor scheme implemented as part of the Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Program) to obtain a land title and mining</p>

					license to Kamsalaba Rock (an area of approximately 32 hectares according to the Uganda Mining Cadastre Portal) near Acherir in Nakapiripirit District in 2013. As a high-ranking government official, Lokeris is claimed to have known that China Road and Bridge Corporation (CRBC) intended to use material from the rock in the construction of the tarmac road from Moroto to Nakapiripirit (UO93; UO94; UO126). According to a source close to the family, Lokeris “has access to road construction information. He told me once that the company [CRBC] budgeted [UGX] 46 billion for the stones. He spent basically nothing on the license. With the knowledge from the Ministry of Works, which as an MP and minister he’s privy to, he obviously had access to any information” (UO126). After CRBC had extracted stones—destroying Kamsalaba Rock in the process—Welt Machinen Engineering sued the company and the Ugandan government for UGX 35 billion (approximately USD 9.5 million) in compensation (NTV 2016). In late 2016, the Uganda National Roads Authority apparently agreed to pay Welt Machinen Engineering UGX 26 billion (approximately USD 7 million). Because, much like Amodoi, Lokeris and his sons obtained a land title without compensating customary owners, the local community initiated legal proceedings against them; I have not, however, been able to learn much about this court case (UO93; also UO58; UO94; UO126; UO128).
Lopei, Napak District	Unknown	Kitelore (Lokwang) Peter	Illegal acquisition of land	Moderate	Lokwang Peter (also known as Kitelore), an owner of a hardware store in Moroto, has apparently acquired a land title to either 1,000 or 8,000 hectares of de-gazetted land in Lopei Sub-county in Napak District (UO94; UO126; UO127).
Iriiri, Napak District	c. 2002-present	Gutti Andrew, Limlim Robert, Lomokol Jimmy	Irregular acquisition of land	Moderate	General Gutti Andrew (Chairman of the UPDF General Court Martial), Limlim Robert (Coordinator of the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund), Amodoi’s brother Lomokol Jimmy (Executive Director of the Karamoja Private Sector Development Promotion Centre), and Lochap Peter Ken (former Moroto LC5 Chairman and Lira RDC) are alleged to have perpetrated the largest-scale land grab in Karamoja. These four Tome Bokora government officials (from Lotome, northeast of Iriiri) laid claim to the land as

					soon as the sections of the Bokora Wildlife Reserve located in the vicinity of Iriiri Trading Centre were de-gazetted in 2002; at the time of writing, it was claimed that they own all the land in Iriiri Sub-county that is not protected through the Bokora or Pian-Upe wildlife reserves (UO58; UO94; UO127). Gutti, Limlim, Lomokol, and Lochap farm some of the land themselves; they have also allowed settlers from other parts of Karamoja—attracted by Iriiri’s fertility—to build homesteads in the area. Relatedly, migration to Karamoja’s “green belt” (caused by the destruction of pastoral livelihoods) has apparently facilitated irregular acquisition of land elsewhere in the region, including at Kautakou; many former inhabitants of that area have now settled in Iriiri (Caravani 2017; UO127).
Lorengedwat, Nakapiripirit District	2016-present	Lokong Israel	Irregular acquisition of land	Low	Lokong Israel, the owner of Shalosa Hotel in Moroto, supposedly demarcated approximately 500 hectares in Lorengedwat in Nakapiripirit District in late 2016 (UO128).
Multiple	Unknown	Cornelius Lorika Kodet	Irregular acquisition of land	Low	In addition to his short-lived investment in Jan Mangal, Cornelius Lorika Kodet is reported to have collected a large number of land holdings throughout the region (UO128).

Appendix 2. List of research respondents cited in the working paper.

Given the politically sensitive nature of the research project, no identifying information was collected during field research.

