

# **The politics of extension of state power in Karamoja: the National Resistance Movement regime, disarmament, state capacity, and natural resource exploitation in northeastern Uganda**

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Karamoja, in northeastern Uganda, historically attracted little attention from the country's rulers. Since the initiation of a successful disarmament campaign in 2006, the Ugandan government has, however, greatly expanded its presence, and power, in the previously neglected region. To strengthen its grip on Karamoja, the government has created a comprehensive system of control and built infrastructure that connects the region with the rest of the country. Extension of state power in Karamoja has greatly benefitted the Ugandan political elite, whose members have engaged in exploitation of the region's rich natural resources through large-scale land acquisition and mining. It has also facilitated international and nongovernmental organisations' efforts to provide public services to the region's inhabitants. Karamoja's political transformation illuminates the key characteristics of the contemporary Ugandan political system: well-developed coercive capacity, uneven administrative capacity oriented towards maintenance of the ruling National Resistance Movement regime's power, and delegation of responsibility for public service provision to nonstate actors, all of which allow unconstrained pursuit of wealth by the political elite.

## **Introduction**

Karamoja, in northeastern Uganda, occupied a marginal position within the country for a hundred years after the region's incorporation into the British-controlled Uganda Protectorate in the early twentieth century. Difficult to access and culturally and economically distinct from the rest of Uganda, the restive and often violent region elicited little interest from the country's colonial and postcolonial rulers. The efforts that successive governments undertook to address Karamoja's poverty and limit conflict were generally half-hearted and ineffectual. At the turn of the twenty-first century, however, the Ugandan state's attitude towards the region changed radically. In 2006, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government of President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni launched a brutal, but highly effective disarmament campaign, which has resulted in thoroughgoing transformation of the political order in Karamoja.

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In the course of the process of extension of state power, as I refer to this radical transformation, the government has deployed in the previously neglected region large numbers of military personnel and constructed a new administrative apparatus. The strengthening of the Ugandan state's governing capacity has allowed it to establish firm control over Karamoja, build physical infrastructure that connects the region to the rest of the country and facilitates natural resource exploitation, and bring security to Karamojans, who now also receive some public services that are mostly provided by international governmental (IGOs) and nongovernmental (NGOs) organisations. I argue that this process represents a crystallisation of decades of efforts to construct a political system that simultaneously assures the political dominance of President Museveni and other members of the Ugandan political elite, protects their material interests, and limits the need for investment in functions of the state that do not serve these twin objectives. Despite the region's historical marginality, Karamoja's transformation illuminates the most distinctive features of the Ugandan political system constructed by the NRM regime. It also clarifies the apparent contradictions that characterise that system according to the recent scholarly literature on the country's politics.

To explain how the regime operates, I examine the causes, dynamics, and consequences of the process of extension of state power in Karamoja. To this end, I document the human rights violations that the government has committed in the region and the personal investments made there by the most influential members of the Ugandan political elite. I also examine the nature and functions of the state apparatus in Karamoja. This investigation elucidates the objectives that the political elite has sought to realise in the region. I argue that they initiated disarmament in order to, *first*, complete the process of establishing complete control over Uganda's territory and, *second*, enrich themselves through exploitation of Karamoja's natural resources. In the process, they have

constructed a comprehensive system of control intended to preclude Karamojan resistance to their actions and capitalised on IGOs/NGOs' willingness to perform most of those state functions that are not directly oriented towards control over the population and facilitation of resource extraction.

The key components of the process of extension of state power in Karamoja—deployment of a capable coercive apparatus, development of more limited administrative capacity aimed at protection of the regime and elite interests, application of a particular extraversion tactic that involves delegation of the responsibility for public service provision to nonstate actors, and accumulation of wealth by members of the political elite—are not unique to the region. On the contrary, they are the defining characteristics of the contemporary Ugandan political system put into unusually stark relief by the speed and scale of Karamoja's transformation and the relative lack of scrutiny that the regime has faced in the remote region.

The article is based on research carried out between 2016 and 2018. Data collection included interviews with politicians, administrators, civil society leaders, and IGO/NGO staff that I conducted in Kampala and in Amudat, Moroto, and Nakapiripirit districts in Karamoja in 2016. The article also draws on my earlier research in the region in 2011 and 2012.

### **The Ugandan political system**

Disarmament in Karamoja is the most recent major conflict containment campaign that the NRM regime launched within Uganda's borders. Together with earlier similar initiatives, it greatly reduced insecurity across the country and resulted in extension of the Ugandan state's ability to govern its territory. For this reason, despite the bilateral donors and IGO/NGOs' concerns about the human rights abuses committed by the Ugandan army, the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF, until 1995 called the National Resistance Army), government actions—represented as

peace-building and state-building efforts—have been met with general approval by the regime’s external supporters determined to contribute to the development of the Ugandan state’s capacity. Such backers’ preoccupation with state capacity—that is, a government’s ability to govern its population and territory through the exercise of, in Michael Mann’s terms, either despotic or infrastructural power<sup>1</sup>—is rooted in the scholarly literature, which has identified a strong positive relationship between state capacity and development.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, state weakness, in Uganda and elsewhere, is commonly seen as problematic and capacity-building efforts intended to overcome it have acquired a normative dimension in the development discourse.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, every year donors spend approximately 15 billion United States dollars (USD), or a quarter of all international aid, on state capacity development.<sup>4</sup> In Uganda, a single programme, the Democratic Governance Facility, has a budget of approximately 250 million euro (for the period from 2011 to 2022).<sup>5</sup> Capacity-building has also received growing scholarly attention,<sup>6</sup> including among Africanists.<sup>7</sup> In particular, the ongoing efforts to increase the capacity to govern the previously neglected dryland region that includes both Karamoja and neighbouring areas in Ethiopia and Kenya have recently attracted interest from scholars.<sup>8</sup>

While donors and IGOs/NGOs have generally uncritically accepted the benevolence of capacity-building efforts, the scholarly literature indicates that the dominant approach conflates distinct attributes of the state. Mann, after all, distinguishes between two types of power. The despotic power of the political elite is ‘the range of actions which the elite is empowered to undertake without routine, institutionalised negotiation with social groups.’<sup>9</sup> The exercise of this power typically involves the use or threat of force applied by security services such as the military and police, to which I refer as the coercive apparatus of the state, but civilian bureaucracy, or the administrative apparatus, can serve as an equally important tool of domination. The capabilities of

these twin apparatuses of the state determine the level of its coercive and administrative capacity, respectively. Infrastructural power is ‘the capacity of the state to actually penetrate civil society’<sup>10</sup> with the help of the administrative apparatus—which performs, therefore, a dual function—through which the state engages with the population and provides it with public services. (To clarify, for Mann construction and maintenance of ‘communications infrastructures’ such as roads, which I detail in the case of Karamoja, is not necessarily concomitant with increase in infrastructural power, although it can be used by some rulers to penetrate society.) While increase in the state’s infrastructural power can have positive developmental outcomes, the effects of despotic power tend to be more socially detrimental. This classification helps to unravel the seemingly paradoxical features of the contemporary Ugandan political system that have been highlighted by the recent literature on the country.

The NRM regime is commonly portrayed as centralised and personalised, with essentially all political power in Uganda vested in President Museveni, who has controlled the entire structure of the Ugandan state since 1986.<sup>11</sup> Neither competing political agents nor a popular revolt are likely to remove him from power, although Museveni—and, with him, his family and other members of his inner circle—prudently maintains a well-funded, equipped, and trained coercive apparatus in the form of the UPDF, Uganda Police, and various paramilitary organisations. Gradually refined in the course of the regime’s three decades in power, these bodies provide it with well-developed coercive capacity that allows it to project its despotic power throughout Uganda’s territory (and, at times, beyond).<sup>12</sup> The regime readily uses the coercive apparatus to violently contain any challenges to its control over the country. Frequent application of force has helped to embed the regime’s dominance in Uganda’s political culture, to the point that latent physical presence of the coercive apparatus successfully intimidates most potential objectors,<sup>13</sup>

reducing the impact of the gradual loss of popular legitimacy by the regime.<sup>14</sup> The coercive capacity—and with it, the despotic power—of the regime and the state it controls is, therefore, effectively unchallenged.

