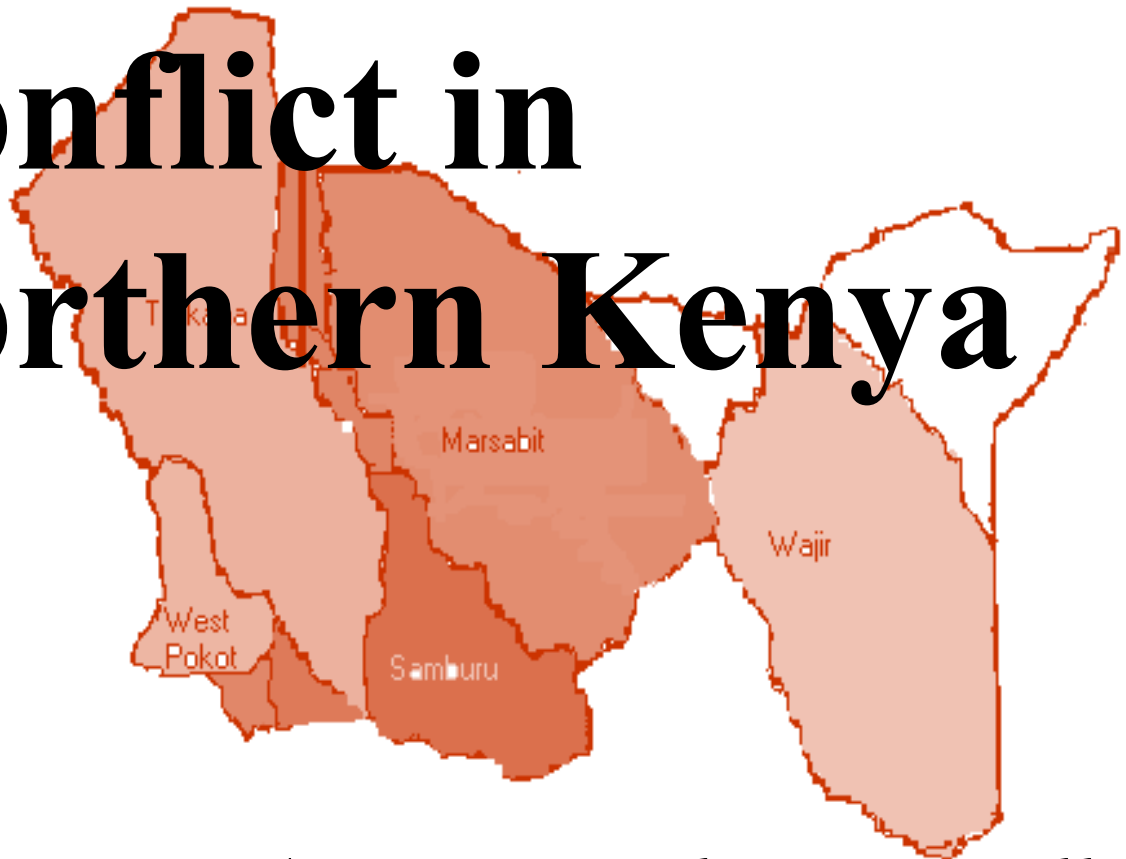
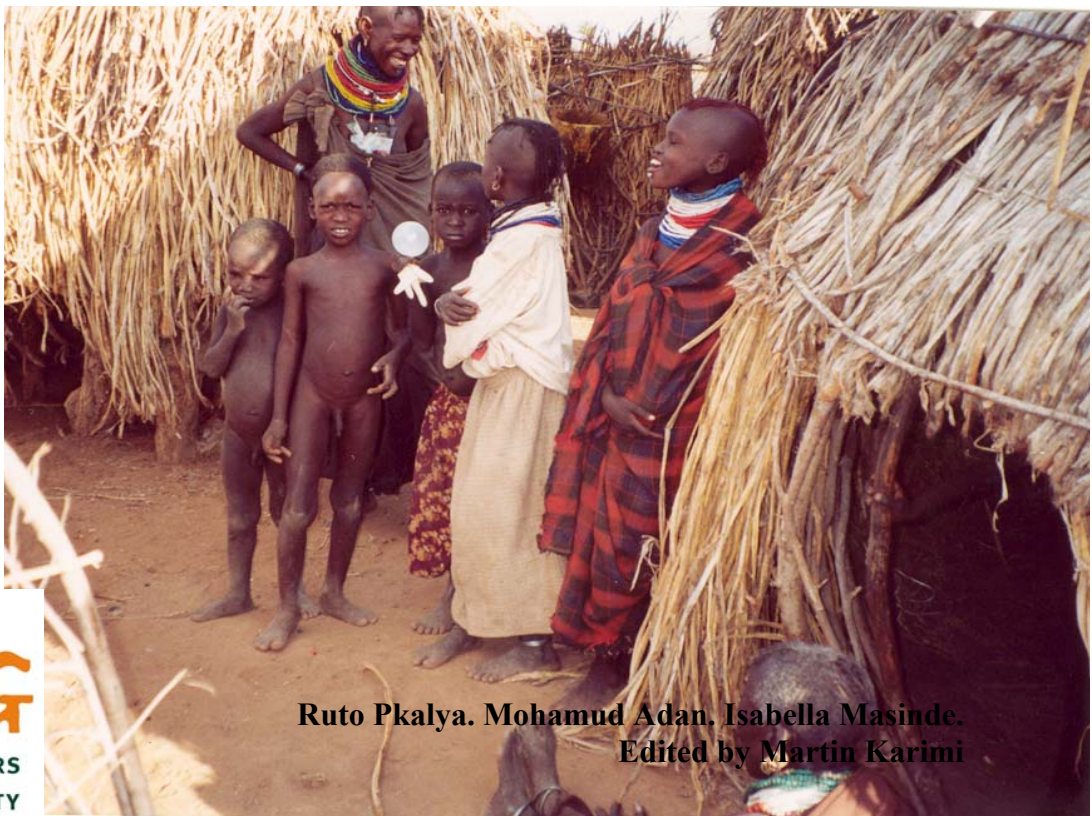


Conflict in Northern Kenya



*A Focus on the Internally
Displaced Conflict Victims in
Northern Kenya*



ITDG
PRACTICAL ANSWERS
TO POVERTY

Ruto Pkalya, Mohamud Adan, Isabella Masinde,
Edited by Martin Karimi

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*A Focus on the Internally Displaced Conflict
Victims in Northern Kenya*

**Ruto Pkalya, Mohamud Adan, & Isabella Masinde
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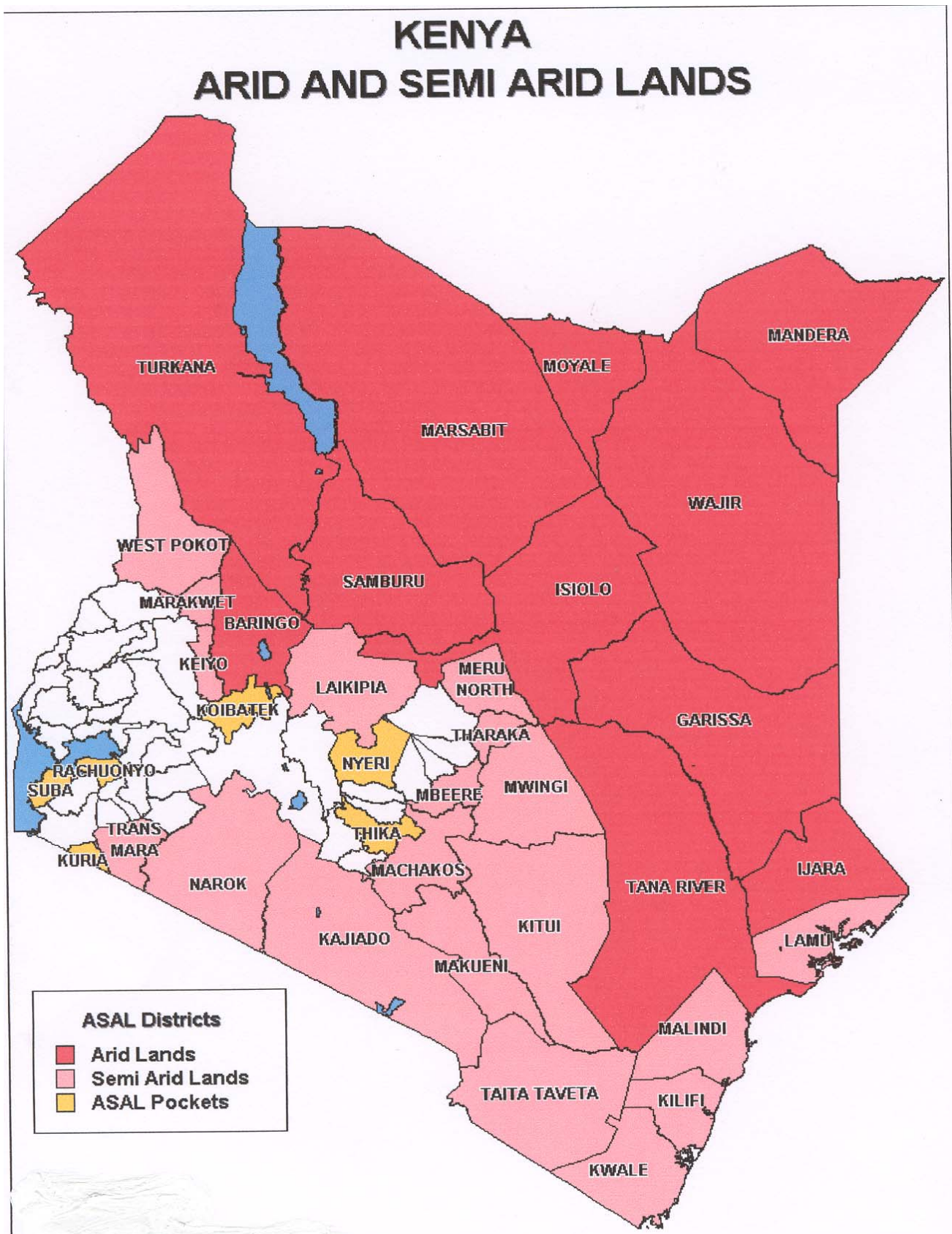
We must first of all acknowledge United States Institute of Peace (USIP), United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Catholic Organisation for Relief and Development Aid (CORDAID) for funding the study.

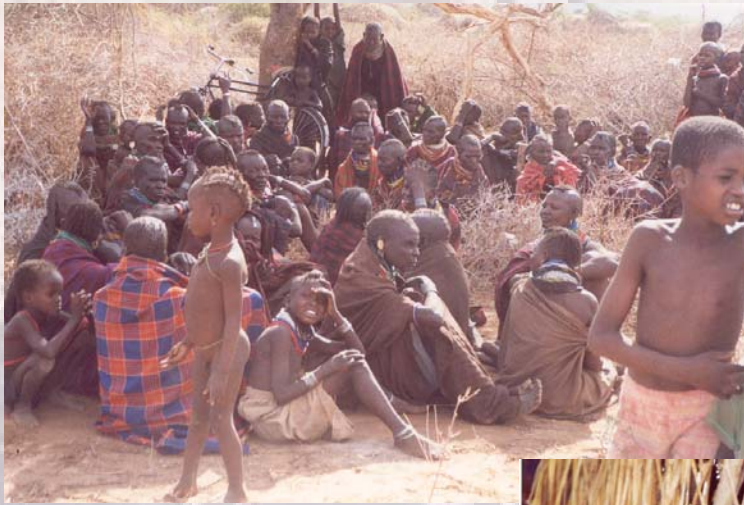
Special thanks go to the government officials particularly the chiefs' who unfailingly facilitated the study by linking us to the conflict victims on the ground in the vast districts of Turkana, West Pokot, Marakwet, Samburu, Marsabit and Wajir. It would have been impossible to collect valuable data without the chiefs' support. We also say thank you to the conflict victims for opening up and sharing their experiences with the world. You endured persistent interviews, and discussions that aroused deeply harboured pain, yet you were hospitable.