UE15, Pokot elder, interviewed in Natirira, Amudat Sub-county, on the 25th October 2016

UE17, Pokot elder, interviewed in Nabokotom, Amudat Sub-county, on the 25th October 2016

UE18, Pokot elder, interviewed in Nabokotom, Amudat Sub-county, on the 25th October 2016

UE19, Pokot elder, interviewed in Nabokotom, Amudat Sub-county, on the 25th October 2016

UE90, Matheniko Karimojong *egeteit*, interviewed in Rupa on the 10th November 2016

UE91, Matheniko Karimojong *egeteit*, interviewed in Rupa on the 10th November 2016

UE92, Matheniko Karimojong *emoruit*, interviewed in Rupa on the 10th November 2016

UO1, member of parliament from Karamoja, interviewed in Kampala on the 12th October 2016

UO2, former member of parliament from Karamoja, interviewed in Kampala on the 13th October 2016

UO3, former member of parliament from Karamoja, interviewed in Kampala on the 14th October 2016

UO4, former member of parliament from Karamoja, interviewed in Kampala on the 14th October 2016

UO5, Pokot senior LC5 official, Amudat District, interviewed in Amudat on the 17th October 2016

UO7, civil servant, Amudat District, interviewed in Amudat on the 17th October 2016

UO42, Pokot LC3 chairperson, Amudat District, interviewed in Amudat on the 24th October 2016
 UO48, Pokot NGO worker, interviewed in Amudat on the 24th October 2016
 UO53, Pokot NRM official, Amudat District, interviewed in Amudat on the 26th October 2016
 UO54, Pokot politician, interviewed in Amudat on the 26th October 2016
 UO55, Karamojong senior LC5 official, Nakapiripirit District, interviewed in Nakapiripirit on the 27th October 2016
 UO56, Karamojong senior LC5 official, Nakapiripirit District, interviewed in Nakapiripirit on the 27th October 2016
 UO58, Karamojong priest, interviewed in Nakapiripirit on the 28th October 2016
 UO59, Karamojong businessman, Nakapiripirit District, interviewed in Nakapiripirit on the 28th October 2016
 UO60, Karamojong senior LC5 official, Nakapiripirit District, interviewed in Nakapiripirit on the 28th October 2016
 UO65, Karamojong senior LC5 official, Moroto District, interviewed in Moroto on the 31st October 2016
 UO67, Karamojong senior civil servant, Napak District, interviewed in Moroto on the 2nd November 2016
 UO68, Karamojong civil servant, Moroto District, interviewed in Moroto on the 2nd November 2016
 UO69, senior civil servant, Moroto District, interviewed in Moroto on the 3rd November 2016
 UO93, Karamojong civil society activist, interviewed in Moroto on the 7th November 2016
 UO94, Karamojong politician, interviewed in Moroto on the 7th November 2016
 UO101, senior official, Moroto Municipality, interviewed in Moroto on the 8th November 2016
 UO109, LC5 councillor, Moroto District, interviewed in Moroto on the 9th November 2016
 UO113, Kuliak politician, interviewed in Moroto on the 9th November 2016
 UO114, Karamojong civil society activist, interviewed in Moroto on the 9th November 2016
 UO115, parish chief, Moroto District, interviewed in Rupa on the 10th November 2016
 UO116, parish chief, Moroto District, interviewed in Rupa on the 10th November 2016
 UO117, Karamojong LC1 chairperson, Moroto District, interviewed in Rupa on the 10th November 2016
 UO119, Kuliak politician, interviewed in Moroto on the 11th November 2016
 UO120, member of parliament from Karamoja, interviewed in Kampala on the 6th December 2016
 UO121, member of parliament from Karamoja, interviewed in Kampala on the 9th December 2016
 UO122, member of parliament from Karamoja, interviewed in Kampala on the 9th December 2016
 UO123, Karamojong lawyer, interviewed in Kampala on the 10th December 2016
 UO124, member of parliament from Karamoja, interviewed in Kampala on the 12th December 2016
 UO125, member of parliament from Karamoja, interviewed in Kampala on the 13th December 2016
 UO126, Karamojong NGO worker, interviewed in Kampala on the 14th December 2016
 UO127, Karamojong donor agency worker, interviewed in Kampala on the 15th December 2016
 UO128, Karamojong NGO worker, interviewed via Skype on the 11th January 2016

US1, senior official, Ministry of Public Service, interviewed in Kampala on the 14th November 2016

In addition, I cite the following interviews conducted in the course of a different research project: Adome Eustachio, Bokora *egeteit*, interviewed in Iriiri on the 7th October 2011
Natee Martina, Bokora Oropom *ageteit*, interviewed in Matany on the 10th October 2011
Pulkol Christopher, LC1 Secretary, Matany Trading Centre, Napak District, interviewed in Iriiri on the 10th October 2011

Endnotes

¹ I define state managers as political agents who control the Ugandan state. This category includes elected government officials, foremost among whom is President Yoweri Museveni; other members of the Museveni family; influential National Resistance Movement apparatchiks; bureaucrats; military commanders; and other powerful political agents.