In contrast, infrastructural power remains far less developed, both in terms of institutionalisation of the regime's dominance and administrative capacity of the state apparatus. The NRM, the ruling party, is the hegemonic political organisation in the country, and an impressive electoral machine.<sup>15</sup> However, its weak internal coherence fuels tensions between its influential members, most notably legislators, and the Museveni-controlled executive.<sup>16</sup> Despite his dominant position, the president has rarely tried to contain such internal tensions and enforce effective control over the party.<sup>17</sup> This stance would be puzzling if he sought to increase the infrastructural power at his disposal and use the NRM to effectively penetrate Ugandan society. Given the control that he enjoys over the capable coercive apparatus, Museveni has, however, no compelling reason to develop the NRM into a coherent political organisation, at least as long as the party continues to win elections.

The administrative capacity of the Ugandan state is also uneven. The regime has constructed a multilevel administrative apparatus that, in the form of the Local Council (LC) system, extends throughout Uganda's entire territory and connects the national political elite led by Museveni with local subordinate elites responsible for the system's operation, and allows the national elite to maintain a firm grip on the country.<sup>18</sup> There also exist well-functioning 'pockets of effectiveness,' supported by influential IGOs/NGOs, within the apparatus that have been instrumental in the regime's efforts to retain power.<sup>19</sup> The multiple institutional reforms intended to increase the capacity of the broader administrative apparatus have, however, found limited success. The Ugandan state's ability to deliver public services and the quality of those services are

low.<sup>20</sup> The administrative capacity of the Ugandan state is, therefore, highly limited except where it helps the political elite to exercise its domination over the country. In other words, the administrative apparatus is only well developed to the extent to which it reinforces the regime's despotic power, while the Ugandan state's infrastructural power is low except where it has been built as a by-product of efforts to increase despotic power and/or as a result of pressure from external supporters.<sup>21</sup>

The NRM regime's dedicated pursuit of foreign assistance has been crucial to its survival.<sup>22</sup> The current high capacity of the coercive apparatus is largely the result of the provision of funding, training, and equipment, both in Uganda and during peacekeeping missions elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa, by bilateral donors. Their need for the Ugandan contributions to those missions and the regime's role as a stabilising force in its volatile international neighbourhood has muted the criticism of the use of the coercive apparatus against the Ugandan population.<sup>23</sup> External support has, therefore, directly helped Museveni and his circle to attain the impressive degree of despotic power that they now possess. Its effect has also been more indirect. *First*, donors and IGOs/NGOs have contributed to the creation of the valuable 'pockets of effectiveness.' *Second*, IGOs/NGOs have provided a significant proportion of public services in Uganda, thereby lessening pressure on the regime to increase infrastructural power,<sup>24</sup> although Karamoja is unique in its near-total reliance on nonstate service delivery. The regime's skilful manipulation of its external backers represents a successful—and novel in its application—tactic of extraversion, African rulers' classic tool involving the creation and capture of rents generated by dependency on international actors.<sup>25</sup>

This tactic has created opportunities for the political elite to redirect resources for its members' personal use. External assistance has served as a source of wealth that can be

misappropriated (including, notably, through theft of donor funds allocated for the Peace, Recovery and Development Programme, or PRDP, in Karamoja and northern Uganda).<sup>26</sup> The absence of strong incentives to develop infrastructural power has also facilitated embezzlement of state resources. Although most of the detailed evidence of elite accumulation of wealth comes from the first two decades after the regime gained power, the prevalence of misappropriation of public funds and other resources by the Museveni family and their peers in the elite, as well as of corruption and patronage more broadly, is widely recognised.<sup>27</sup> It also appears to be increasing,<sup>28</sup> which is not surprising given the incentives faced by most members of the political elite. They know that, despite Museveni's advanced age, they are unlikely to succeed him, as the President is grooming his eldest son Muhoozi Kainerugaba, or possibly his powerful wife (and former Minister for Karamoja Affairs) Janet Kataha Museveni, to serve as his heir.<sup>29</sup> Former acolytes who thought themselves capable of displacing Museveni, notably the President's onetime doctor Kizza Besigye and former prime minister Amama Mbabazi, not only failed in their quest for political dominance, but, by challenging Museveni, also excluded themselves from the elite and lost their previous influence.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, loyal lieutenants, some of whom have served Museveni continuously since the Bush War (1981-1986) that brought them to power, are unlikely to be removed from the elite. Since their quest for power is either fully realised (for Museveni) or necessarily restricted (for other members of the elite), pursuit of wealth, as the only means through which they can further improve their standing, has become an important, and perhaps primary, objective for Uganda's rulers. Furthermore, given the regime's despotic power, there are effectively no political restrictions on personal enrichment. In fact, his underlings' corruption serves Museveni as a convenient tool for ensuring their loyalty.

The key aspects of extension of state power in Karamoja that I detail below—strong coercive capacity, uneven administrative capacity, a particular extraversion tactic, and personal enrichment by members of the political elite—are, therefore, present elsewhere in Uganda and constitute the defining characteristics of the country’s political system. The system is the product of a coherent and effective political strategy that Museveni and other members of the NRM political elite have crafted in the course of their three decades in power. The strategy’s gradual development can be discerned in the period preceding disarmament in Karamoja. For instance, the regime skilfully combined government-administered violence and service provision by IGOs/NGOs during the war in northern Uganda.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, members of the political elite successfully used their control over the Ugandan security forces to enrich themselves during the interventions in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the 1990s.<sup>32</sup> By the time the most recent disarmament initiative was launched in Karamoja, the strategy had been extensively trialled and refined. Its crystallisation in the process of extension of state power in the region demonstrates that the apparent contradictions of the Ugandan political system in fact effectively serve the interests of the country’s political elite.

In this respect, Karamoja—typically represented as radically different from the rest of Uganda<sup>33</sup>—is not a ‘region of exception,’<sup>34</sup> but a ‘locus of intensity,’ where the development of the system’s key features has been especially advanced, rapid, and transformative. Due to the region’s remoteness, the regime’s exercise of its despotic power has been less encumbered there than elsewhere in the country. Not just a significant proportion, but essentially all public services in Karamoja are provided by IGOs/NGOs. Finally, the political elite’s wealth accumulation efforts in the region have focused on exploitation of its rich natural resources, which tends to be relatively easy to observe. Such efforts and, for that matter, comparable processes of extension of state power

oriented towards resource exploitation are far from unusual, as the growing literature on territorialisation—that is, resource control strategies that involve using bounded spaces for particular outcomes<sup>35</sup>—has demonstrated. The success of the Ugandan political elite’s strategy to secure its political dominance and material interests without unnecessary investment in the development of infrastructural power provides a plausible explanation for the ubiquity of these efforts in authoritarian settings.