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Approximately 2 million people are affected by conflict either directly or indirectly in Kenya a majority being pastoralists.

ABOUT ITDG

Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) was established in 1966 based on the then radical ideas of Fritz Schumacher, an economist and the author of “*Small is Beautiful*”. ITDG has since grown into an international development agency with its head office in UK and regional offices in East Africa, South Asia, South America and Southern Africa. It also has country offices in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sudan.

ITDG's work is driven by its vision of “*a world free of poverty and injustice in which technology is used for the benefit of all*”. ITDG’s mission is “*to help eradicate poverty in developing countries through the development and use of technology by demonstrating results, sharing knowledge and influencing others*”. ITDG’s development is guided by the following core principles; putting people first; working in partnership, respect for diversity and a concern for future generations.

Intermediate Technology Development Group Eastern Africa (ITDG EA) is a regional office of ITDG. The organization works towards fulfilling its mission in Eastern Africa by reducing vulnerability, increasing services to the people, making markets work for poor producers and introducing new technologies. Conflict resolution and cross-border harmonization is an integral component of the group's aim of reducing vulnerability among poor people especially the pastoral communities in the greater horn of Africa.

Through the conflict management project, the agency is implementing peace programmes in Northern Kenya (Turkana, Marsabit, and Samburu) and works through partners/collaboration in West Pokot, Marakwet, Moyale, Mandera and Wajir Districts. Cross-border activities are implemented by ITDG EA and partners in Southern Ethiopia (Omo region), Southern Sudan, Eastern Uganda (Karamoja cluster) and Western Somalia.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

Violent conflicts involving pastoralists have become widespread and increasingly severe in the North Rift and North Eastern regions of Kenya. This study identifies and examines the factors contributing to such conflicts, and discusses issues and priorities for conflict prevention and peace building. On the basis of this examination, a number of conclusions and recommendations are proposed on ways in which the stakeholders could contribute to the concerted efforts of curbing violent conflicts involving pastoralists in Kenya.

The pastoralists in the two regions under study are largely nomadic. They live primarily in arid or semi-arid areas and depend on livestock (cattle, sheep, goats and camels) for their livelihood. They rely on access to pasture and water, for the survival of their livestock. Such resources are scarce and under increasing pressure. They must be shared amongst the pastoralist's communities.

Conflicts involving pastoralists associated with resource competition, cattle rustling and wide availability of small arms are widespread and of increasing concern. This study thus provides a useful case to examine in depth factors contributing to conflict, issues and priorities for conflict prevention.

Factors contributing to violent conflict

The patterns of conflict in the North Rift and North Eastern regions are complex. There are many factors contributing to the risk of violent conflict involving pastoralists, and these have tended to become mutually reinforcing.

Some conflicts within and between pastoralist communities, such as raiding and cattle rustling have a long history and have to some extent become an aspect of traditional pastoralist culture. However, such 'traditional' conflicts have become increasingly destructive and less manageable. The major causes of conflict among the pastoralist include but not limited to intensified cattle rustling, proliferation of illicit arms, inadequate policing and state security arrangements, diminishing role of traditional governance systems, competition over control and access to natural resources such as pasture and water, land issues, political incitements, ethnocentrism, increasing levels of poverty and idleness amongst the youth.

Impacts of violent conflict

Violent conflicts have had very negative and severe impacts on the communities that are involved in these conflicts. The study highlighted several consequences of violent conflicts, which are negatively impacting on the communities under focus. Loss of human life, property, displacements of large segments of the communities, disruption of socio-economic activities and livelihoods, increased hatred between communities,

environmental degradation and threat to water catchments areas, increased economic hardships as a result of loss of livelihoods, high levels of starvation and malnutrition among the displaced groups and unprecedented dependency syndrome on relief food are the main negative impacts of the increasing and severe inter-ethnic armed conflicts in northern Kenya.

Main Findings

A total of 164,457 people have been displaced by conflicts in pastoralists' North Frontier districts of Kenya. 70% or 105,500 of the displaced are women and children aged below 14 years. In addition to displacements, many women have also been widowed by the conflicts further increasing their vulnerabilities to poverty and human right abuses.

Turkana district has the highest number of displaced persons. The figure currently stands at 41,097 people. Most of the displaced are from Kakuma and Lokichogio divisions. Wajir comes second with a total of 32,914 against the districts' population of 270,700 people as per the 1999 census. The politically instigated and government executed Wagalla massacre of 1984 in Wajir district left over 3,000 people dead and 21,000 displaced, accounting for the bulk of displacements in the district. Many women were widowed by the massacre and are now living in abject poverty in informal shanties in Wajir town.

Cattle rustling and banditry activities in Kerio valley and in areas bordering West Pokot and Baringo districts has displaced 32,000 people accounting for 23% of the total population of Marakwet district. The conflicts became severe at the dawn of political pluralism in Kenya and have continued to destabilize the district. These statistics reveals that Marakwet district has been the hardest hit by conflicts in the region.

In West Pokot district, 30,361 people have been displaced. Most of the displaced come from areas bordering Turkana, Marakwet and Uganda (Karamojang districts). Alale division that borders Turkana district and Uganda has 11,871 displaced people.

An in-depth analysis indicates that Samburu district comes second after Marakwet in terms of the percentages of the population displaced. Cattle rustling in the district has displaced 17% of the district's population or 23,707 people. However, most of the displaced are Turkana from Baragoi and Nyiro divisions. It is hard to tell the number of the displaced Samburu since most of them take refuge in Manyattas of their relatives unlike the Turkana who move to urban centres. Turkana and Samburu communities inhabit the two divisions. Marsabit district, with 4,378 displaced, has the least number of displaced people in the study area.

The study also found out that all the said districts are among the ten poorest districts in Kenya in all the development indices. School enrolment rates are far below the

Executive Summary

national average, majority of the people in the region depend on relief food and are malnourished. Mortality rate is high and so are poverty levels. Water and sanitary services are inaccessible to the majority of the pastoralists.

Rights of the displaced people have been grossly violated as the study found out that there is a strong correlation between displacements and increased rape cases, physical assaults, prostitution, growing number of street urchins and child labour. Most of the displaced were disenfranchised by the conflicts making them unable to vote during the last General election (2002).

Conflict prevention

Efforts to prevent and mitigate violent conflicts involving pastoralists in the North Rift and North Eastern regions of Kenya need to address each of the factors contributing to conflict as outlined above. The development of effective actions to tackle each cause of conflict is difficult because these problems are rooted in the peoples' cultures. However, serious attempts to address these problems can contribute immensely to conflict resolution if they are recognized as such by the communities involved.

A good start could be made by taking measures directly aimed at conflict prevention such as developing mediation and conflict prevention capacities of the communities involved and establishing projects in support of pastoralists need to strategically invest in awareness raising (early warning for early action), training and indigenous peace building processes. Displaced groups must be rehabilitated and re-oriented into mainstream society by aiding them with alternative livelihoods e.g. promotion of eco-tourism, small-scale business enterprise, basketry and provision of social amenities such as schools, health facilities and water.

Primary responsibility for developing and implementing the programmes and measures outlined above must rest with the Kenyan government, local, national and international stakeholders. International community also has a responsibility to do what it can to assist manage the problem of insecurity, conflicts and the ensuing displacements. There are many windows and entry points to reduce the pressures generating conflict and to promote sustainable prevention and enhancement of the pastoralists' communities' resilience.

Recommendations

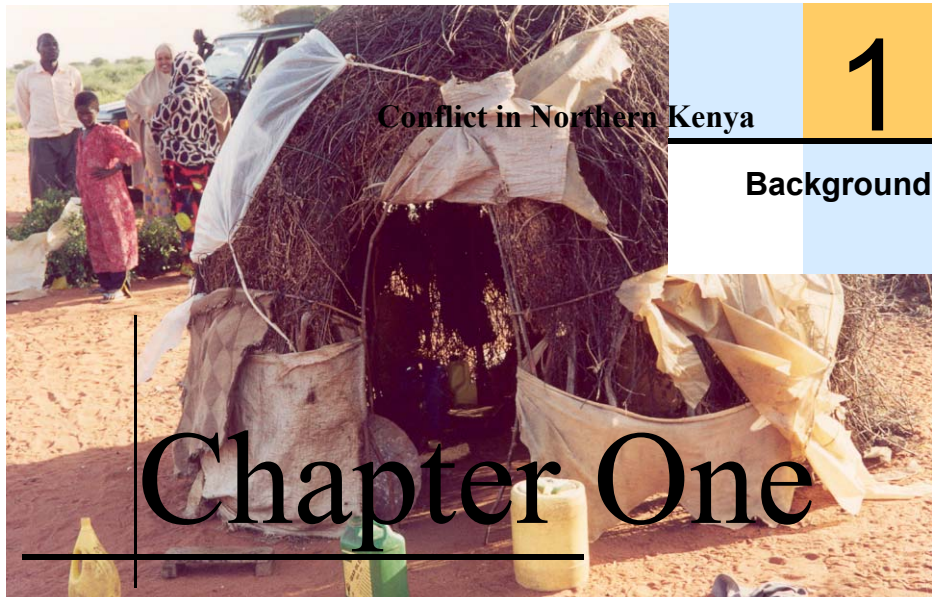
The study makes the following recommendations to prevent and manage conflicts in the North Rift and North Eastern Kenya:

- ❖ Strengthening traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and linking them with formal police, court and government agencies.
- ❖ Sensitisation and awareness creation in issues pertaining to conflict and illicit arms

- ❖ Promotion and facilitation of inter-community dialogues, peace meetings, exposure tours and compensation schemes including trauma-healing sessions.
- ❖ Advocacy and policy influence on the state inability to secure rights of its citizen to security, education, health services and private property amongst other things. Communities' participation in policy advocacy, influence and participation in public discourse should be strengthened.
- ❖ Initiation of development projects e.g. Service projects such as schools, churches, and dispensaries.
- ❖ Livestock improvement projects e.g. improvement of breeds
- ❖ Introduction of alternative livelihoods apart from pastoralism like irrigated agriculture, small business enterprises, establishments of industrial businesses e. g. lime processing and *jua kali* projects (artisans).
- ❖ Gender and age mainstreaming in all peace initiatives
- ❖ Introducing peace education (including drama, songs and poetry) in schools and public forum
- ❖ Strengthening and supporting media for peace programmes and campaigns
- ❖ Provision of emergency and other conflict related exigencies relief and assistance
- ❖ Rehabilitation of destroyed social amenities
- ❖ Resettlement of displaced families
- ❖ Provision of basic needs and improvement of infrastructure e.g. construction of security roads.
- ❖ Develop community-based early warning system for early action.

Structure of the report

The report is divided into five sections. Section one covers the background to the study and section two provides the methodology adopted. Section three provides an overview of the six districts under study while section four provides an analysis of the findings of the study, presented under each of the six districts. The last section provides conclusions that are drawn from the study and provides recommendations as to the way forward.



Background

Pastoralists are some of the most marginalized people in Kenya, often having virtually no say over the changes that are impacting on their lives. Pastoralists derive their livelihoods mainly from natural resources – pasture, water, natural vegetation and livestock. However, reduced access to these resources, in particular, land and water, has increasingly put pastoralists under intense pressure. As a result, they are increasingly finding themselves fighting for their survival.