² The Local Council system has five levels: 1) village (or—in Karamoja’s only municipality, Moroto—cell) LC1, which comprises an elected village leader, the LC1 chairperson, and inhabitants of the village (or cell); 2) parish (ward in Moroto Municipality) LC2, which is not functional in rural Karamoja, with an LC2 chairperson and ward or (theoretically) parish council; 3) sub-county (or division in Moroto Municipality) LC3, with an LC3 chairperson and sub-county (or division) council; 4) county (or municipality) LC4, which also only functions in Moroto Municipality, with the mayor and municipal council; and 5) district LC5, with an LC5 chairperson and district council (which elects the district vice-chairperson, speaker, and secretaries from among its members) (Green 2008; UO101; US1).

³ This process appears to be less advanced among the Pokot, whose elders have retained more influence within their communities, in part because of the weaker presence of the administrative apparatus in Amudat than in the neighbouring Karamojong areas. Thus, when government administrators tried to subvert the customary natural resource management system and force the Pokot inhabitants of Katabok in Karita Sub-county to use pastureland in the process of regeneration, local elders summoned the Karita LC3 chairman and his councillors and summarily beat them as punishment for their infractions. Their Karamojong peers, subject to somewhat tighter government control, would be unlikely to challenge agents of the Ugandan state so openly.

⁴ In addition, the process of extension of state power has reinforced, and perhaps accelerated, the fragmentation of Karimojong society into the increasingly distinct Bokora, Matheniko, and Pian groups, which appear to be gradually superseding both the single pan-Karimojong identity and the smaller sub-sections, such as the Pei, Tome, or Oropom (the latter segment is a relic of a pre-Ateker ethnic group of the same name) among the Bokora (Adome; Natee; Pulkol). The three communities’ leaders have taken advantage of the tensions between them to pursue their own agendas and encouraged the creation of Nakapiripirit and Napak districts, which has further separated the Pian and Bokora from their Matheniko cousins. At the same time, the causal connection between post-disarmament extension of state power in Karamoja and the splintering of Karimojong society should not be exaggerated. This process is just the latest stage in the long history of fragmentation of Ateker groups, in the course of which the Karimojong emerged as a discrete society following their separation from the Dodoth (and, previously, the break-up of an earlier proto-Ateker collectivity, which gave rise to both the proto-Karimojong and the parallel proto-Jie stem, from which the Jie, Jiye, Nyangatom, Toposa, and Turkana groups subsequently emerged; Gulliver 1952). The more immediate roots of the ongoing process can be found during the colonial era, when the British appointed a separate chief to govern each section and, having restricted large-scale mobility, concentrated them in discrete (and eponymous) administrative divisions: Bokora, Matheniko and Pian counties, the borders of which correspond to those of contemporary Napak, Moroto and Nakapiripirit districts, respectively (Knighton 1990).

⁵ For example, the fathers of Iriama Rose (former Woman Member of Parliament for Nakapiripirit) and Lokeris Samson (MP for Dodoth East and, previously, Kaabong District LC5 Chairman and Kotido District Resident District Commissioner) were colonial chiefs. Nakwang Christine Tubbo (Woman MP for Kaabong) is the daughter of a former MP, while the father of Aleper Simon Peter (also known as Aspro; former MP for Moroto Municipality) was an army officer. When Logiel Annie (then Woman MP for Moroto) died in 2017, she was replaced by her niece Atyang Stella. Other new leaders come from distinguished lineages: Lokii John Baptist (MP for Matheniko County),

for example, is the son of an influential elder and warrior (Ariong 2017; UO3; UO58; UO67; UO93; UO109; UO120; UO121; UO122).