### **Disarmament**

The Ugandan state’s presence in the territory that is now Karamoja goes back to the early twentieth century, when the region’s ethnically heterogeneous and mostly pastoralist population<sup>36</sup> was incorporated into the British-controlled Uganda Protectorate.<sup>37</sup> The Protectorate administration successfully brought the Karamojans under its control, but had no desire to invest heavily in the semi-arid territory, which at that time presented few economic opportunities.<sup>38</sup> Although the first government of independent Uganda, formed at independence in 1962 and headed by Milton Obote, was determined to resolve the problem of the region’s ‘backwardness,’ its efforts failed to produce the intended results.<sup>39</sup> Instead, cattle raiding and interethnic conflict increased in Karamoja. Exasperated with Karamojan resistance, the government became increasingly heavy-handed. Idi Amin’s administration, in power after 1971, continued its predecessor regime’s brutality.<sup>40</sup> These demonstrations of the government’s despotic power proved, however, short-lived. Following the collapse of the Amin regime in 1979, Karamojan communities rearmed themselves. The 1980s, 1990s, and the first half of the 2000s saw essentially uninterrupted raiding by different Karamojan groups of their neighbours both within the region and in adjacent areas of Uganda.<sup>41</sup>

The Ugandan state lost its tenuous hold on Karamoja. The post-Amin governments of Obote (who regained power in 1979) and Museveni (after 1986) made unenthusiastic efforts to re-establish control over the region through disarmament campaigns undertaken in 1984, 1987, 2001-2002, and 2004-2006. Encumbered by inadequate financial and political commitment, these initiatives ended in failure, underscoring both the continuing weakness of the Ugandan state in Karamoja and its lack of interest in the region.<sup>42</sup> After the failure of the last of them became apparent, the NRM government abruptly changed its attitude towards Karamoja.

In May 2006, President Museveni directed the UPDF to commence forcible ‘cordon and search’ disarmament operations. In contrast to previous initiatives, the new disarmament drive was backed by strong political commitment and financial resources sufficient to deploy tens of thousands of military personnel (perhaps as many as 50,000-60,000) to Karamoja for an extended period of time.<sup>43</sup> Disarmament operations continue in a reduced form to this day, but the UPDF had achieved most of its objectives by 2010. By 2012, 30,000 out of the estimated 50,000 guns in Karamojans’ possession had been confiscated.<sup>44</sup> More importantly, for the first time since the colonial era, large-scale raiding in Karamoja had ceased. Effectively under military occupation, Karamoja was firmly in government hands.<sup>45</sup> Since then, stability has been ensured by collective punishment mechanisms enforced by UPDF soldiers, whose continuing presence is also necessary to protect Karamojans from attacks by the still-armed neighbouring communities in Kenya and South Sudan.<sup>46</sup> From the government’s perspective, this display of despotic might has, therefore, been an unqualified success. Both for Karamojans and for the Ugandan state, its cost has, however, been very high.

In the course of disarmament, the UPDF routinely committed serious human rights violations. These abuses have been relatively well documented, although to my knowledge no

effort has been made to calculate their total human toll. In Online Appendix 1, I present a list of incidents recorded in the scholarly literature, INGO/NGO reports, and the media. Although fragmentary, the data permit a cautious estimation of the number of victims of human rights abuses committed by Ugandan military personnel in Karamoja: at the very least around one thousand—and conceivably several thousand—deaths and many thousands of cases of beating, injury, sexual violence, torture, displacement, and extrajudicial detention can be attributed to the UPDF.

Disarmament also directly contributed to the erosion of pastoral livelihood practices, on which most Karamojans have historically relied for survival. Many inhabitants of the region lost their livestock not only to armed neighbours, but also to the UPDF. There is considerable evidence that UPDF officers, some of them high-ranking, were involved in theft of cattle, which they either sold or transported to their homes in Western Uganda.<sup>47</sup> In addition, confiscation of guns and creation of livestock kraals by the UPDF restricted mobility, essential to Karamojan pastoralists' livelihoods, further contributing to the weakening of pastoralism in the region.

The cost of disarmament was also high for the Ugandan state. *First*, local resistance to the brutality of UPDF operations led to deaths of military personnel. According to the data released by the UPDF, which almost certainly understate the real number of its casualties, 269 soldiers were killed and 289 injured in Karamoja between 2001 and 2011.<sup>48</sup> *Second*, although the Ugandan government has never disclosed the financial cost of disarmament, especially following the cessation of hostilities in northern Uganda in 2006 the UPDF operations in Karamoja consumed a significant proportion of the security sector budget, which in the mid-2000s constituted approximately 10 percent of the country's overall budget.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, and *third*, the human rights violations committed by the UPDF in 2006 and 2007 attracted some scrutiny from the international community that has been so instrumental in the regime's survival.<sup>50</sup>

Coming after decades of apparent lack of interest in Karamoja and its inhabitants, the Ugandan government's determination to effect disarmament in the region despite its high cost and the possibility of negative repercussions represented an abrupt policy reversal. The scholarly literature, which has extensively documented the disarmament process, has not, however, investigated the causes of this shift.

The NRM regime signaled its commitment to establishing control over Uganda's entire territory as early as in the 1980s. To this end, it made several attempts to disarm Karamojans, but initially it lacked the required coercive capacity. As a former member of parliament (MP) from the region observes, 'when Museveni took over in 1986, he wanted to use the same rudimentary approach as Obote and Amin, and he had it rough. A lot of soldiers were killed' (by the Karamojans).<sup>51</sup> The impressive coercive apparatus of the Ugandan state was only developed gradually in the course of the regime's struggle to contain multiple challenges to its survival. The NRM's Bush War victory led to the initiation of the war in northern Uganda and a myriad of smaller insurgencies across the country.<sup>52</sup> The Rwandan and Ugandan governments' interventions in the DRC similarly required considerable attention.<sup>53</sup> Even after the capacity of the Ugandan coercive apparatus had increased, the regime had to, therefore, consider its priorities:

The question was: which war do you fight? Karamoja wasn't a war. [...] Karamoja guns weren't such a big issue for the government, but once guns began to fall quiet elsewhere in Uganda, the government decided to make Karamoja part of Uganda.<sup>54</sup>

It was only after the Ugandan withdrawal from the DRC and gradual winding-down of the war in northern Uganda that the government could reallocate resources and complete the task that it had set itself two decades before.

According to several research respondents whom I interviewed for the project, the political elite's concern with personal enrichment through exploitation of Karamoja's natural resources was equally important.<sup>55</sup> I reproduce two especially insightful passages from my conversations with them below:

My perspective is that the NRM spent so much money on disarmament because... you pacify the area, then you get access to resources.<sup>56</sup>

They had known what is here, so it was just a matter of time for them to come here. The only stumbling block for them was the presence of the gun. [...] They knew those minerals. They knew how much they would get.<sup>57</sup>

Prior to 2006, members of the political elite could help themselves to assets that they had inherited from their predecessors, such as the state-owned Uganda Commercial Bank (UCB), which was taken over, and subsequently sold, by Museveni's brother General Caleb Akandwanaho, commonly known as Salim Saleh (his *nom de guerre*).<sup>58</sup> Similarly, the interventions in the DRC provided both rents benefitting members of the Ugandan political elite and their associates *and* significant contributions to Uganda's budget.<sup>59</sup> By the mid-2000s, however, many existing government assets had already been pilfered, while changes in the international environment made subsequent external interventions, in the DRC or elsewhere, untenable. In this context, the prospect of exploitation of Karamoja's natural resources proved difficult to resist. I document the political elite's involvement in mineral extraction and large-scale land acquisition in the region in the last section of the article, following a discussion of the policies enacted to facilitate those investments.

### **Government policies after disarmament**

As disarmament was gradually winding down, President Museveni signalled the region's continuing importance to the NRM regime by appointing his wife Janet Kataha Museveni to the position of Minister for Karamoja Affairs in 2009 (initially as a Minister of State for Karamoja and, after 2011, cabinet-level Minister for Karamoja Affairs<sup>60</sup>). The Ugandan newspaper *The Observer* has offered a pithy summary of her accomplishments:

A close look at key areas in Karamoja will tell you that it is only the occupants of her 15 or so vehicle motorcade, politicians, and the not-so-analytical that will say Karamoja is different from then, and even so, as a direct result of her work. A visit at any time to Naro Apotiyaro village in the backyard of the plush State [L]odge in Morulinga, Napak [D]istrict, will shock you with signs of death from hunger and poverty. This is where the minister executes most of her Karamoja missions. And all said and done, it is likely that the minister's tenure will mostly be remembered for her motorcades, the tight security that accompanied her presence, inaccessibility, and the flights into the region to leapfrog over the muddy roads and bridgeless rivers.<sup>61</sup>

Analysis of the NRM government's post-disarmament activities in Karamoja confirms *The Observer* contributor's suspicion that poverty alleviation and provision of public services to the region's inhabitants are of limited importance to the NRM regime. Instead, the government has focused its attention on the construction of an administrative apparatus through which it can effectively control the region *and* on implementation of policies that, on the one hand, enforce Karamojans' compliance with its wishes and, on the other, facilitate exploitation of Karamoja's natural resources.