Moreover, physical boundaries cutting across traditional migratory routes and wars in neighbouring countries continually bring increased problems in accessing traditional grazing resources. Weapons entering Kenya from neighbouring war-torn countries are making raids increasingly dangerous and sophisticated. In addition to the traditional raiding, conflicts in the region have now taken an economic and political perspective. There are rife allegations that the economically powerful people are funding livestock thefts and politicians are encouraging conflicts to flush out would be supporters of political opponents from their political turfs.

The above factors have compounded and complicated the whole conflict management process, especially when remoteness and the nomadic nature of the pastoralists are taken into account. With this kind of scenario, the positive impacts made by development agencies in these areas are being affected negatively. Unless conflicts are managed properly, development and pastoral livelihoods will continue to deteriorate.

Furthermore conflicts affect development and provision of essential services in pastoralists' areas through disruption of the communities' livelihood systems by restricting access to natural resources and marketing systems. Conflict encourages the spread of diseases through raiding of infected animals (in some cases but not always). This is in addition to loss of livestock that is the main source of livelihood for the pastoralists.

Conflict leads to destruction of social amenities already put in place. For example, the education system is affected when teachers are forced to withdraw from conflict stricken areas and the communities re-locate their settlements for fear of being invaded. Education for children and the youth is affected and interrupted both in the short and long run. Conflict also acts as a disincentive to investment by the communities and development agencies, both in the long-term and short-term. At the local level, a lot of effort and funds go to contain conflicts and to mitigate against conflict-related effects rather than being channelled to development work.

At the regional level, conflicts act as a disincentive to inter-state integration and economic co-operation, making sustainable management of shared resources unattainable. Exploitation of minerals in the Horn of Africa has suffered the greatest blow. Moreover, by introducing violence as a way of solving issues, it becomes ingrained as a way of solving problems and the vicious cycle continues. A large number of human lives and animals are lost during raids masterminded by opposing tribes/clans. The result is the creation of a community of 'destitute people' that end up in settlement centres to depend on relief food.

Furthermore, there is disruption of normal migratory patterns leading to unsustainable utilization of natural resources as livestock tends to be concentrated in secure areas resulting in environmental degradation. Well-watered areas with good pasture are avoided due to insecurity. The authoritarian approach to conflict resolution without understanding the real causes and disregarding the traditional methods for conflict resolution lead to escalation of the problem rather than reduction.

There is an urgent need to empower pastoralists to influence decisions and policies that affect them in a positive manner and to proactively participate in development initiatives.

Rationale of the study

Traditionally, cattle rustling among the pastoralists communities were considered as a cultural practice. It was sanctioned and controlled by the elders. The issue of cattle

rustling had been trivialized as a mere cultural practice, yet for a period of time; there have emerged new trends, tendencies and dynamics leading to commercialisation of the practice. There has emerged a new system of predatory exploitation of the pastoral economic resources manifesting itself in the form of banditry and cattle rustling. The result of this is that a big section of the pastoralist's community has been displaced and many have either been killed or maimed. The livelihoods of these groups have been completely cut. Many are trying to survive in completely new and difficult circumstances.

It is against this background that ITDG and vision volunteers have carried out this study to improve the understanding of the social, economic and dietary status of pastoralist's people affected by conflict in North Rift Valley and North Eastern Kenya.

Scope and objectives of the study

The objective of the study is to improve understanding of the social, economic and dietary status of pastoralist's people affected by conflicts.

The study was carried out in six districts in northern Kenya. The study sought to find out the status of the victims and their survival mechanism in order to formulate strategies on how they can be rehabilitated and helped to start their lives over again. It particularly focussed on orphans, widows, and the aged.

The study focused on the following key objectives:

1. To analyse the number of people affected by conflicts in the six districts and provide an estimate of the possible numbers in Kenya;
2. Assess the social, economic and dietary status of the people affected by conflicts and their coping mechanisms;
3. Find out gender and age desegregated analysis of people affected by conflicts in northern Kenya;
4. Survey the impact caused by conflict victims on environmental degradation, social and economic lifestyles, diseases and epidemics etc.
5. Recommend ways and means of rehabilitating people affected by conflicts into main stream pastoralism including alternative options of livelihoods;
6. To disseminate and share the findings to a wide range of stakeholders.

Study Methodology

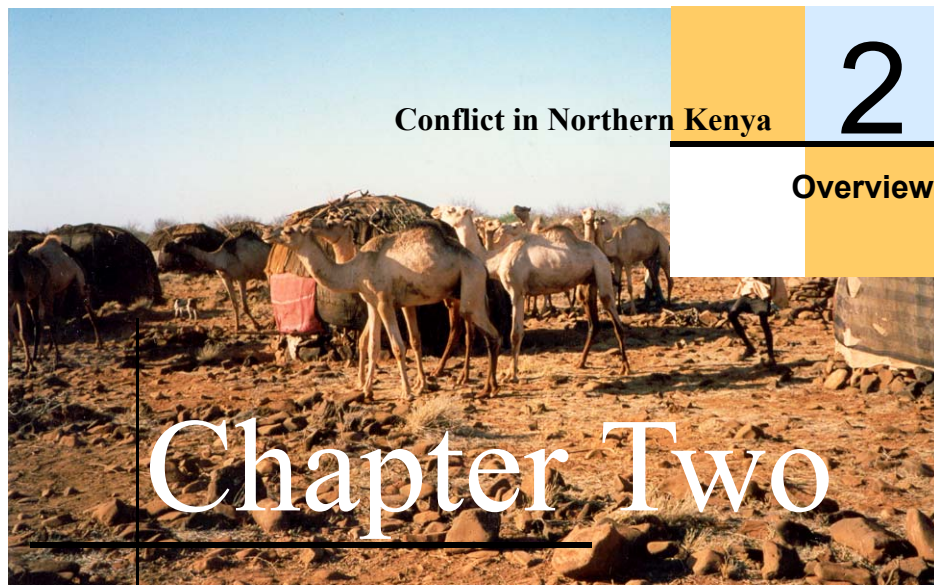
The methodology used in this study targeted the victims of conflict themselves – those that have been either directly or indirectly affected in the six districts. The target population also included government officials and NGOs. These were randomly selected.

Semi-structured interview schedule, which guided the researchers on asking respondents questions, was the main data collection tool. There were three types of schedules for the three types of respondents namely: victims of conflict, government officials and NGO's.

The interviews were undertaken throughout the day and sometimes into early evening depending on the availability of the respondents. To facilitate the recording process, a magnetic tape recorder was used to record responses. This was then transcribed later and inter-checked with the written notes.

The data collected was analysed using descriptive statistics in order to determine frequencies and percentages. These frequencies and percentages are presented graphically or in a table. Quantitative data was grouped into similar categories for analysis.

The existing literature was reviewed during the study. This included print and electronic materials and participatory field analysis of trends, causes and effects of conflict. The preliminary findings were discussed with key community members, NGOs and ITDG-EA staff. This final version is the output of such discussions.



Overview

The study focused on two regions in northern Kenya: North Rift districts of Turkana, West Pokot, Marakwet and Samburu and North Eastern Kenya districts of Marsabit and Wajir.

The North Rift Region

To clearly understand the nature and causes of the North Rift armed conflicts, it is imperative to first understand the physical environment and the socio-economic activities of the districts under focus.

Physical Features

The North Rift region is a semi-arid area in the Rift Valley province of Kenya. It traverses West Pokot, Baringo, Marakwet, Samburu and Turkana districts. The Kerio Valley is an important physical feature in the region. It is bordered on the western side by the Elgeyo Escarpment, to the east by the Tugen Hills and further north by the Tiatiy Hills. The valley is part of the Great Rift Valley system formed about ten million years ago. Matthews Range, Ndotto Mountains and Mount Nyiro are important physical features in Samburu district. Generally, the region is characterized with severe scarcity of natural resources.

Climate and Vegetation

The climate of the region is influenced by altitude. The lowlands and plains have an arid to semi-arid climate with high temperatures and relatively low rainfall. The highlands have sub-tropical climatic conditions with low temperatures, low

evaporation rates and high rainfall. The vegetation cover of the lowland is acacia woodland while gazetted (protected by an Act of Parliament) indigenous forests, which serve as major water catchments for the entire region, cover the highland.

Economic Activities

❖ *Rain fed crop farming and irrigation*

The prospects for rain fed farming in the region include production of sorghum, finger millet and pulses as the main cereals. Other crops like maize, potatoes, cassava, bananas, pigeon peas, groundnuts and sweet potatoes are also cultivated. The Kerio Valley Development Authority (KVDA) introduced mangoes and paw paws, which have proved to be very marketable. The potential cropland has not been fully utilized, particularly in West Pokot which has a potential of 125,580 hectares compared to the current cultivated 34,270 hectares only. The Turkana, Pokot, Samburu and Marakwet communities practice small-scale irrigation along the Kerio and other major rivers in the North Rift. They grow millet, sorghum, cassava, bananas, cotton and vegetables.

❖ *Animal husbandry*

Cattle, goats, sheep and camels are the main source of livelihood for the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana who derive 90% of their livelihood from sale of the livestock and products such as milk, hides and skins. By contrast the Marakwet largely depend on farming and livestock accounting for less than 20% of their livelihood needs. Although there has been improved livestock health in the region, this has not been in tandem with development in arid and semi-arid areas.

❖ *Mining*

West Pokot, especially, is rich in mineral deposits including alluvial gold and silver on Muruny and Turkwel rivers. Copper and asbestos are mined at Kaptumet. Limestone is mined at Ortum and exported to a cement factory in Uganda.

❖ *Honey, basketry and medicinal herbs*

Honey production and marketing in North Rift is widespread and has the potential of increasing. On average 70,000 kg of honey are produced annually in Marakwet, West Pokot, Samburu and Baringo districts.

Making and selling of ornaments among the Samburu, East Pokot and Turkana is an important trade. Most of these cultural products like beads, bracelets, and necklaces are made from local materials. Basketry among the Turkana has grown over the years and is associated with Kapedo trading centre.

The Turkana and Samburu people sell medicinal herbs to the Somalis who export them to Saudi Arabia. There is a dire need to investigate and fully exploit the potential of these non-farm and non-livestock activities.

Social Services

Sedentary lifestyle has had positive and negative impact on sustainable livelihoods. While increased settling of the nomadic communities has made it possible for them to access services like education, health and water supply, it has also put pressure on the rangelands around market centres and permanent water points.

❖ *Education*

Education is beginning to pick up especially among the Marakwets but not so much for the Samburu, Pokot and Turkana. Many of the schools are located on the highlands and only a few are situated within the lowlands.

❖ *Health*

The number of health facilities has increased in all the districts but most of them remain under utilized probably because of cultural reasons, cost sharing and insecurity. In many cases government hospitals do not have drugs to dispense. Malnutrition among children below five years is rampant, especially among the poor.

North Eastern Region

To picture the nature, causes and impact of violent conflict in the north-eastern region, it is significant first to understand the physical environment and the socio-economic activities of the Marsabit and Wajir districts in the region.

Physiographic and natural conditions

Marsabit

Most of the district is an extensive plain lying between 300m and 900m above sea level, which slopes gently towards the southeast. The west and north plains are bordered by hills and mountain ranges. Inselbergs, volcanic cones and calderas break these slams. The district is also characterized by hill masses jutting out from the northern plains. These are tertiary and overtire volcanoes like Mt. Kulal (2,355m), Hurri Hills (1,685m) and Marsabit in the west. The area around Lake Turkana is rifted and it forms part of the Great Rift Valley system.

Seasonal rivers dominate the district. They include Milgis, Merille, Dida Galgallu and Chalbi depression.