⁶ Lokodo Simon (Minister of State for Ethics and Integrity and MP for Dodoth West) had served as a Catholic parish priest (he has since been defrocked); Iriama Margaret and her successor Logiel Annie (both former Women MPs for Moroto), Namoe Stella (Woman MP for Napak) and Lokoru Albert (MP for Tepeth County) had worked for or led non-governmental organizations serving their constituents (UO1; UO67; UO93; UO120; UO121; UO122; UO124; UO125). The influential Moroto NRM chairman (and former MP for Moroto Municipality, Moroto District LC5 Chairman, and presidential advisor) Lokawua Michael Wilson (also known as Lotee) was a civil servant in 1986 and quickly aligned himself with the new NRM regime. The Amudat District LC5 Chairman (and former MP for Upe County) Kiyonga Francis Adamson joined the NRM (possibly the first Pokot to do so) as soon as it established a foothold in Karamoja, as did Lokeris Samson and Pulkol David (who was appointed a deputy minister in the Ministry of Water and Minerals in 1987); all three became members of the Constituent Assembly (which met from 1994 to 1996) (Barigaba 2009; UO5; UO67; UO93; UO119; UO122).

⁷ In the early 2010s, the literacy rate in the region stood at 12 percent (WFP 2015). For example, Lokawua was the first So to attend school (under John Weatherby, the British educator and author of the only book on So culture to date, Weatherby 2012); his younger Kuliak colleague Lokwang Hillary (MP for Ik County) remains the only Ik university graduate. Pulkol David was the first Matheniko to earn a Master's degree from a foreign university, Logiel Annie—the second. Earlier in her career, Logiel, and every other female MP from Karamoja with whom she served in the 10th parliament, had attended the Catholic Kangole Girls' Secondary School in Napak District (UO119; UO120; UO121; UO125).

⁸ In addition, as they gained power, members of this small, insular, and closely connected political elite have promoted their associates and family relations. The Lokawua family has been particularly prominent: Michael Wilson Lotee's wife Iriama Margaret and her sister Namoe Stella have both served as MPs (Namoe is the current Woman MP for Napak and had preceded Iriama as the Woman MP for Moroto); his other wife Lotee Kodet Margaret is a Moroto District LC5 counsellor; Iriama and Lokawua's daughter Akol Lillian unsuccessfully contested the Tepeth County seat in the 2016 elections (which was won by Lotee's cousin Lokoru Albert). When Logiel, Iriama's successor as Woman MP for Moroto, died in 2017, she was replaced by her niece Atyang. On a smaller scale, Lokii John Baptist has helped his wife Adero Rose to become the Moroto District LC5 Vice-Chairperson and, subsequently, Speaker (Ariong 2017; UO58; UO67; UO68; UO93; UO109; UO119; UO120; UO121; UO122; UO124).

⁹ The high-ranking Karamojan government officials include people such as General Gutti Andrew (Chairman of the UPDF General Court Martial and, previously, commander of the African Union Mission to Somalia), Limlim Robert (Coordinator of the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund, a USD 100 million World Bank-funded conflict recovery project that operates in Karamoja and Northern Uganda), or Amodoi Peter (Acting Commissioner for Karamoja at the Office of the Prime Minister). Not coincidentally, these three high-ranking (Tome) Bokora Karimojong officials have been implicated in instances of land-grabbing that I detail later in the working paper.

Karamojans have also served as local government administrators, including resident district commissioners (or RDCs, representatives of the President in districts). By 2016, Karamojans (but primarily Pian Karimojong, rather than the local Pokot) formed the majority of civil servants at the Amudat District headquarters; in Moroto District, the figure approached fifty percent (UO7; UO69). In addition, large numbers of low-ranking Karamojan civil servants have been appointed to serve as parish and sub-county chiefs. These officials belong to the Ugandan civil service system that extends from the Office of the Prime Minister (which includes the dedicated Ministry for Karamoja Affairs) through the Ministry of Public Service (which—together with education, judicial, and public service commissions—is responsible for appointment and supervision of national government civil servants), district governments, and sub-county and parish officials (appointed by district service commissions—which have been established in some, but not all, Karamojan districts—created to extend the government's reach to lower-level administrative divisions) (UO53; UO101; UO115; UO116; US1).

¹⁰ Two from Abim District (MP for Labwor County and Woman Representative), two from Amudat District (MP for Upe County and Woman Representative for Amudat), four from Kaabong District (MPs for Dodoth East County, Dodoth West County and Ik County and Woman Representative for Kaabong), two from Kotido District (MP for Jie County and Woman Representative for Kotido), four from Moroto District (MPs for Moroto Municipality, Matheniko County and Tepeth County and Woman Representative for Moroto), three from Nakapiripirit District (MPs for Chekwii County and Pian County and Woman Representative for Nakapiripirit), and two from Napak District (MP for Bokora County and Woman Representative for Napak) (Parliament of Uganda 2016).