To this end, the government has extended to Karamoja the Local Council (LC) system of administration it had previously established elsewhere in Uganda. For the past decade, the LC1 (village) and LC3 (sub-county) chairpersons have served as the primary intermediaries between the state and the region's population, especially in smaller, more isolated settlements. These

elected officials are currently being slowly complemented by administrators—parish and sub-county chiefs—recruited to directly represent the interests of the Ugandan state in individual settlements.<sup>62</sup> These local administrators form the lower echelons of an emergent Karamojan political elite that represents the interests of the regime in the region and, in return, is rewarded with government positions as well as, in some cases, considerable wealth. The higher ranks of this subordinate elite comprise MPs from the region as well as bureaucrats and elected LC5 (district) officials, especially the LC5 chairpersons, who administer Karamoja's districts. Mirroring the process of districtisation that has enhanced the regime's ability to control other parts of Uganda,<sup>63</sup> since 2000 the number of districts in the region has grown from two to seven (Abim, Amudat, Kaabong, Kotido, Moroto, Nakapiripirit, and Napak). Nearly all elected officials are NRM members, but the party's structures in Karamoja are rudimentary and, between election campaigns, usually dormant. Opposition parties, which are allowed to operate elsewhere in Uganda, have effectively no presence in the region.<sup>64</sup>

Karamojan officials deliver few public services; instead, they serve as useful intermediaries between the state and the region's population, reporting signs of disaffection to their superiors and ensuring compliance with government policies. The primary purpose of the administrative apparatus constructed in Karamoja has been, therefore, to complement the security forces in the exercise of the Ugandan state's despotic power. The control that the state exercises through administrators and Karamojan politicians is reinforced by the continuing presence of the UPDF and gradual expansion of the police force, which readily employ force when necessary but—since the memories of disarmament-era brutality remain fresh in Karamoja—more commonly rely on the threat of decisive punishment of noncompliance.<sup>65</sup>

The government's representatives in Karamoja also help it to implement the key policies that it has pursued in the region since disarmament: promotion of agricultural production and sedentarisation *and* infrastructure development. Recurrent crop failure in the region—most of which, due to low and highly-variable rainfall, cannot support reliable and sustainable agriculture—has not stopped the NRM government's efforts to transform Karamojans into settled agriculturalists.<sup>66</sup> These attempts have had no impact on crop yields or food security in Karamoja, where food assistance continues to be essential. There is, however, reason to believe that government policies have further undermined the basis of Karamojans' pastoral livelihoods.<sup>67</sup> Along with the administrative and coercive apparatuses of the Ugandan state, subversion of local livelihoods through promotion of agricultural production and sedentarisation constitutes an important component of the system of control that the government has established in Karamoja. It serves to reduce the threats posed to the regime by pastoralists' need for weapons and the existence of an independent material base. *First*, as long as Karamojans own livestock, they need guns to protect themselves from raids and restock following the frequent shocks inherent to the region's non-equilibrium ecosystem;<sup>68</sup> such weapons can easily be turned against the government. *Second*, economic autonomy from the Ugandan state made possible by successful continuation of Karamojans' pastoral livelihoods might, similarly, help them to challenge the NRM regime's dominance. Conversely, the continuing poverty and weakness of the Karamojan population helps the regime to maintain its control over the region.

Most of the other government investment in Karamoja has been focused on construction of roads and extension of Uganda's power grid to the region. The tarmac road that will eventually connect Moroto, Karamoja's largest town, to the Ugandan road network is currently under construction. Its first section, from Moroto to Nakapiripirit, was completed—at the cost of 184

billion Ugandan shillings (UGX), or approximately USD 51 million—in 2016.<sup>69</sup> Other transport corridors, including the roads from Kaabong through Kotido to Moroto and from Kosiroi through Amudat to Nakapiripirit, have also been upgraded. Amudat, Kangole, Moroto, Matany, Nakapiripirit, and a few smaller trading centres, as well as some government institutions and mining operations were connected to the electric grid between 2012 and 2013.<sup>70</sup> These costly investments have made a limited contribution to the wellbeing of Karamojans, few of whom can afford to travel. With the exception of food assistance, little food consumed in rural areas originates outside Karamoja. However, the road construction projects have greatly enhanced access to major natural resource extraction areas, especially those in the previously difficult-to-access Kaabong District and on Mount Moroto, and the security forces' mobility. Similarly, fewer than 2,000 households are connected to the power line that runs from Moroto to Soroti. Electricity supply is, however, important for mining operations and for the comfort of their workers, businesspeople, and the functionaries of the administrative and coercive apparatuses.<sup>71</sup> In the words of a Karamojan MP, 'some of those big people in the government have interest in the region. They know that if they don't invest in good infrastructure they can't tap into this wealth. This is the key reason the government is investing.'<sup>72</sup>

Although the Ugandan government's interest in public service provision in Karamoja has been limited, it has successfully taken advantage of other organisations' willingness to contribute to alleviating Karamojans' poverty and illbeing. As a result, while the government has paid for the aforementioned infrastructure projects itself and covered some of the cost of promotion of crop cultivation, almost all other services provided to Karamojans are funded by bilateral donors and typically administered by IGOs/NGOs.<sup>73</sup> The post-disarmament stability and security have allowed considerable expansion of public service provision, including its most important modality,

food assistance, although—despite the hundreds of millions of dollars spent by donors—undernutrition patterns in the region have remained unchanged.<sup>74</sup> Donors and IGOs/NGOs have also constructed health centres (some of them run by IGO/NGOs) and schools, but the structures are heavily underutilised because the government remains responsible for recruitment of staff and provision of equipment.<sup>75</sup> Karamoja remains one of the poorest parts of the world: 75% of its inhabitants live below the poverty line (50% more than in other Ugandan regions). The literacy rate stands at 12% and, since only 51% of children are enrolled in (very poor-quality) primary schools (compared to 81% elsewhere in Uganda), is likely to remain low for a long time.<sup>76</sup> With the notable exception of the reduction of insecurity, ordinary Karamojans have seen at best minimal improvement to their living standards. In contrast, the Ugandan political elite has greatly benefited from extension of state power in the region.