Marsabit is located in the driest region of the country. It receives 200 mm to 1000 mm of rain annually for the lowest and highest elevations respectively. The district is ecologically divided into four zones namely:

- ❖ Agro zone III with an area of 1% of total land area. It has a high rainfall and low evaporation. It is suitable for horticultural and food crop production such as maize, beans, fruits and vegetables.
- ❖ Agro zone IV that covers 2% of the total land area. It is suitable for settled livestock rearing and some mixed farming with dry land crops such as sorghum,

millet and fruits.

These two ecological zones are found around Marsabit hills.

- ❖ Agro zone V that covers 28% of the total land area. It includes landmasses falling between 700-1000m above sea level. The vegetation here includes acacia tortilla woodland on stony soils and acacia commiphora bush land on deeper soils.
- ❖ Agro zone VI that covers 69% of the total land area and lies 700m above sea level. High rates of evaporation and salt deposits make grass growth stunted. It is only suitable for camels.
- ❖ Human settlement is concentrated around the humid and sub humid mountain areas where agro-pastoral livelihood is practiced. 80% of the district's residents are pastoralists deriving their livelihood from livestock and livestock based industries. About 10% of the total population practice subsistence agriculture. About 7% are involved in commerce and the rest are salaried employees.

Wajir

Wajir District is one of the semi arid and arid districts of the sparsely populated province of North Eastern. It is the third largest district in Kenya. In recent years, it has been the district most affected by combinations of insecurity and drought.

The backbone of the districts economy is nomadic pastoralism and the majority of the populations are nomadic pastoralists. The population of the district- and of North Eastern Province as a whole – is predominantly Somali. In Wajir, there are three major clans of Kenyan Somalis; the Ajuran, the Degodia and the Ogaden.

Rainfall is unreliable. Wajir has a high drought risk and averages about 200 mm per year, against an average evapo-transpiration of about 250 mm per year. The effects of the drought of 1991/92 were the severest in living memory. Their scale and severity eclipsed those of the 1982 and 1984 droughts.

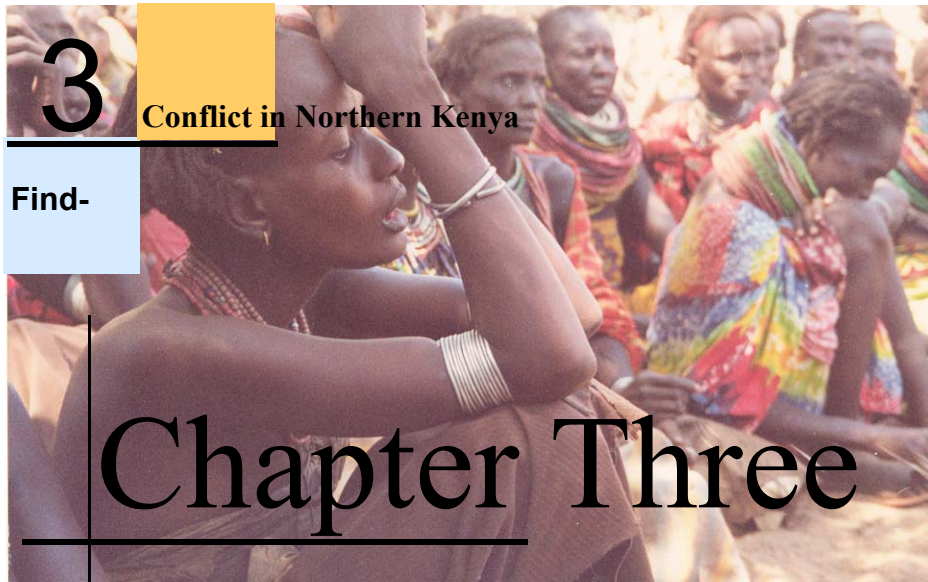
Government service provision is weak. Schools are insufficient, with large class sizes and low equipment and staffing levels. Literacy levels, enrolment and completion rates are the lowest in the country. Static health facilities are understaffed, under equipped and under supplied. Veterinary services cater only for cattle, and do not extend beyond annual campaign immunizations.

Pastoralism in Wajir has been subject to constant change and adaptation. From the late nineteenth century, Somali clans including Ogaden, Degodia, Murille and Ajuran poured into the area. They joined Garre and Ajuran Somali who had been living in alliance with the Boran – south and west respectively. The influx of people of Somali origin was as a result of pressure on resources in Ethiopia and Somalia.

The people of Wajir have severally due to conflicts. The district therefore is home to

Chapter Two: Overview

several refugee homes, a product of chain skirmishes in the past two decades. Most of the conflicts have their root causes in natural resource conflict, namely pasture, water and land which has hitherto been politically capitalized outside the district.



Findings of the Study

This section discusses the findings of the study, which, are presented in six parts representing the districts namely:

- Samburu
- Turkana
- West Pokot
- Marakwet
- Marsabit
- Wajir

SAMBURU

Nature and causes of conflict

The Respondents cited cattle rustling/raids, night attacks and road robberies as the main manifestation and causes of conflicts in the district and beyond. Majority (88%) of the respondents cited revenge as the main cause of conflict. Other major causes include: infiltration of firearms (80%), cattle rustling (75%) competition for scarce resources (73%), heroism (64%) and dowry (63%). Other causes included: discrimination amongst the residents (60%), poverty (50%) and politics (35%) among others. It was also noted that crossing district borders (15%) causes conflicts. For instance, conflict arose between Turkana and Samburu/ Rendille when the Rendille crossed “Soito Ol kokoyo” plains.

Principle Actors of Conflict in Samburu District

Chapter Three: Findings

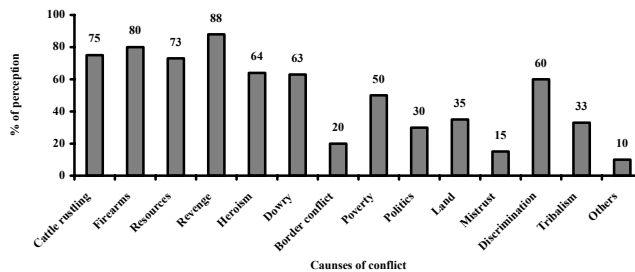


Fig. 3.1 Percent perception of the cause of conflict in Samburu district based on the number of respondents per cause out of a total of forty interviewed (Each cause is independent of the

The principal actors and or aggressors of conflict in Samburu are Turkana from Turkana and Samburu districts (Baragoi division) and the Samburu themselves. Pokot from Baringo and Rendille are the other actors. The study revealed that in nearly all the above cases of conflict, the youth from these communities are directly involved. It is believed that the conflict process is accelerated by the actions of political leaders and Laibons (soothsayers). Resources (grazing land and water) account for a sizeable share in fuelling conflict.

Impact of conflict in Samburu District
The case of Baragoi Division

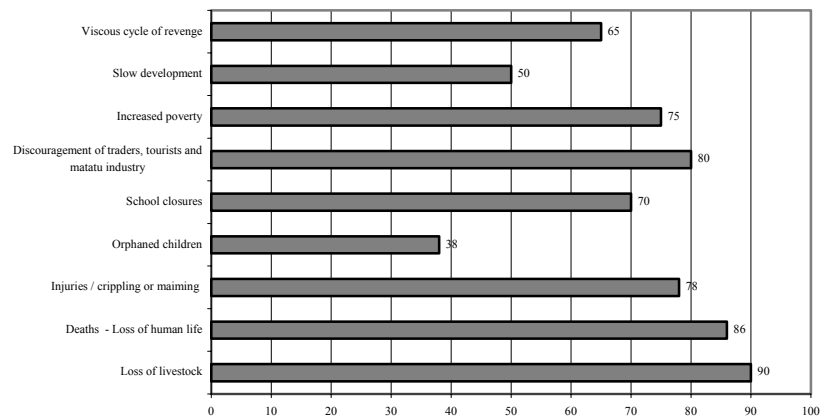
Table 3.2: Conflict catalysts

Conflict catalyst	Role played
Political leaders	Political leaders create conflict by instigating politics that disenfranchise 'enemy' community voters during electioneering period.
Laibons	Laibons are considered among the community members as the seers who are capable of predicting the future trends or events. Their role is to bless the raiders prior to participating in a raiding activity. According to the interviewees, Laibons benefit from raiding activities by receiving tokens in terms of livestock as thanksgiving from the raiders.
Youths (bandits)	The youth are the actual actors of conflict. Apart from the expected material gain, youth portray their heroism through raids. The community recognizes the 'successful youth'. Cowardice is despised. Heroes are rewarded as follows: Samburu Traditional dances are performed in praise of the heroes. Special copper bangles are given to those who manage to kill the 'enemy'. Turkana The heroes are given a rousing welcome and are showered with praises through traditional dances. Their bodies are tattooed in a special way. In some Turkana clans those who manage to kill the enemy are given a new name ending with the suffix 'moe'.

Conflicts have impacted negatively on the victims, especially women and children. Majority of the respondents indicated loss of livestock as the major impact of conflict. Other impacts include loss of human lives, disruption of trade e.g. tourism, injuries, increased poverty and school closures. Others are revenge, slow or stunted development, displacements and resultant orphaned children.

Attempts to cope with conflict

Fig 3.3. Impact of conflict in Baragoi Division, Samburu District. Each impact has been weighted as a percentage based on 40 interviewees (each impact is independent)



The respondents listed the following as coping mechanisms:

- Reduction of dowry requirements / making dowry requirements affordable
- Appointing non-partisan leaders
- Stepping up local security
- Activating elders' court to arbitrate over conflict cases
- Recovering/returning of stolen animals
- Revenging of aggressors
- Reducing over reliance e.g. on rotational grazing.
- Intensifying patrols along the roads
- Educating the communities – use of radios, chiefs' barazas, political rallies.

The community has however not been able to cope with conflict.

People affected by conflict in Samburu District

The study revealed that one of the impacts of conflicts is loss of human lives. This

means that many people would be affected, either directly or indirectly, by conflict. The study sought to determine the percentages and actual numbers of those affected in two divisions of Samburu district. The following were the responses:

Baragoi Division

Table3. 5: People affected by conflict in Baragoi

Location	Households	Population	% Affected by conflict	No. of people affected by conflict
Baragoi	1149	5,273	70	3691
Elbarta	406	1,920	10	192
Marti	442	2,643	100	2643
Nachola	707	3,659	100	3659
Suyan	249	1,145	80	916
Ndoto	638	2718	10	272
Latakweny	653	2,526	10	153
Total	4,244	19,884		14,470

In

Baragoi division, the findings clearly indicate that in certain locations, all the residents are affected by conflict either directly or indirectly such as Marti and Nachola. Other locations that are also highly affected include Suyan and Baragoi. However, some locations are least affected such as Elbarta, Ndoto and Latakweny. From the above figures, the general population affected by conflict in Baragoi division is 73%. This is in agreement with what the elders of Baragoi division said that only two out of 10 people are safe and eight out of ten are affected by conflict.

Displacement of families is a major consequence of conflict. The following table shows the number of households that have been displaced in several locations and their ethnic backgrounds.

Table 3.6: Displaced villages at Baragoi centre

Villages	Ethnic background	No. of households	Current location
Marti	Turkana	200	Baragoi
Marti	Turkana	83	Marti Centre
Parkati & Tuum	Turkana	150	Baragoi
Kawap	Turkana	350	Baragoi
Suguta Valley (Naturkana)	Turkana	*	Baragoi
Mudada	Samburu	40	Baragoi
Bendera	Samburu	300	Baragoi
Lorokonyoke	Samburu	350	Baragoi
Nalailait	Turkana	More than 500	Baragoi
Lpaipon	Samburu	50	Baragoi

*No of households not yet established

The displacement camps (villages) at Baragoi is home to more than 2023 households. Going by the average number per household according to GOK (1999) of 5, this is approximately 10,115 people. Majority of them are of Turkana ethnic background. The Samburu people do not usually come to camp at market centres, but instead, seek refuge in manyattas of relatives and friends.