¹¹ Both offices are restricted by law to individuals who have completed secondary education, which further solidifies the small educated class's domination of Karamojan political life.

¹² For instance, Kotido RDCs Lokeris Samson and Napaja Andrew Keem chose to (successfully) contest the positions of LC5 chairmen (in Kaabong and Moroto, respectively; Lokeris subsequently became an MP). Similarly, towards the end of his long and varied political career, Pulkol David stepped down as Director-General of the External Security Organization (Uganda's intelligence agency) to become the MP for Moroto Municipality (UO65; UO67; UO122).

¹³ Most notably, long-time NRM supporters Kiyonga Francis and Pulkol David—at that time MPs for Upe County and Moroto Municipality, respectively—denounced the regime and joined the opposition Uganda People's Congress in the run-up to the 2011 elections. (Pulkol had previously helped to create another opposition party, the Forum for Democratic Change, in the mid-2000s, but defected back to the NRM prior to the 2006 elections.) A few years later, Aleper Simon Peter (Pulkol's successor as the MP for Moroto Municipality) criticized Janet Kataha Museveni's performance as the Minister for Karamoja Affairs and drew attention to her links to land-grabbing in the region. His colleague Iriama Rose (then the Woman MP for Nakapiripirit) facetiously threatened to raid Museveni's own cows if her constituents were not compensated for the livestock they had lost during disarmament (Mugerwa 2013; UO2; UO3; UO67; UO114).

¹⁴ Previously a unified society, the Karimojong have effectively splintered into three distinct ethnic groups that have emerged on the basis of the Bokora, Matheniko and Pian sections (Czuba 2011; Dyson-Hudson 1966; Gray 2000). For a long time the Bokora, more of whom have received formal education because the first missionary schools in Karamoja were established in their territory, played an outside role in Karimojong political life, leading to discontent among the other sections, especially the Matheniko, who have often been excluded from power even though Karamoja's main town, Moroto, is located in Matheniko County. For example, in the 1990s Lokawua Michael Wilson created a multiethnic coalition that excluded the Matheniko and elevated him, a So, to the position of the Moroto District LC5 Chairman. Since then, the success of such coalitions has become increasingly unlikely, as Karamojan leaders' particularistic demands (which have served Museveni's divide-and-rule strategy; Green 2008) have led to the creation of increasingly ethnically homogenous districts. In 2000, there were only two districts in Karamoja: Kotido and Moroto; five more have been created since then (Nakapiripirit in 2000, Kaabong in 2005, Abim in 2006, Amudat in 2009, Napak in 2010). Consequently, in 2016, when two out of three Moroto District representatives in parliament (Lokawua's wife Iriama Margaret and Aleper Simon Peter) were Bokora, Matheniko leaders (Logiel Annie and Angella Fred) successfully deployed interethnic tensions to mobilize their co-ethnics against the incumbents (both contests were incidentally characterized by widespread irregularities) (UO2; UO4; UO113; UO119; UO121). This Matheniko success has not, however, contained the centrifugal forces of ethnic fragmentation, which continue to exert its power in ethnic relations. Because all prominent Matheniko leaders—Logiel (and, subsequently, her niece Atyang) and Angella, as well as Moroto District LC5 Chairman Napaja Andrew Keem, Matheniko County MP Lokii John Baptist, and Lokii's (Ethur) wife and Moroto District LC5 Speaker Adero Rose—are from Nadunget Sub-county, their Rupa Sub-county co-ethnics have more recently begun to signal their discontent with the status quo (UO109; UO119; UO121).

¹⁵ Since most other ethnic groups have by now received their own districts, the small Kuliak peoples currently bear the brunt of ethnic discrimination. In Moroto District, for example, where the So form approximately a quarter of the population, only one representative of the community (one of Lokawua Michael Wilson's daughters) has been recruited to work for the district administration (UBOS 2016; UO119). Demands for redress paved the way for the creation of Kuliak counties in Kaabong and Moroto districts—Ik and Tepeth counties, respectively—and corresponding constituencies in the run-up to the 2016 elections. These new divisions were established by the national government despite vociferous objections of Dodoth and Matheniko Karimojong leaders (UO119; UO122; UO125).