### **Natural resource exploitation**

As long as Karamoja remains under uncontested government control, the region offers the Ugandan political elite outstanding opportunities for personal enrichment. Although exploration remains in early stages, deposits of gold, silver, copper, iron, titanium, manganese, niobium, tantalite, chrome, rare earth and radioactive minerals, precious and semi-precious stones (ruby, sapphire, red and green garnet, labradorite, fluorite, quartz), and limestone and marble have been identified in Karamoja. Moroto District alone contains at least thirty-seven million tonnes of limestone and marble; the quantities of the other minerals are unknown, but likely significant.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, the government believes that the Kadam-Moroto sedimentary basin in Moroto and Nakapiripirit districts may contain large commercially-viable deposits of petroleum, although no discoveries have been made to date.<sup>78</sup> In addition to mineral resources, Karamoja is potentially an

excellent setting for the creation of private livestock ranches and, in the western ‘green belt,’ agricultural production on land that—due to many Karamojans’ semi-nomadic mobility patterns and historical reliance on pastoralism—the government considers to be ‘empty.’<sup>79</sup>

To harness these opportunities, members of the Ugandan elite have acquired exploration and mining licenses that cover most of the region’s territory, as well as titles to particularly valuable tracts of land.<sup>80</sup> Exploitation of the natural resources that this land contains is highly profitable, although the wealth that it generates is impossible to estimate given the secretive nature of the phenomenon, which is carried out by privately-held companies. Investors involved in exploitation of natural resources are greatly assisted by Ugandan law, which provides almost no protections for local populations.<sup>81</sup> In addition, to further facilitate land acquisition and mineral exploration, 53.8% of Karamoja’s land area, previously protected as wildlife conservation areas, was de-gazetted in 2002, in the course of the first (and ultimately unsuccessful) disarmament drive undertaken by the NRM regime in the twenty-first century.<sup>82</sup> The 2006 disarmament campaign followed soon after. As a result, the number of mining operations and large-scale land acquisitions in the region has increased rapidly in recent years. In 1996, only thirteen companies held mining or exploration licenses in Karamoja. By 2010, thirty-eight licenses covering 6,897 square kilometres (a quarter of Karamoja’s territory) had been granted.<sup>83</sup> In 2014, over 100 mining companies were reported to operate and in 2015—140.<sup>84</sup> Estimation of the area of land acquired in an illegal—or, at least, legally questionable—manner is far more difficult. Anecdotal evidence suggests, however, that the phenomenon has grown exponentially since 2002.<sup>85</sup>

Most major investors involved in mining or large-scale land acquisition in Karamoja belong to the political elite: they are members of the Museveni family, cabinet ministers, other senior government officials, and businesspeople.<sup>86</sup> I document a number of such cases below; none

of them has been previously reported in the scholarly literature. In Online Appendix 2, I summarise provided evidence and outline the strength of evidence relating to each case.

The Museveni family's involvement in exploitation of Karamoja's mineral deposits goes back to the 1990s, when Salim Saleh, the President's brother, formed a partnership with Branch Energy of South Africa to develop a gold mine at Lopedo in (what is now) Kaabong District.<sup>87</sup> There is no evidence linking Salim Saleh to ongoing gold extraction at the site, but it seems likely that he retained his stake in the operation, which continues to be known in Karamoja as 'the first family's mine.'<sup>88</sup> The family's interest in Karamoja's gold likely extends beyond Lopedo. The President's son (and presumed heir) Muhoozi Kainerugaba, at that time a lieutenant colonel in charge of the 13<sup>th</sup> Battalion of the Special Forces, is known to have operated in Tapach in Moroto District in 2010<sup>89</sup> and is claimed to have identified the area's mining potential during that time. A few years later (perhaps around 2014) he apparently established a gold mine on Mount Moroto that operates disguised as UPDF barracks.<sup>90</sup>

There is far more evidence concerning another investment connected to the Museveni family. In 2012, two companies, Feronia Uganda Limited and Pro-Solutions Limited—which are widely believed to be controlled by Salim Saleh's wife Jovia Akandwanaho—acquired land titles (for a 99-year lease) to 6,130 hectares of land at Kamacharin and 2,001 hectares at Kakomongole in Nakapiripirit District.<sup>91</sup> The sale was conducted by Nakapiripirit District officials without following due process specified in Ugandan law, which offers rudimentary protections to customary land owners.<sup>92</sup> In addition, unidentified members of the Museveni family have supposedly acquired a tract of land in Karenga in Kaabong District, close to the borders of Kidepo National Park, with the intention of transforming it into farmland.<sup>93</sup> As the Minister for Karamoja

Affairs, Janet Kataha Museveni has also occasionally been linked to corrupt behaviour in the region.<sup>94</sup>

Other members of the Ugandan political elite have also benefitted from exploitation of Karamoja's natural resources. Tororo Cement—co-owned by Sam Kutesa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs (as well as Muhoozi Kainerugaba's father-in-law)—has continuously operated in the region longer than any other mining company.<sup>95</sup> Mount Moroto appears to be the source of the majority of the Tororo Cement's supply of limestone, which it needs to manufacture its eponymous product. The company is the largest cement producer in Uganda and the sixth largest taxpayer in the country.<sup>96</sup> In addition, Jan Mangal, a company co-owned by the State Minister for Housing Engola Sam, operated a gold mine at Nakiloro and Nakibat in Moroto District from 2012 to 2015 or 2016.<sup>97</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The Ugandan political elite's investments in Karamoja have greatly benefitted from the political system established by the NRM regime and replicated in the region in the course of the process of extension of state power that began in 2006. The relative lack of scrutiny faced by the regime in Karamoja and the speed and scale of the process throw the key features of the political system, the product of a coherent and effective strategy—intended to secure the political elite's dominance and material interests *and* limit investment in the development of infrastructural power—that the regime has gradually developed in the course of its three decades in power, into especially sharp relief.

At the cost of extensive human rights violations, the well-developed coercive apparatus that the regime had gradually built following the Bush War has allowed it to establish firm control over the previously restive region. Its secure hold on power has, in turn, created favourable

conditions for the construction of a large administrative apparatus through which the regime governs Karamoja. This apparatus has been responsible for the efforts to turn the region's inhabitants into settled agriculturalists—another key component of the system of control established in Karamoja—which have further weakened Karamojans' position vis-à-vis the powerful government. A decade after disarmament began, more so than elsewhere in Uganda, the despotic power that the regime exercises in the region through this system of control effectively precludes any resistance to the political elite's dominance.

The infrastructural power of the Ugandan state remains, meanwhile, even less developed in Karamoja than in other parts of the country. Since the primary purpose of the administrative apparatus is reinforcement of the regime's despotic power in the region, public services that directly benefit local people—including those delivered by the government elsewhere in Uganda—are almost exclusively funded, and often provided, by donors and IGOs/NGOs, which have greatly expanded their presence in Karamoja after the UPDF successfully contained insecurity. Nonstate public service provision has helped the government to prioritise investment in the development of physical infrastructure that has facilitated access to mining operations and land obtained by members of the Museveni family and their peers in the Ugandan political elite, whose pursuit of personal enrichment in the region continues their earlier wealth acquisition efforts.

**Appendix 1.** Human rights violations committed in Karamoja by the Uganda People’s Defence Force (UPDF).

The list is undoubtedly incomplete. While most, and perhaps all large-scale incidents, such as the ones at Lopuyo in October 2006, which resulted in 48-75 deaths and displacement of over 1,000 people, Nagera-Kapus in February 2007 (34 deaths), and Lokitelang in April 2010 (10-43 deaths) have been recorded, many less deadly cases have likely failed to attract the attention of human rights agencies, journalists, and scholars, especially if they took place in locations remote or otherwise inaccessible from towns. Furthermore, most of the collected evidence concerns violations that occurred in 2006 and 2007, when the brutality of the UPDF cordon and search operations attracted considerable attention. Although the incidence of human rights violations in subsequent years presumably reduced as disarmament gradually drew to a close, the decline was probably not as pronounced as the data suggest. As the list demonstrates, human rights violations continued, but only newsworthy, larger-scale incidents were reported. Unless specifically stated otherwise, the reported incidents are attributed by sources to the UPDF.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Number of incidents</b>	<b>Number of victims</b>	<b>Source</b>
unknown	Kacheri and Panyangara, Kotido District, and multiple unspecified locations in Kaabong District	Rape	Unknown	Unknown, multiple	Stites and Stefansky Huisman, <i>Adaptation and Resilience</i>
late 1999	Unknown	Death	1	Several hundred	Gray et al., “Cattle Raiding”
2001-2011	Across Karamoja	Death	Multiple	623	Kolyangha, “900 Killed”
unknown, possibly 2002	Lotim, Kaabong District	Beatings	Unknown	Unknown, multiple	Knighton, “Historical Ethnography”
9.03.2002	Nakapelimoru, Kotido District	Death, rape, beatings	1	Multiple, at least 17 (2 deaths, including 1 child, 12 rapes, beatings of multiple children)	Ibid.
21.03.2002	Kotido-Moroto road, Kotido District	Death	1	3 (including Fr. Declan O’Toole, shortly after he reported the 9th March 2002 incident in Nakapelimoru to the Irish embassy)	HRW, ‘ <i>Get the Gun!</i> ’; Knighton, “The State as Raider”
05.2002	Moroto District	Torture	1	1 (mother of David Pulkol MP, beaten and forced to swallow her beads)	Knighton, “Historical Ethnography”