❖ Nyiro Division

The situation in Nyiro division is similar to that of Baragoi division, although the effect of conflict in Nyiro is milder.

In Nyiro division, residents are affected by conflict either directly or indirectly although in different extents. Kawopi, Parkati, South Horr and Uaso Rongai are most affected. Tum and Arsim are also affected by conflicts. The above figures indicate that 59% of the population in the division is affected by conflicts. This means that only four out of 10 people are safe and six out of ten are affected by conflict.

All the displaced people are squatting at Baragoi trading centre. The displaced attributed their internal refugees' status to conflicts and to a lesser extent drought.

Historical trend in banditry and cattle rustling in Samburu district

The Samburu people have suffered a series of attacks since 1962. The table below

Table 3.7: People affected by conflict in Nyiro division

Location	Households	Population	% affected by conflict	No. of people affected by conflict
Parkati	492	2521	70	1765
Tum	337	1502	50	751
South Horr	883	3592	60	2155
Kawop	644	3283	80	2626
Uaso Rongai	601	2523	60	1514
Arsim	536	2130	20	426
Total	2953	15,551		9,237

outlines this trend.

From the table above, it is clear that there has been a series of attacks in Samburu from 1962 till 2002 (when the data was collected). These raids involved the Turkana,

Table 3.8: Historical trend in banditry and cattle rustling in Samburu district

Date	Nature of conflict and or Actors	No. Of animals stolen	Action taken
1962	Turkana from Lodwar attacked Samburu	400 cows were stolen A large no. of goats were stolen (No. not specified)	Government sold Turkana animals irrationally and compensated Samburus. Disarmament of Turkanas.
1970	Turkana from Lodwar and Baragoi attacked Samburu.	300 cows were stolen.	No action taken.
1980	Samburu were attacked by Turkana	40,000 cows were stolen.	No action taken.
1994	Pokot attacked samburu	Animals of unknown number were stolen	No action taken
1996	Turkana attacked Samburu Turkana attacked Rendille.	20,000 cows were taken Government District Commissioner (Mr. Nyandoro) was killed. 46 people were killed.	The government did nothing. Samburu bought guns and armed themselves (from Ethiopia and Somalia). Samburu formed alliance with Pokots.
1997	Samburu/Pokot Samburu alliance attack Turkana in Samburu district	63 Turkana people were killed.	No action taken
2000	Samburu and Pokot attacked Turkana.	All livestock were taken from Turkana. Heavy casualty was reported. Displacement of Turkanas from their villages.	No action taken
2001	Counter attacks between Turkana and Samburu.	Each attack was reported to the authorities	Peace mission formed with twelve (12) members per location. Membership included the chief and the councilor.
2002	Counter attack between Turkana and Samburu	•	No action taken

Rendille and Pokot. They resulted in large numbers of livestock being stolen, people being killed (loss of human lives), families being displaced and enmity amongst different communities. In most cases, there was little or no effort by the government to compensate the losses resulting from raiding and banditry. The table below details the aggregated (sex and age) number of people affected by conflicts and the number

of livestock stolen from 1996 to 2002.

Small arms proliferation: Impact on cattle rustling

Majority of the respondents cited the infiltration of guns into the district as a major cause of conflict. They hinted where the guns were coming from as indicated in the

Table 3.9: Impact of conflict in selected locations since 1996.

Location	Time	No. of Reported cases	No. of Persons killed			No. of Persons injured			No of People displaced	No. of Live-stock stolen
			C	W	M	C	W	M		
Marti	1996-2000	22	6	10	60	12	8	20	2643	10,000 cows, 20,000 goats, 1,600 camels, 600 donkeys
Parkati	2000-2002	6	14	6	0	14	3	24	-	
Nachola	Oct. 2002	1	2	2	1	1	-	1	300	100 camels and 200 cows.
Baragoi	1996		15%	5%	80%	150	600	400	-	-

Key: C – Children, W – Women, M - Men

chart below.

On the uses of guns, the respondents indicated that they use the guns for protection purposes (100%) and raiding opponents (88%). After further probing, another reason was cited as prestige. This information is presented in the table below.

Fig. 3.10. Sources of guns/small arms (in percentage) used in conflict in Samburu district. Each case is treated independently out of possible 100 sources.

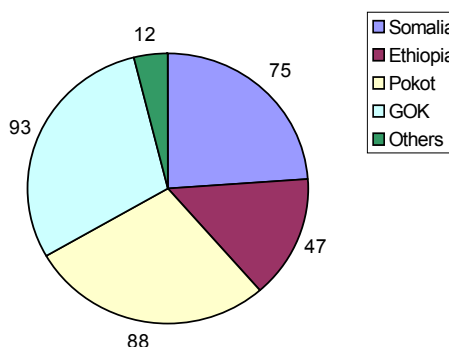


Table 3.11: Uses of guns

Uses	Frequency	%
Protection/ security	40	100
Raiding	35	88
Others	10	25

Table 3.12: Categories of guns used and cost.

Type of Gun	Price of gun in Kshs	Price in animals
Old guns	15,000	One bull
G3	40,000	Four bulls
AK47	30,000	Three bulls
M16	60,000	Five-six bulls

The study further established that obtaining these guns is not a cheap affair although this does not stop them from acquiring the guns. For instance, an old gun costs Kshs. 15000 which is equivalent to one bull while M16, the most expensive gun, costs Kshs. 60000, which is equivalent to five or six bulls. It is important to note that the guns are paid for in terms of animals. This can be another reason for raids to acquire more animals to buy guns.

Socio-economic impact of banditry and cattle rustling

Banditry and cattle rustling have had a negative impact on the community as outlined in the table below. There have been massive theft of livestock, looting and destruction of property, reduced economic activities, degradation of the environment and health status of community members due to unhygienic conditions people are living under, collapse of education systems, insufficient infrastructural facilities, very low investment in the business sector, displacements of people, moral decay and stalled development projects. These and many other problems make survival of the victims of conflict difficult.

Table 3.13: Socio-economic impacts of banditry and cattle rustling

Socio-Economic Impact on:	Coping mechanism
<p>Crop Farming</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Reduced crop farming - farms have been abandoned 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Stepping up security and growing drought resistant crops
<p>Livestock farming</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Loss of animals through cattle raids, livestock diseases and increasing levels of poverty. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Educating the community on alternative livelihoods e.g. poultry and bee keeping. ❖ Intensify security. ❖ Restocking (Oxfam attempted to restock but still raiders came to raid restocked livestock)

Environmental and forestry ❖ Deforestation, overgrazing, soil erosion	❖ Formation of environmental committees ❖ Initiating community based afforestation programmes.
Health ❖ Increase in diseases e.g. Malaria, AIDS, diarrhoea, Amoebae, Coughing, HIV/AIDS ❖ Inaccessibility to medical facilities.	❖ Health education, boiling water and sinking pit latrines. ❖ Use of herbs ❖ Establish health centres and private mission hospitals.
Education ❖ Frequent closure of schools, increased drop outs at lower level	❖ Improving security so that schools re-open and building more boarding schools
Transport and Communication ❖ Insecure roads and highway robbery	❖ Intensified patrols along the roads. ❖ Provision of escorts to traders, passengers and tourists using the road. ❖ Travelling at night.
Business Sector. ❖ Very low investment ❖ Shops closed due to insecurity. ❖ Collapse of Livestock trade	❖ Improving security ❖ Peace workshops to discourage highway robbery.
Settlement / displacement ❖ Displacement of people from their homes to urban centres. ❖ Abandoning schools	❖ Resettlement ❖ Putting up boarding schools
Social Lifestyle ❖ Prostitution has increased. ❖ Street children have increased	Behavioural change advocacy and programmes

Major food / staple food

Situations of unrest and conflict have been found to have an effect on the dietary status of a people. The respondents indicated that their staple food has been milk, meat, blood and other traditional foods. However, this has changed to porridge, wild fruits and at times boiled maize and beans –mainly relief food.

The study further revealed that not everybody could afford these foods in a day. For instance, 60% of the people in Baragoi cannot afford three meals a day. They skip meals and at best take only one meal a day. Majority of the displaced people go without food for up to five days. A few were reported to have died of hunger. *It is important to note here that, according to the victims, a meal refers to just something to eat.*

Recommendations to Rehabilitate Conflict Victims and Manage Conflicts in Samburu District

The respondents were asked to suggest ways in which conflicts in Samburu district could be managed and how the conflict victims could be rehabilitated. The table

above indicates their aggregated responses.

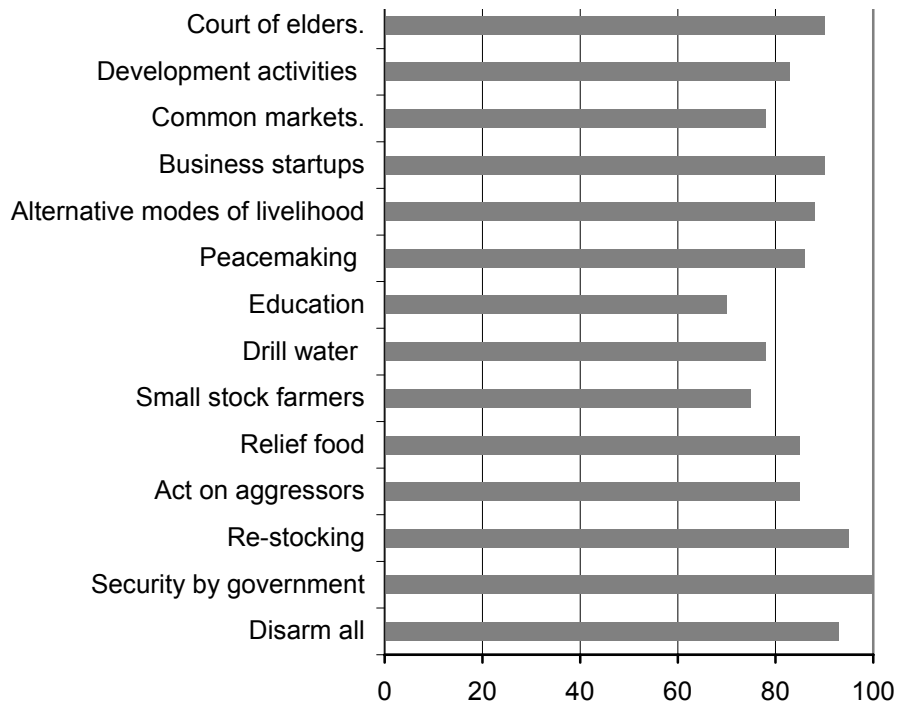


Fig. 3.14 Recommendations for conflict management and rehabilitation of conflict victims in Samburu district based on the perception of 40 respondents interviewed at random. (Each recommendation is independent of another)

The findings above indicate that all the respondents (100%) recommend that government should at minimum provide and guarantee the security of its citizens. Security in the area should be strengthened to foster peace. The presence of Kenya Police Reservists (KPR) has not eased conflicts in the district and as such should be disarmed, retrained or new recruits enlisted.