¹⁶ For example, the highly respected Bokora County MP candidate Ngoya John Bosco could not outmatch the resources commanded by the wealthy sitting MP Achia Terence Naco, while the incumbent Nakapiripirit Woman Representative Iriama Rose was defeated by Anyakun Esther, who gave jerry cans of cooking oil (possibly purchased by the NGO ACIDI/VOCA as part of a development programme, but apparently distributed by Anyakun—who was at that time employed by the NGO—as a personal gift) to households in the district (Omoding 2016; UO3; UO56; UO93; UO114).

¹⁷ Thus, Lokeris Peter has been the MP for Chekwii County continuously since 1996. (Since 2009, he has also served as the Minister of State for Minerals.) More generally, eleven out of nineteen sitting MPs from Karamoja have served at least one previous term in parliament. Current LC5 chairmen have also often occupied an influential post before: for example, Kiyonga in Amudat District previously served two terms in parliament; Napaja in Moroto District was the Kotido and Nakapiripirit RDC; Nangiyo John in Nakapiripirit District has been the LC5 Chairman on and off since the district was created in 2000. (He and his main political rival Lorot John, also a former Pian

County MP, are the only people to have occupied the office of the Nakapiripirit LC5 chairman, replacing one another every few years.) (UO5; UO48; UO55; UO56; UO58; UO59; UO60; UO65).

¹⁸ The Matheniko in Moroto District replaced their Bokora representatives with their own co-ethnics. Iriama Margaret's Bokora origin was not, however, the only cause of her electoral failure. In the same election, her husband Lokawua Michael Wilson vied for the newly created position of the Tepeth County MP (he had long lobbied for the creation of a So county and constituency) in the NRM primaries; after his campaign foundered, their daughter Akol Lillian contested the seat as an independent. Iriama's cowife Lotee Kodet Margaret ran for the position of an LC5 councillor in Moroto District. In Napak District, her sister Namoe Stella sought to regain a seat in parliament. This concerted effort to dominate political life was seen by many as a sign of greed and blew up in the family's faces: Akol, Iriama, and Lokawua lost their contests. At the same time, dissatisfied voters replaced the LC5 chairmen in Amudat, Kaabong, Kotido, Moroto, and Nakapiripirit districts (UO5; UO48; UO53; UO67; UO109; UO113; UO119; UO120; UO124).

¹⁹ The leaders who have openly defied the regime and lost their positions include Aleper, Iriama Rose, Kiyonga, and Pulkol, although Kiyonga was able to successfully contest the position of Amudat LC5 chairperson five years after his defeat in the 2011 elections. In all of these contests, widespread irregularities committed at the behest of the national government were alleged (even if other factors, such as ethnicity and vote buying, contributed to these leaders' electoral failure). Most notably, after defecting from the NRM, Kiyonga was shot at on the election day in 2011 and forced to hide across the border in West Pokot. His friend Pulkol was also attacked by security forces that day (UO2; UO3; UO5; UO67; UO113).

²⁰ Kiyonga and Pulkol's attempt in the run-up to the 2011 elections to introduce multiparty politics to Karamoja was suppressed; the elections in their constituencies were probably rigged, and the candidates themselves physically assaulted (Pokot politician).

²¹ For example, the sitting MPs Aleper, Iriama Margaret, and Iriama Rose lost in the primaries to well-connected newcomers. Similarly, the then Moroto District LC5 Chairman Aol Mark Musooka was beaten in the primaries by the Kotido (and previously Nakapiripirit) District RDC Napaja.

²² The LC5 chairmanship contest in Nakapiripirit was particularly remarkable: the incumbent chairman, Lorot John, bested his longstanding political rival (and previous LC5 Chairman) Nangi John in the NRM primaries; Nangi did not accept defeat and ran in the elections as an independent candidate, even though he was simultaneously the district NRM chairman. Nangi won the contest because of his NRM connections, including the support of the Nakapiripirit District RDC (presidential representative in the district) and local army commanders. Such an outcome was not, however, permitted in the more prominent parliamentary elections—with the notable exception of Amudat District, where the successful Pokot leaders chose a different path to power than their peers elsewhere in Karamoja (UO2; UO3; UO4; UO55; UO56; UO58; UO59; UO60; UO65; UO67).