2004	Across Karamoja	Death caused by violent incidents	Unknown	202	CEWARN, <i>9<sup>th</sup> Regional Report</i> <sup>98</sup>
2005	Across Karamoja	Death caused by violent incidents	Unknown	545	Ibid. <sup>99</sup>
2006	Across Karamoja	Death caused by violent incidents	Unknown	147	Ibid. <sup>100</sup>
unknown, possibly 2006	Natapararengan and Lomormor, Nakapiripirit District	Dismemberment and torture	Unknown	More than 10	Bevan, <i>Crisis in Karamoja</i>
04-05.2006	Kotido District	Death, injury	Unknown	11 (and 5 injuries)	Mkutu, "Disarmament"
05.2006	Kotido District	Death	1	Unknown, multiple	Bevan, <i>Crisis in Karamoja</i>
05.2006	Losogat, Kotido District	Death	1	2	Anonymous, <i>Summary</i>
8.05.2006	Lomejan, Kotido District	Death	1	1	Ibid.
13.05.2006	Locholi, Napak District (then Moroto District)	Death, injury, torture	1	Unknown, multiple (including 1 death)	Ibid.
16.05.2006	Morualoyette, Napak District (then Moroto District)	Death, injury	2	4 (including 1 death and 3 injuries)	Ibid.
19.05.2006 & 26.05.2006	Jimos, Kotido District; Loperot, Loputiput, and Longoleki, Moroto District	Death, sexual violence, extrajudicial detention	4	Unknown, multiple (including 5 deaths and 4 rapes)	HRW, 'Get the Gun!'
21.05.2006	Kakomongole, Nakapiripirit District	Death, injury	1	Unknown, multiple (including 2 deaths)	Anonymous, <i>Summary</i>
27.05.2006	Modokonyang, Kotido District	Death	1	1	Ibid.
29.05.2006	Nawaikorot, Napak District (then Moroto District)	Beatings	1	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.
3.06.2006	Watakau, Kotido District	Death, torture	1	Unknown, multiple (including 3 deaths)	Ibid.
07.2006	cattle market near the Kotido-Kaabong district border	Death	1	6	Bevan, <i>Crisis in Karamoja</i>
9.06.2006	Nadunget, Moroto District	Death, injury	1	3 (including 1 death and 2 injuries)	Anonymous, <i>Summary</i>

09.2006	Longalom, Moroto District	Beatings	1	Approximately 30	HRW, 'Get the Gun!'
29.10.2006-1.03.2007	across Karamoja	Death	unknown	161-189	Ibid.
29.10.2006	Lopuyo (Lopei according to Mkutu, "Disarmament"), Kotido District	Death, sexual violence and displacement	1	48-75 deaths (including at least 1 UPDF soldier), 1 rape, displacement of at least 1133 people following destruction of their homes by UPDF	HRW, 'Get the Gun!'; Mkutu, "Disarmament"; OHCHR, <i>Situation in Kotido</i>
10.11.2006	Kadokini, Kotido District	Death, injuries, torture, extrajudicial detention	1	50 households (including 3 deaths, 2 injuries, 7 acts of torture, 68 arrests)	OHCHR, <i>Situation in Kotido</i>
14.11.2006	Kanawat, Kotido District	Death and injury	1	8 (4 deaths, including 1 child, and 4 injuries, including 1 child)	Ibid.
7.12.2006	Kalodeke, Kaabong District	Death	1	8	HRW, 'Get the Gun!'
10.12.2006	Nakot, Kaabong District	Death	2	2	Ibid.
2006-2007	across Karamoja	Beatings	9	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.
2006-2007	across Karamoja	Extrajudicial detention; torture and deprivation of food, water and shelter while in custody	Unknown, multiple	Unknown, multiple (between 50 and 100 at the Nadunget detention facility only)	Ibid.
1.01.2007	Irosa, Kaabong District	Death and injury	1	2 (including 1 death and 1 non-lethal gunshot wound)	Ibid.
26.01.2007	Nadunget, Moroto District	beating	1	2	Ibid.
12.02.2007	Nagera-Kapus, Kotido District	Death	1	34 (including 16 children)	Bevan, <i>Crisis in Karamoja</i> ; HRW, 'Get the Gun!'
14.02.2007	Kotido District	Death	1	52	BBC, "Ugandan Army"
25.03.2007	Kacheri, Kotido District	Death	1	2	OHCHR, <i>Update Report</i>
04.2007	Naaut, Tapac, Moroto District	Death	1	1	Ibid.
prior to 24.04.2007	Tapac, Moroto District	Torture	Unknown	2	Ibid.
7.05.2007-11.05.2007	Najokogolit, Katikekile, Moroto District	Death and torture	3	20 (4 deaths and 16 acts of torture)	Ibid.
11.05.2007	Nakwanga, Moroto District	Death	1	1	Ibid.

around 20.05.2007	Losilang, Kotido District	Death	1	1	Ibid.
prior to 19.05.2007	Lokopo, Moroto District (now Napak District)	Torture and sexual violence	Unknown	2	Ibid.
prior to 22.05.2007	Katikekile, Moroto District	Torture	Unknown	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.
23.05.2007	Lojom, Tapac, Moroto District	Beating	1	1	Ibid.
29.05.2007	Kodike, Iriiri, Moroto District (now Napak District)	Rape	1	1	Ibid.
05-06. 2007	Nateedekitoe, Losilang, Kotido District	Beating and torture	Unknown	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.
28.05.2007- 3.06.2007	Lorengedwat, Nakapiripirit District	Beating and sexual violence	5	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.
prior to 11.06.2007	Nayese, Losilang, Kotido District	Injury, torture and beating	3	4	Ibid.
29.06.2007	Kacheri, Kotido District	Death	1	1	Ibid.
4.07.2007	Loputuk, Moroto District	Death	1	2 (including 1 child)	Ibid.
4.07.2007	Lokopuk, Moroto District	Beating	Unknown	Unknown, multiple (including children)	Ibid.
31.07.2007	Lotinit and Lorukum, Nakapiripirit District	Torture	22	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.
07-08.2007	Lokopo, Moroto District (now Napak District)	Torture	Unknown	11	Ibid.
01-06.2009	Kotido and Moroto districts	Death	Unknown	80	Wanyama, “Army Scores Victories”
3.01.2010	Kacheri, Kotido District	Death	1	1-20 (including 1 child)	Butagira, “Museveni Names Team”
30.03.2010- 31.03.2010	Kosiroi, Moroto District	Death	1	12 (allegedly involving Lt. Col. Muhoozi Kainerugaba)	Kulayigye, ““The UPDF””; Mugerwa, “MP Accuses Muhoozi”
24.04.2010	Lokitelangilam, Rengen, Kotido District	Death	1	10-43 (including 5 or 6 children)	Butagira, “Museveni Names Team”; Edwards, “Can Col. Muhoozi Pacify Karamoja?”
22.06.2010	Moroto District	Death	1	2-8	Ariong, ““Army Kills”

18.08.2010	Rengen, Kotido District	Death	1	10	Kulayigye, “The UPDF”
2012	Across Karamoja	Violations of the rights to life, to freedom from torture, and to personal liberty	148 (including 20 cases of violations of the right to life)	Unknown, multiple	OHCHR, <i>Report on the Activities of the OHCHR</i>
2013	Across Karamoja	Violations of the rights to life, to freedom from torture, and to personal liberty	101 (including 22 cases of violations of the right to life)	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.