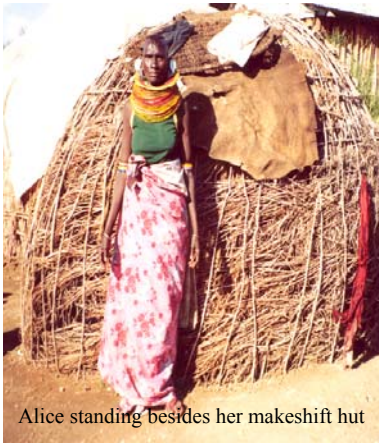
Case Study

The case of Alice Lorot

Alice Lorot was living peacefully in a village called Mbukoi. In 1996, the Samburu and Pokot rustlers attacked her village. Her elder son was killed. Her animals (180

cattle, 20 camels and 160 goats) were taken away. This is all that she owned.

"The raiders burnt down our huts (houses) and we were forced to flee to Baragoi trading centre, where I am living with my children in abject poverty. Other people have run away to Maralal, Isiolo, Wamba and Rumuruti. Some have even run away to as far as Eldoret and Kitale to join their relatives.



Alice standing besides her makeshift hut

In Mbukoi, I had a small business where I sold tobacco and sugar. This business was helping me to meet my daily requirements, but after that deadly raid, we are now living in poverty. My husband died recently because of starvation.

I have three children in school, but due to lack of school fees, two have dropped out but the one who is now in class eight, is still continuing. I don't know her fate since I have no money left now.

After the raid, I got five goats from relatives. Unfortunately, these were also taken away. The raiders had guns and thus overpowered us. At the moment, I am living alone with my children. I fetch firewood, which I sell for my daily survival. This entirely depends on luck".

At the end of the interview, Alice requested assistance in establishing a small business as an alternative to nomadic pastoralism that is susceptible to raids. She also recommended disarming armed communities since the gun is the main cause of war. She continued to say that such wars result in hunger and because there is no food, problems like prostitution have sprung up. This of course leads to rapid spread of HIV/AIDS especially amongst young boys and girls. The raids also lead to congestion of people in a safe area resulting to disease outbreak e.g. tuberculosis, diarrhoea (dysentery), coughing and kwashiorkor.

She further suggested that it will only be possible to get peace and people to live in harmony, if they are restocked, resettled (building semi-permanent houses) and encouraged to interact with the communities they are fighting with and, exposed to other peaceful communities.

TURKANA DISTRICT

Nature of Conflicts

Cattle raids and resource-based conflicts are the main types and manifestations of conflicts in Turkana district. The district's proximity to Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda and hostile neighbouring districts in Kenya makes it one of the most affected by insecurity incidences.

Causes of conflict

In the district, conflicts are caused by many intertwined and intricate factors. Wealth (livestock), ethnocentrism and proliferation of illicit arms are the leading causes of cattle raids in the district. The table below shows the causes of conflict in Turkana district as indicated by the respondents:

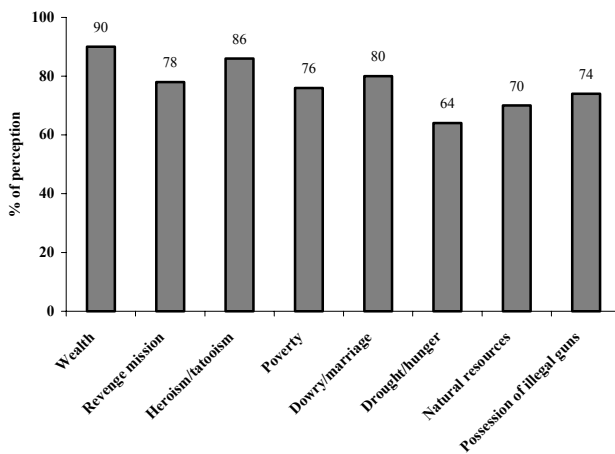


Fig. 4.1. Percent perception of the cause of conflict in Turkana district based on the number of respondents per cause out of a total of forty interviewed (Each cause is independent of the other).

Majority of the respondents (90%) cited wealth as the major cause of conflict. People go for raids so as to acquire more livestock and enrich themselves. Other causes cited include: heroism (86%), dowry (80%), revenge (78%), poverty (76%), possession of illegal arms (74%), natural resources (70%) and drought (64%). It is important to note here that poverty and wealth are two different points. Those who raid to enrich themselves (wealth) do so to add on to the livestock that they already have whereas those who are poor have nothing to add to, they steal because they do not have anything.

Conflict Actors

The respondents were asked to indicate the actors of conflict. The table below shows the frequency and involvement of the actors.

Table 4.2: Actors of conflict

The above table is indicative that there are several actors of conflict in Turkana

Warriors / rustlers	Country of origin	Frequency of involvement
Dodoth	Uganda	*** (3)
Turkana	Kenya	X
Toposa	Sudan	**** (4)
Pokot	Kenya	**** (4)
Pokot	Uganda	**** (4)
Didinga	Sudan	*** (3)
Dongiro (Nyangatum)	Ethiopia	** (2)
Merille	Ethiopia	*** (3)
Matheniko	Uganda	*** (3)
Tepeth	Uganda	*** (3)
Samburu	Kenya	* (1)

Legend:

- * Rarely raids Turkana District
- ** Attacks once in a while
- *** Raids regularly
- **** Principal attacker/ enemy
- X Traditionally Turkanas do not raid from their community

district. The leading aggressors (communities) include Toposa from Sudan and Pokot from Kenya and Uganda. Other includes Dodoth from Uganda, Didinga from Sudan, Merille from Ethiopia, Matheniko from Uganda and Tapeth from Uganda, Dongiro from Ethiopia and to a lesser extent the Samburu from Kenya. Traditionally, the Turkana do not raid amongst their people.

Impact of conflict activities in Turkana

Majority of the respondents cited loss of livestock as the greatest impact of conflicts in the district. Other negative impacts are poverty, loss of lives, hunger and internal

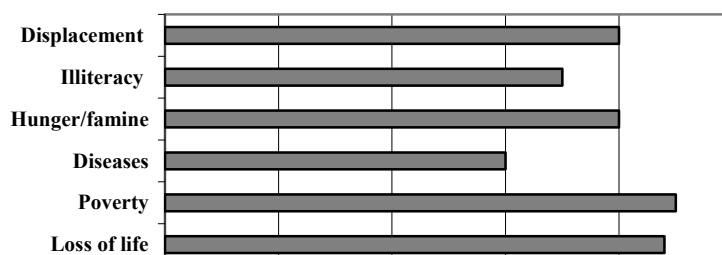


Fig. 4.3. % Level of impact of conflict in Turkana district based on the number of respondents per impact out of a total of forty interviewed (Each impact is independent)

Chapter Three: Findings

displacement, illiteracy, and spread of human and livestock diseases.

Livestock Lost

Within the last two years, the respondents said that they have lost a total of 33,957 livestock to cattle rustlers from the neighbouring communities. Kakuma, Lokichogio divisions and South Turkana lost 4,800, 6,500 and 22,657 livestock to raiders respectively.

Occasionally, some animals are recovered during follow-ups, government interventions and as a result of inter-community dialogues and agreements. The estimates of livestock stolen given above does not take into consideration that some animals may have been recovered. In most cases, revenge missions are carried out to replace stolen animals hence creating a vicious cycle and unending missions of revenge and counter attacks.

Number of people killed

Table 4.4: No of people killed in Kakuma, and Lokichogio

Category of people killed	Lokichogio	Kakuma	Total
Children	11	10	21
Women	22	2	24
Men	12	Not specified	12
Total	45	12	57

Loss of human lives rated second in the impacts of conflict. The study established the actual numbers of people killed during the conflicts.

Attempts to cope with conflict

As a way of coping with conflicts that have become part and parcel of local people's lifestyle, the respondents indicated the following as coping mechanisms:

Table 4.5: Attempts to cope with conflict

The above table infers that the

Coping mechanism	Comments
Dependence on relief food from government and Development agencies (1995 – 2000).	❖ Relief food supply has since stopped
Peace talks between feuding parties.	❖ Has not become effective in controlling conflict
Alternative livelihoods e.g. – Business skills, rain fed farming (Lokichogio).	❖ No business skills ❖ Farming skills not properly developed ❖ Capital for both business and farming is not available

community has not adequately coped with conflicts. For instance, the victims do not have any business skills to practice business, relief food supply has since stopped and peace talks have not become less effective in controlling cattle raids.

The people affected by conflict

Apart from the actual killings of people, there are those affected directly or indirectly.

Table 4.6: No. of people affected by conflicts in Lokichogio: Mogila loca-

People affected by conflict	Number of people	%
Directly affected	3845	63
Indirectly affected	1000	17
Not affected at all	1205	20
Total population	6050	100

From the figures provided, it is clear that majority of the respondents have been affected directly by conflict while 17% of the respondents have been indirectly affected. It is important to note that 20% of the respondents have not been affected at all.

Base figures are estimated from population census report (GOK, 1999) using the model $P_n = P_o e^{rt}$

Where,

- P_n = Population at any time
- P_o = Initial population 1999
- r = Population growth
- t = Time in years

Table 4.7: No. of people affected by conflicts in Kakuma: Murungole and Lopur Lo-

People affected by conflict	Number of people	%
Directly affected	3900	38
Indirectly affected	2500	25
Not affected at all	3830	37
Total population	10470	100

Of the two locations surveyed at least seven villages (mainly from Murungole) are of purely displaced people as a result of conflict. Eight Villages are indirectly affected. The rest of the villages are not affected at all.

Kakuma division is also home to about 127,000 refugees. The International refugees

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are taken care of by UNHCR, whereas the internally displaced conflict victims get little assistance.

In Lokichogio division, incessant rustling between Toposa and Turkana communities has displaced a big number of people. This forced the locals to set up their own informal displacement camp, which consists of approximately 620 households.

Illicit arms proliferation: Impact on cattle rustling

The proliferation of illicit arms has made traditional raiding more severe, frequent,

Table 4.8: Number of people displaced in Lokichogio division.

Origin of displaced people	No
Locher Akaal	1914
Lorus	2268
Lozemiet	1919
Total	6,097

deadly and a commercial venture. The chart and table below illustrates the origins of these arms, types, costs and how they are used.

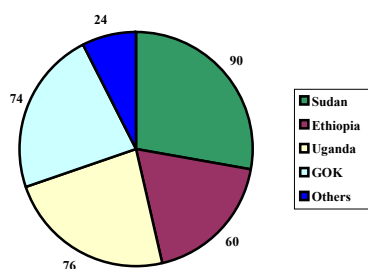


Fig. 4.9. Sources of guns/small arms (in percentage) used in conflict in Turkana district based on the number of respondents per source out of a total of forty interviewed (Each source is

Majority of the respondents (90%) indicated that guns come from Sudan. Other sources include Uganda (76%), GOK (74%) and Ethiopia (60%). This confirms that indeed illicit arms find their way into Kenya from the neighbouring countries.

Table 4.10: Types of guns used and respective cost.

Type of gun	Price of gun in Kshs	Livestock equivalent
Old guns	15,000	One bull
G3	40,000	Four bulls
AK47	30,000	Three bulls
M16/ SLR	60,000	Five-Six bulls

The cost similarity to that in Samburu district suggests that the traffickers of illicit

arms may be the same people across the region. The respondents said that they use the guns for security/protection. Others use it for raiding and for prestige. The youth divulged that it is prestigious to own a gun.

Socio-economic impact of banditry and cattle rustling

Banditry and cattle rustling have had negative impacts on the socio-economic activities of the Turkana people as indicated in the table below.