²³ Given the very small number of important Pokot political agents, most of whom I have interviewed for the project, I do not identify my sources in the paragraphs concerning political developments in Amudat District.

²⁴ The most notable among them have been Kiyonga Francis Adamson (MP for Upe County from 1996 to 2001 and from 2006 to 2011) and Lolem Micah Akasile (Upe MP from 2001 to 2006 and from 2011 to 2016).

²⁵ This very partial solution to the area's marginalization did not, however, satisfy Kiyonga, who shortly afterwards followed Pulkol into the Uganda People's Congress. After Kiyonga's defeat in the 2011 elections, he was (once again) replaced by Lolem. Following the same election, Bwatum William became Amudat's inaugural LC5 Chairman and Nauwat Rosemary—its first Woman MP.

²⁶ Even in opposition politics did Kiyonga have a Karamojong equivalent—his Matheniko Karimojong friend and colleague Pulkol.

²⁷ Kiyonga Francis Adamson became the Amudat District LC5 Chairman, Nauwat Rosemary retained her seat in parliament as the District Woman MP, and Kipterit Akorikimoi Christopher was elected the MP for Upe County. President Museveni, whose reelection they supported, received 97 percent of the vote in Amudat, more than in any other district in Uganda.

²⁸ With the partial exception of Tororo Cement's co-owner and Minister of Foreign Affairs Sam Kutesa.

²⁹ Lolem and his stepbrother Lotem Tumkori Linos, the district NRM chairman, were especially unpopular. Simultaneously, widespread allegations of corruption and mismanagement hit their intermittent ally Bwatum, the LC5 Chairman (Ariong 2016).

³⁰ In particular, despite his electoral defeat in 2011, the widely respected—although impulsive and known for holding grudges—Kiyonga commanded strong popular support. Amudat's new Woman MP, Nauwat Rosemary, also gradually made a name for herself in parliament, where she was frequently at loggerheads with Amudat's other political grandee Lolem.

³¹ In late 2015, accompanied by Lotem and Michael Wilson Lokawua, Kiyonga sought reconciliation with Museveni during a visit to the State House in Entebbe. In exchange for declaration of his support for the President's reelection campaign, Kiyonga received assurance that the government would not prevent his return to politics—and the NRM. The latter eventually proved impossible as the former MP's plans to run for the position of the LC5 chairperson in the NRM primaries were thwarted by Lotem's machinations. Lolem and Lotem's attempts to exclude their political adversaries from the party backfired, however, when Kiyonga (who chose to drop out before the primaries), Nauwat (who, according to the official, and suspect, results lost her primary race), and Kipterit Akorikimoi Christopher (who was—at least officially—defeated by Lolem in the Upe County MP primary contest) joined forces and chose to register as independent in the forthcoming elections. Thanks to Kiyonga's reconciliation with Museveni, their campaign—during which they vocally encouraged their supporters to vote for the President—was not disrupted by the security forces.

³² The political rift that has emerged in West Pokot (Czuba forthcoming) since devolution has significantly affected politics in Amudat as well. Governor Simon Kachapin and Senator John Lonyangapuo have both established important alliances with the key political figures in Amudat. In the run-up to the 2016 elections, Lonyangapuo tacitly backed Bwatum and Lolem. Lolem could count on the support of Mark Lomunokol, the MP for Kacheliba (in West Pokot), who is claimed to have funded his reelection campaign to the tune of KES 31 million (approximately USD 300,000). Kachapin openly endorsed, funded and personally campaigned for Kipterit, his clansman and business associate, and his coalition partners Kiyonga and Nauwat. In addition, the Kenyan politicians brought thousands of their supporters (many Pokot carry both Kenyan and Ugandan identification cards) across the border to vote for their preferred candidates.

³³ Accordingly, Kiyonga's campaign materials equated the LC5 (district) chairperson's office to that of a Kenyan county governor—a risky strategy given Ugandan state managers' high level of control over the country's political space and LC5 chairpersons' limited powers; as a Pokot politician points out, "Kiyonga says he's going to be the governor of Amudat. The expectation is too much. People in Kenya have seen the sweetness of devolution in Kenya, and now want to see the same in Amudat."

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