**Appendix 2.** Mining operations and land acquisitions in Karamoja involving members of the Ugandan political elite.

Location	Dates	Investor	Type	Strength of evidence
Lopedo, Kaabong District	1990s-present	Salim Saleh and others	Gold mining	Moderate
Tapach, Moroto District	c. 2014-present	Muhoozi Kainerugaba	Gold mining	Moderate
Moruita, Nakapiripirit District	2012-present	Jovia Saleh	Illegal acquisition of land	High
Karenga, Kaabong District	Unknown	Unidentified members of the Museveni family	Irregular acquisition of land	Low
Boma Grounds, Moroto, Moroto District	c. 2013	Janet Kataha Museveni	Irregular acquisition of land	Low
Multiple locations on Mount Moroto, Moroto District	1990s (?) - present	Tororo Cement (Sam Kutesa)	Limestone and marble mining	High
Rupa, Moroto District	2012-2014 or 2015	Jan Mangal (Engola Sam and Cornelius Lorika Kodet)	Gold mining	High

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<sup>1</sup> Mann, “The Autonomous Power,” 188–189.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Amsden, “Third World Industrialization”; Besley and Persson, “The Origins of State Capacity”; Fukuyama, “The Imperative of State-building”; Hanson, “Forging Then Taming Leviathan”; Kohli, *State-Directed Industrialization*; Levi, *Of Rule and Revenue*; Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States*.

<sup>3</sup> Andrews, Pritchett, and Woolcock, *Building State Capability*, 3–5; Denney, Mallett, and Benson, *Service Delivery*, 1–2.

<sup>4</sup> Denney, Mallett, and Benson, *Service Delivery*, 1.

<sup>5</sup> DGFB, *Programme Document*.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Andrews, Pritchett, and Woolcock, *Building State Capability*; Denney, Mallett, and Benson, *Service Delivery*.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Cheeseman, Collord, and Reyntjens, “War and Democracy.”

<sup>8</sup> Kandel, “State Formation”; Mosley and Watson, “Frontier Transformations.”

<sup>9</sup> Mann, “The Autonomous Power,” 188.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Anderson and Fisher, “Authoritarianism,” 69; Carbone, “Populism Visits Africa,” 13.

<sup>12</sup> Anderson and Fisher “Authoritarianism,” 67; Reuss and Titeca, “When Revolutionaries Grow Old,” 10; Tapscott, “Where the Wild Things Are Not.”

<sup>13</sup> Vokes and Wilkins, “Party, Patronage, and Coercion,” 593.

<sup>14</sup> Reuss and Titeca, “When Revolutionaries Grow Old,” 14.

<sup>15</sup> Golooba-Mutebi and Hickey, “The Master of Institutional Multiplicity?,” 602; Izama and Wilkerson, “Uganda,” 66–70; Reuss and Titeca, “When Revolutionaries Grow Old,” 5-8; Vokes and Wilkins, “Party, Patronage, and Coercion,” 589–591.

<sup>16</sup> Collord, “From the Electoral Battleground,” 641.

<sup>17</sup> Izama and Wilkerson, “Uganda,” 67.

<sup>18</sup> Green, “Decentralization.”

<sup>19</sup> Golooba-Mutebi and Hickey, “The Master of Institutional Multiplicity?,” 607.

<sup>20</sup> Andrews and Bategeka, “Overcoming the Limits,” 14–22.

<sup>21</sup> Mwenda, “Foreign Aid”; Mwenda and Tangri, “Patronage Politics,” 465.

<sup>22</sup> In 2006, official development assistance accounted for 42% of the government budget. ARI, *Steady Progress?*, 2; also Mwenda, “Foreign Aid.”

<sup>23</sup> Anderson and Fisher “Authoritarianism”; also Abrahamsen, “Discourses of Democracy,” 37.

<sup>24</sup> Grover, Burger and Owens, “Money, Mission or Need”; Parkhurst, “The Response to HIV/AIDS.”

<sup>25</sup> Bayart, “Africa in the World,” 223; also Abrahamsen, “Discourses of Democracy,” 38.

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- <sup>26</sup> *Daily Monitor*, “Donors”; *New Vision*, “OPM Fraud.”
- <sup>27</sup> Asiimwe, “Of Extensive and Elusive Corruption”; Izama and Wilkerson, “Uganda,” 67–68; Reuss and Titeca, “When Revolutionaries Grow Old”; Tangri and Mwenda, “Corruption and Cronyism,” “Military Corruption,” “Politics”; Vokes and Wilkins, “Party, Patronage, and Coercion,” 588–589.
- <sup>28</sup> Golooba-Mutebi and Hickey, “The Master of Institutional Multiplicity?,” 606.
- <sup>29</sup> Hitchen, “Museveni’s Routes”; Reuss and Titeca, “When Revolutionaries Grow Old,” 10.
- <sup>30</sup> Abrahamsen and Bareebe, “Uganda’s 2016 Elections,” 1–15.
- <sup>31</sup> Branch, *Displacing Human Rights*.
- <sup>32</sup> Reyntjens, *The Great African War*, 229; Vlassenroot, Perrot, and Cuvelier, “Doing Business Out of War.”
- <sup>33</sup> Krätli, “Karamoja”
- <sup>34</sup> Pepinsky, “Regions of Exception.”
- <sup>35</sup> Rasmussen and Lund, “Reconfiguring Frontier Spaces,” 388; also all the contributions to the 2018 special issue of *World Development* on territorialisation.
- <sup>36</sup> The majority of the population belongs to three Ateker ethnic groups, the Dodoth, Jie, and Karimojong, who are jointly commonly referred to as the Karamojong and share the region with the Ethur, Ik, Mening, Napore, Nyangyia, Pokot, and So.
- <sup>37</sup> Gulliver, “The Karamajong Cluster”; Knighton, “Disarmament,” 126–27.
- <sup>38</sup> Barber, *Imperial Frontier*, 197–200; Dyson-Hudson, *Karimojong Politics*; Gray, “A Memory of Loss,” 408–09; Knighton, “Christian Enculturation,” 182–09; Mirzeler and M. Crawford Young, “Pastoral Politics,” 413–414; Onyango, “Pastoralists,” 249–252; Interview, UO4, former member of parliament (MP) from Karamoja, Kampala, 14 October 2016 (due to the politically sensitive nature of the research project, no identifying information about respondents was collected during field research).
- <sup>39</sup> Mirzeler and Young, “Pastoral Politics,” 415–16; Interview, UO2, former MP from Karamoja, Kampala, 13 October 2016.
- <sup>40</sup> Gray, “Memory of Loss,” 410–411; Mirzeler and Young, “Pastoral Politics,” 416–17; Onyango, “Pastoralists in Violent Defiance of the State,” 193–197; Interview, UO2.
- <sup>41</sup> Gray et al., “Cattle Raiding,” S4–S7; Knighton, “Belief in Guns,” 272–73; Stites et al., *Angering Akujũ*, 55–72; Interview, UO5, Pokot senior Amudat District LC5 official, Amudat, 17 October 2016.
- <sup>42</sup> Bevan, *Crisis in Karamoja*, 54–79.
- <sup>43</sup> Interview, UO58, Karamojong Catholic priest, Nakapiripirit, 28 October 2016.
- <sup>44</sup> *IRIN News*, “Military Deployed.”
- <sup>45</sup> Howe, Stites, and Akabwai, *We Now Have Relative Peace*, 15–16; Interview, KE401, influential Pokot elder, Kacheliba, West Pokot (Kenya), 1 October 2016; Interview, UO1, MP from Karamoja, Kampala, 12 October 2016; Interview, UO2.