Table 4.11: Socio-economic impact of banditry and cattle rustling

Socio-economic impact on:	Coping mechanism
Crop farming ❖ Reduced farming activities, Crop theft	❖ Venturing into micro-business. ❖ Buying of guns and creation of local vigilante groups.
Livestock production ❖ Collapse of livestock farming due to cattle rustling and diseases. ❖ Dry season grazing lands abandoned	❖ Buying of guns and creation of local vigilante groups. ❖ Migration to safer areas ❖ Dividing stock into smaller herds ❖ Inter-community dialogues and peace meetings
Environment and forests ❖ Increased Charcoal burning and Bush clearing	❖ Government and development agencies train community on bio-diversity conservation and afforestation.
Health ❖ Increased human and livestock diseases, injuries ❖ Closure of health facilities	❖ Use of herbal medicine ❖ Peace building activities so as to facilitate re-opening of closed health facilities.
Education ❖ Closures of schools, low enrolment in few existing schools as teachers relocate to safer places.	❖ NGOs/Churches rehabilitate and support education facilities. ❖ UNHCR allocate a certain percentage for locals in their schools in Kakuma. ❖ Establishment of boarding and mobile schools. ❖ Employing untrained teachers.
Transport ❖ Increased highway robberies and banditry.	❖ Government provision of armed escorts to travellers. ❖ Customary cursing of bandits
Business Sector ❖ Livestock business has collapsed ❖ Boom of gun trade.	❖ Opening livestock markets along the borders. ❖ Animal branding for easy identification.
Settlements ❖ Displacement of people. ❖ Congestion in a small safe places.	❖ Rehabilitation, Restocking and establishment of local refugee camps
Economic Lifestyle ❖ People have been impoverished, increased poverty, destitution and high dependence on relief food.	❖ Adoption of alternative livelihoods like small-scale business enterprises and agriculture along the riverrines.

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The table illustrates that there has been a marked reduction in livelihoods resulting to over-reliance on relief food, collapse of livestock production and idleness among the youth. Mass displacement of people and loss of the only livelihood (pastoralism) of the conflict victims and the displaced have worsened this.

Main food/staple food

The dietary status of the people of Turkana district has not been spared by conflict either. The respondents indicated that they now have to depend on porridge, wild fruits and at times boiled maize and beans as their main food. Consumption of meat, milk and blood (traditional foods) has gone down.

The study further revealed that the community experiences up to nine months of serious food shortage every year. March, April and May are the only months of the year that the Turkana people expect some food especially after the light showers. This is the period of abundant pasture as a result of the rain but the other nine months are dry and characterized with resource and food deficiency. By average, adults go up to five days without food. Those in the camp require food throughout the year.

Recommendations to rehabilitate and manage conflicts in Turkana district

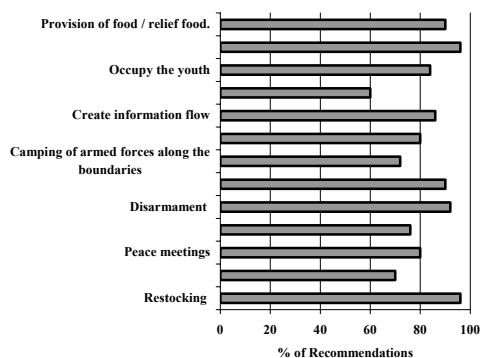
The respondents suggested that development of water sources; disarmament, strengthening pastoralists’ livelihoods or starting income generating activities and restocking of stolen livestock can be the most effective means of rehabilitating conflict victims and resolving conflicts. The figure below illustrates the perception of the victims on the way forward to resolving conflict.

Case Study

The case Napogol Alinga

"It is a terrible thing that

Fig. 4.12. Recommendations for conflict management and rehabilitation of conflict victims (in percentage) for Turkana district based on the number of respondents per recommendation out of a total of forty interviewed (Each source is independent of



happened to our village about two

years ago. A large number of Toposa warriors from Sudan ambushed our adakar (village/manyatta). I can remember it was early in the morning. Bullets exploded everywhere. Several people were killed and many more were injured. We had to run for our life. This is how we found our way to Lokichogio.



Napogol Alinga, a conflict victim

All our livestock were driven away. My household lost 200 heads of cattle, 200 shoats and ten donkeys. We had nothing else to depend on. My husband died of starvation. I was left with four sons and two daughters. We have nothing to depend on for our survival since the relief food ceased last September. We now rely heavily on the wild fruits. But now I have lost my eyesight. Survival is difficult. I fear I will die soon".

WEST POKOT DISTRICT

Nature of conflict

Cattle/livestock raids are the main manifestation and form of violence contributing to insecurity in West Pokot district.

Causes of conflict

Competition over the control and use of scarce natural resources (pasture, grazing land and water) between Pokot herders and other neighbouring communities is the main cause of conflicts in Pokot land. Other causes include traditional culture of cattle rustling, ethnocentrism, poverty, marginalization and proliferation of illicit arms. The respondents highlighted the following as the causes of conflict in the district:

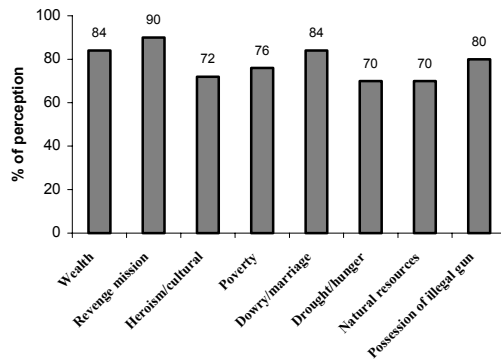


Fig. 5.1. Percent perception of the cause of conflict in West Pokot district based on the number of respondents per cause out of a total of forty interviewed (Each cause is independent of the other).

Conflict

Actors

Like the Turkana, the Pokot neighbour hostile communities both within Kenya and across the Ugandan border. In Uganda, the respondents said that the Karamojang and Sabinu are the main aggressors whereas the neighbouring Turkana, Marakwet and to a lesser extent the Luhya communities are the frequent aggressors in the Kenya side.

Table 5.2 Conflict: Actors

Impact of conflict

Legend:

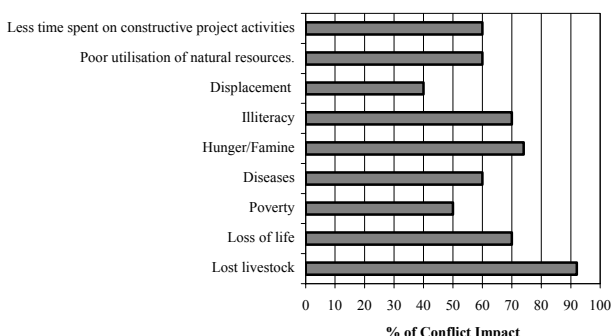
Warriors /rustlers	Country of origin	Frequency of attack	Legend:
Sebei	Uganda	***	* Rarely raids the Pokot
Turkana	Kenya	****	** Attacks once in a while
Karamojong groups	Uganda	****	*** Raids regularly
Marakwet	Kenya	****	****
Luhya	Kenya	*	Principal attacker/ the

activities in West Pokot

The respondents said that loss of livestock to cattle raiders is their main concern. Loss of lives was ranked second closely followed by hunger and soaring illiteracy rates. Other impacts include but not limited to displacement of people and livestock, poverty, underutilization of resources and chronic underdevelopment of the district. The graph below summarizes the negative impacts of conflicts in West Pokot district:

Attempts to cope with conflict

Fig. 5.3. Level of impact of conflict (%) in West Pokot district based on the number of respondents per impact out of a total of forty interviewed (Each impact is independent of the other)



As a way of coping with conflict, the respondents indicated the following as their coping mechanisms:

People affected by conflict in Pokot District

Table 5.4 Measures that the community has put in place to cope with the problem.

Coping mechanism	Ability to cope with the problem
❖ Making dowry requirements affordable	The community has not been able to cope with the conflict and displacement problem.
❖ Government track and arrest perpetrators	
❖ Stepping up local security/vigilante groups	
❖ Strengthen elders' court to arbitrate over conflict cases	
❖ Recovery/ returning of stolen animals	
❖ Revenge	
❖ Introduce alternative livelihoods	
❖ Intensify patrols along the roads	

The study revealed that one of the impacts of conflicts in West Pokot district is the massive displacement of people especially along the borders with other neighbouring communities. Kasei, Sigor, Alale and Chesegon are the most affected divisions since they border hostile districts of Uganda. In these border areas, a total of 62,388 people, 60% of the combined population of these divisions, have been affected by

conflicts either directly or indirectly.

Table 5.5 People affected by conflict in West Pokot District Kasei and Alale divisions that

Division	Kasei		Sigor		Alale		Chesogon	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Directly affected	3952	40	7708	18	11871	40	6830	32
Indirectly affected	3458	35	9421	22	5936	20	10244	48
Not affected at all	2469	25	25692	60	8904	30	4269	20
Total population	9,879	100	42,821	100	29,679	100	21,343	100

border Turkana district and Uganda respectively are the most affected whereas Sigor is the least affected albeit it borders Turkana. The conflicts in Chesogon are solely cattle raids and land clashes between the Pokot and Marakwet communities. Most of the affected are women and children who are also the majority of the displaced.

Socio-economic impact of banditry and cattle rustling

Banditry and cattle rustling have had a negative impact on the community as outlined in the table below. There has been massive theft of livestock, looting and destruction of property, reduced economic activities, collapse of education facilities (as a result of school closures, low enrolment and relocation of teachers to places presumed safe), degraded physical infrastructure, very low investment in the business sector, displacements of people, and stalled development projects. Health facilities and personnel have also been put to waste. The victims seek refuge in manyattas of friends and relatives.

In light of the increasing severity, frequency and impacts of conflicts in West Pokot district, the community has come up with some coping measures. These measures supplement the traditional early warning systems that the Pokot community has used since time immemorial to ward off potential conflict situations. Establishment of vigilante groups, arming themselves (with AK47 and G3 rifles), conducting inter-community peace dialogues, teaming up with security forces and formulating inter-community common grazing patterns are some of the Pokot community coping mechanisms to conflicts. The table below details some of the community's coping mechanisms.

Most of these coping mechanisms are community driven and owned. The security forces only intervene during conflicts but do not necessarily aid in preventing

Table 5.6 Socio-economic impact of banditry and cattle rustling

Socio-economic impact on:	Coping mechanism
Crop farming Abandoning of farms due to insecurity, low food production, destruction of fruit trees	❖ Relief food from World Food Programme. ❖ Migration to highlands
Health Collapse of health facilities and withdrawal of personnel	❖ Mobile health facilities, health education
Environment/Forestry Destruction of biodiversity due to overgrazing and overcrowding in places presumed safe, soil erosion and deforestation	❖ Awareness on forest conservation ❖ Dividing stock ❖ Grazing livestock outside forests.
Settlement Displacement of people and loss of livelihoods	❖ Moving to highlands and safe places
Transport Increased highway robberies	❖ Teaming up security personnel in flushing out bandits ❖ Peace building initiatives
Livestock Production Low quality and quantity of animal products e.g. meat, eggs due to constant migration of livestock, loss of livestock to raiders	❖ Settlement of inter-community disputes by local structures e.g. council of elders
Education School closures, relocation of teachers, low enrolment, poor performance	❖ Introduction of mobile schools ❖ Beefing up security around schools ❖ Re-allocation of schools to safe areas
Business Collapse of businesses, destruction of premises and property, closure of trading centres	❖ Relocation of shops to safe places/ neighbourhood

conflicts. During conflicts, some respondents hinted that the security personnel prefer to give the warriors bullets than follow or confront the raiders. This has been one area of great collaboration between the community security arrangements and formal forces. Whereas the security forces have the resources (bullets), the warriors have the skill and courage to engage raiders from neighbouring communities.