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- <sup>46</sup> Howe, Stites, and Akabwai, *'We Now Have Relative Peace,'* 9; Interview, UA4, Ugandan academic, Kampala, 9 December 2016; Interview, UA5, Ugandan human rights lawyer, Kampala, 12 December 2016.
- <sup>47</sup> Mkutu, "Complexities of Livestock Raiding," 93; Interview, UO5; Interview, UO58.
- <sup>48</sup> Kolyangha, "900 Killed."
- <sup>49</sup> Kuteesa et al., "Uganda," 11.
- <sup>50</sup> HRW, *'Get the gun!'*; OHCHR, *Situation in Kotido, Update Report, Report on the Activities of the OHCHR.*
- <sup>51</sup> Interview, UO2; also Interview, UO119, Kuliak politician, Moroto, 11 November 2016.
- <sup>52</sup> Branch, *Displacing Human Rights*; Espeland and Petersen, "The Ugandan Army"; Finnström, *Living with Bad Surroundings.*
- <sup>53</sup> Reyntjens, *The Great African War*; Vlassenroot, Perrot, and Cuvelier, "Doing Business Out of War," 37–41.
- <sup>54</sup> Interview, UA4; also Interview, UO114, Karamojong civil society activist, Moroto, 9 November 2016; Interview, UO122, MP from Karamoja, Kampala, 9 December 2016.
- <sup>55</sup> Interview, UO67, Karamojong senior Napak District official, Moroto, 2 November 2016; Interview, UO93, Karamojong civil society activist, Moroto, 7 November 2016; Interview, UO114; Interview, UO122.
- <sup>56</sup> Interview, UO67.
- <sup>57</sup> Interview, UO93.
- <sup>58</sup> Vick, "Uganda's Glow Fades."
- <sup>59</sup> Reyntjens, *The Great African War*, 229; Vlassenroot, Perrot, and Cuvelier, "Doing Business Out of War."
- <sup>60</sup> She left that post in 2016 to become the Minister of Education.
- <sup>61</sup> Longoli, "Janet's Karamoja Story."
- <sup>62</sup> Interview, UO5; Interview, UO53, Pokot Amudat District NRM official, Amudat, 26 October 2016; Interview, UO101, senior Moroto Municipality official, Moroto, 8 November 2016; Interview, UO115, Moroto District parish chief, Rupa, 10 November 2016; Interview, UO116, Moroto District parish chief, Rupa, 10 November 2016; Interview, US1, senior Ministry of Public Service official, Kampala, 14 November 2016.
- <sup>63</sup> Green, "Decentralization."
- <sup>64</sup> Interview, UO1; Interview, UO2; Interview, UO3, former MP from Karamoja, Kampala, 14 October 2016; Interview, UO4; Interview, UO5; Interview, UO55, Karamojong senior Nakapiripirit District LC5 official, Nakapiripirit, 27 October 2016; Interview, UO60, Karamojong senior Nakapiripirit District LC5 official, Nakapiripirit, 28 October 2016; Interview, UO65, Karamojong senior Moroto District LC5 official, 31 October 2016; Interview, UO67, Karamojong senior Napak District official, Moroto,

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2 November 2016; Interview; Interview, UO114; Interview, UO119; Interview, UO120, MP from Karamoja, Kampala, 6 December 2016; Interview, UO121, MP from Karamoja, Kampala, 9 December 2016; Interview, UO122; Interview, UO123, Karamojong lawyer, Kampala, 10 December 2016; Interview, UO124, MP from Karamoja, Kampala, 12 December 2016; Interview, UO125, MP from Karamoja, Kampala, 13 December 2016; Interview, UO127, Karamojong donor agency worker, Kampala, 15 December 2016.

<sup>65</sup> Howe, Stites, and Akabwai, *We Now Have Relative Peace*, pp. 15–16; Interview, UE18, Pokot elder, Nabokotom, 25 October 2016; Interview, UE90, Matheniko Karimojong elder, Rupa, 10 November 2016; Interview, UO93.

<sup>66</sup> Kasasira, “PM’s Office”; *IRIN News*, “Alarm”; Interview, UO124, MP from Karamoja, Kampala, 12 December 2016; Interview, US14, senior Office of the Prime Minister official, Kampala, 16 November 2016.

<sup>67</sup> Nakalembe, Dempewolf, and Justice, “Agricultural Land Use Change,” 2; Interview, UA1, IGO official, Moroto, 10 November 2016.

<sup>68</sup> See e.g. Ellis and Swift, “Stability of African Pastoral Ecosystems.”

<sup>69</sup> Nabwiiso, “Firm Wins.”

<sup>70</sup> *New Vision*, “Karamoja”; REA, “Completed Projects.”

<sup>71</sup> Interview, UA4.

<sup>72</sup> Interview, UO124.

<sup>73</sup> *Daily Monitor*, “Donors”; Irish Aid, “Irish Aid”; Oketch, “U.S.\$1.8 Billion”; *Relief Web*, “Northern Uganda; Interview, UO114.

<sup>74</sup> WFP, “Uganda Country Programme 2016-2020,” 5.

<sup>75</sup> Irish Aid, “Irish Aid”; Interview, UO114.

<sup>76</sup> WFP, “Uganda Country Programme 2016-2020,” 4.

<sup>77</sup> Hinton et al., *The Mining and Minerals Sector*, 1 and 15–16.

<sup>78</sup> *New Vision*, “High Prospects”; Interview, UO124.

<sup>79</sup> Interview, UA4.

<sup>80</sup> Interview, UA5.

<sup>81</sup> Interview, UA5; Interview, UO93; Interview, Interview, UO113, Kuliak politician, Moroto, 9 November 2016; Interview, UO128, Karamojong NGO worker, Skype, 11 January 2016.

<sup>82</sup> Trocaire, *Tenure in Mystery*, 2.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 19–20.

<sup>84</sup> Ariong, “Museveni”; Lumu, “Over 100”.

<sup>85</sup> Interview, UO58; Interview, UO127; Interview, UO128.

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<sup>86</sup> In addition, members of the emergent Karamojong subordinate elite have been involved in irregular land acquisition. In this article, I focus in the national political elite's role in the phenomenon.

<sup>87</sup> *Africa Analysis*, "Uganda"; *Ababaka*, "M7."

<sup>88</sup> Interview, UO94, Karamojong politician, Moroto, 7 November 2016.

<sup>89</sup> Nsubuga, "UPDF 13th Battalion"; Interview, UO5.

<sup>90</sup> Interview, UO94; Interview, UO126, Karamojong NGO worker, Kampala, 14 December 2016.

<sup>91</sup> *Daily Monitor*, "Karamoja Leaders"; Talep, "Nakapiripirit District"; Interview, UO2; Interview, UO5; Interview, UO55; Interview, UO56, Karamojong senior Nakapiripirit District LC5 official, Nakapiripirit, 27 October 2016; Interview, UO123; Interview, UO126.

<sup>92</sup> Ariong, "Nakapiripirit Locals"; Interview, UO2; Interview, UO5; Interview, UO56; Interview, UO123; Interview, UO128.

<sup>93</sup> Interview, UO94.

<sup>94</sup> Interview, UO67, Interview, UO126; also *New Vision*, "OPM Fraud."

<sup>95</sup> Interview, UO119.

<sup>96</sup> Interview, UO5; *Uganda Business News*, "Uganda's Top 100 Taxpayers."

<sup>97</sup> HRW, 'How Can We Survive Here?', 55–60; Saferworld, *Beyond the Reach of the Hoe*, 18–19; Vlassenroot, Perrot, and Cuvelier, "Doing Business Out of War," 12; Interview, UA5; Interview, UO126; Interview, UO128.

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<sup>98</sup> Includes deaths not caused by UPDF.

<sup>99</sup> Includes deaths not caused by UPDF.

<sup>100</sup> Includes deaths not caused by UPDF.

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