Staple food

The study found out that the main foods for Pokot people include ugali, milk, meat, wild fruits and vegetables. These foods are available throughout the year except between November to March. During this dry season, the people cope by collecting/gathering wild fruits such as *Lomik*, *Sorich* and *Tuyunwo*. During severe droughts, relief food from World Food Programme, government, churches and other relief agencies comes to the aid of Pokot people. Eggs and chicken are also eaten when

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there is nothing else to lay hands on albeit the community doesn't value poultry - they perceive it as birds. During dry season, the population is generally malnourished especially in the dry lowlands of the district.

Recommendations to rehabilitate conflict victims

Majority of the respondents recommended restocking of animals, introduction of alternative livelihoods e.g. crop farming or business enterprises and stepping up peace building activities in the district and beyond as a way of rehabilitating conflict victims and generally managing the incessant cattle raids. Other recommendations include but not limited to disarmament, exposure tours, investing in education and provision of health services. The table below summarizes the suggested recommendations.

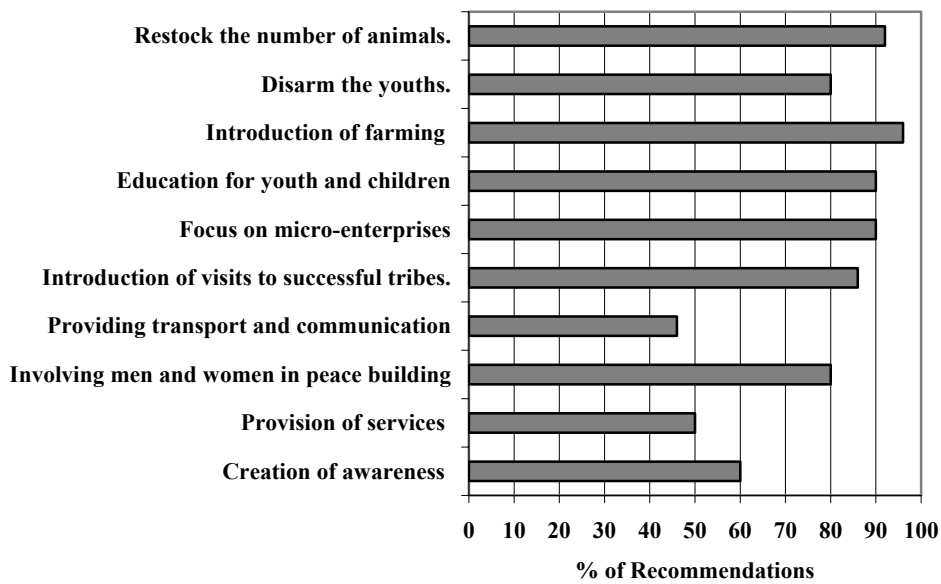


Fig. 5.7: Recommendations for conflict management and rehabilitation of conflict victims for West Pokot district based on the number of respondents per source out of a total of forty people interviewed (Each source is independent of the other)

MARAKWET DISTRICT

Nature of Conflicts

Conflicts between Marakwet and Pokot communities are thought to be political rather than resource pegged. The conflicts chiefly, manifested as deadly cattle raids became severe at the dawn of political pluralism in Kenya. The Marakwet were accused of rebelling against the Kalenjin preference of the then ruling party, KANU, as most of its leaders leaned towards pluralists politics.

Causes of Conflict

Cattle raids masterminded by Pokot warriors are the main cause of conflicts in Marakwet district. The majority of the respondents pointed accusing fingers at the Pokot community for causing trouble in the district. All cattle stolen are normally driven towards west or east Pokot. In addition to this, Marakwet community traditionally raids cattle solely to restock their wealth (livestock), marry (dowry) and to avenge attacks. However, the proliferation of illicit arms in the Kerio Valley region has made cattle raids deadly, severe and commercial. Other causes of conflicts include ethnocentrism, heroism, land disputes and boundary problems. Similarly the harsh environment has aggravated the insecurity situation. The semi-arid and arid areas have consistent and persistent droughts, especially among the Pokot who neighbour the Marakwet hence creating conditions for frequent raids. Violent conflicts over the use, access and control of scarce pasture resources have frustrated traditional non-violent mechanisms of sharing the dry season resources. The graph below details some of these causes statistically.

Conflict Actors

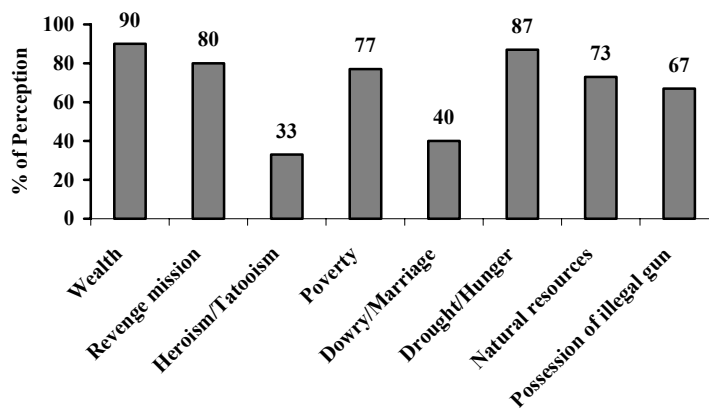


Fig. 6.1. Percent perception of the cause of conflict in Marakwet district based on the number of respondents per cause out of a total of forty interviewed (Each cause is independent of

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The major conflict players in Marakwet district are the Marakwets and the Pokot communities (both from West Pokot and Baringo districts). Men and youth (warriors) are the main actors whereas women are known to fuel conflicts by praising successful warriors and ridiculing cowards. During this study it was also evident that conflict in Marakwet has been greatly aggravated by traditional and political leaders.

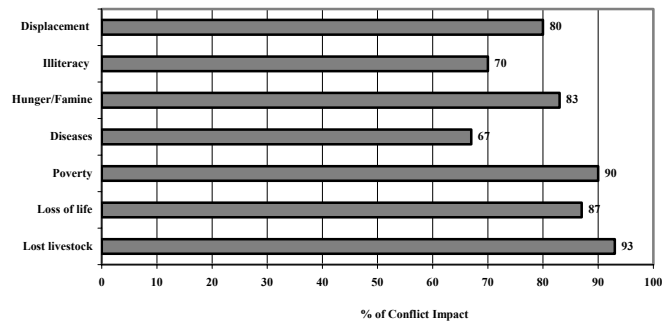
Politically, since the 1990's, with the advent of multiparty politics in Kenya, leaders manipulated the people along ethnic identities and grievances in seeking personal gains. Such voiced grievances include raiding, burning of houses and killings of people in opposing political camps in a calculated move to disenfranchise such groups within the community. This resulted in intolerance and perceived marginalization of some communities in the Kerio Valley in the dawn of political pluralism in Kenya.

Impacts of Conflict in Marakwet District

Any conflict encounter in Marakwet results in loss of lives, livestock, injuries, displacements and poverty. Other effects include disruption of education as schools are closed, teachers relocate to places deemed safe and enrolment rates goes down. Health facilities are also put to waste, as none of the medical personnel would tolerate working in such hostile environment. Systems of production (land, livestock) are wasted when people get displaced from their homes and livelihoods. The graph below represents the impacts of conflicts in Marakwet.

In Tot division that borders West Pokot and East Pokot (Baringo) districts, 95% or 16,857 people out of the divisions total population of 17,744 people are affected either directly or indirectly by conflicts. This is perhaps one of the most affected

Fig. 6.2. The percentage of the impact of conflict in Marakwet district based on the number of respondents per impact out of a total of forty interviewed (Each impact is



divisions not only in the North Rift, but also in the whole country. This is the division that has the highest cases of internal displacements in the region. The situation is replicated in Tunyo division that also borders west and east Pokot.

People affected by conflict	Number of people	%
Directly affected	6035	57
Indirectly affected	4023	38
Not affected at all	530	5
Total population	10588	100

People affected by conflict	Number of people	%
Directly affected	11534	65
Indirectly affected	5323	30
Not affected at all	887	5
Total population	17744	100

Table 6.4 People affected by conflict in Tunyo Division Marakwet District
 Table 6.3 People affected by conflict in Tot Division, Marakwet District

two divisions, the study found out that more men than women were killed and or injured during conflicts than women. However, more women than men were displaced.

Table 6.5: The people affected by conflict Tot and Tunyo Divisions between 2000

Time/Period	No. of persons killed			No. of people injured			No. of people displaced	No. of livestock stolen
	C	W	M	C	W	M		
2000 – 2002	11	22	60	1	5	19	10,500	2,318

Illicit arms

proliferation and conflicts

The entry of illicit arms in the Kerio Valley has wrought untold havoc and devastation leading to many deaths, injuries and displacements. Guns have transformed traditional practice of cattle rustling into sheer criminal activities and commercial ventures. However, the respondents said that they have acquired or are in the process of acquiring guns solely for protection purposes. The guns are sourced from Pokot and Turkana gun merchants. Some GoK officials also collude with the community by selling guns to them.

Table 6.6 Sources of guns / small arms

Source	Frequency	%
Turkana	25	33
Pokot	35	47
GOK	10	14
Others	5	6

Categories of guns used

The conflict victims in Marakwet district conceded to having armed themselves for purpose of protection, however the respondents were not willing to disclose the types of guns they possess or even the cost of the guns. This can be attributed to fear of arrest. However it is safe to assume that the price of guns in the neighbouring district is the same in Marakwet district, that is, an old gun costs Kshs. 15,000 or one bull

while the most expensive gun (M16), costs Kshs. 60,000, or five to six bulls. There is a high likelihood that the gun traders are the same in the pastoralists' districts.

Socio-economic Impact of banditry and Cattle Rustling

Cattle rustling and banditry activities in Kerio valley and in areas bordering West Pokot and Baringo districts have displaced 32,000 people accounting for 23% of the total population of Marakwet district. These statistics reveal that perhaps Marakwet district has been the hardest hit by conflicts in the northern Kenya region. Agriculture, livestock production and social infrastructure facilities like education and health services have been put to waste by these intermittent conflicts. The table below summarizes the impacts of conflicts on socio-economic activities of the Marakwet people.

Staple Food

The responses from the informants show that the main foodstuffs for the Marakwet people include maize, sorghum, millet, beans, cowpeas, cassava and bananas.

Table 6.7 Socio-economic impacts of banditry and cattle rustling

Socio-Economic Impact on:	Coping mechanism
<p>Crop Farming ❖ Close to 5,000 hectares of cultivated land abandoned.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Cultivating the escarpment and outlying areas. ❖ Dependency on GOK, development agencies relief food.
<p>Livestock farming Over 30,000 cattle have been stolen in the past 15 years.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ The GOK has deployed armed forces, police, GSU in the area ❖ The local people have bought guns to protect themselves ❖ Zero-grazing cattle keeping
<p>Environment and forestry Embobut forest and the buffer zone in the escarpment has been encroached by about 10,000 people, escaping the raids in the valley.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Environmental conservation advocated along the escarpment
<p>Health Health facilities are under utilized and diseases are spreading faster</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Use of herbal medicine ❖ Churches and development agencies offering mobile health facilities
<p>Education ❖ 39 schools in Kerio Valley have been displaced or interrupted ❖ Increased school drop</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Establishment of make shift schools along the escarpment. ❖ Employing local untrained teachers

Livestock products such as milk and meat also supplement these. However, during conflicts and displacements, the victims are robbed of their livelihoods rendering

<p>Transport and Communication Highway robbery and banditry (by Pokot and Marakwet youth) Poor road network impedes security operation by the GOK</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Police escort of motorists ❖ Some motorists seek protection of local armed youth ❖ Use of safe routes ❖ Customary/traditional cursing of perpetrators
<p>Business Sector</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Many trading centres have closed/or abandoned ❖ Peace and insecurity, banditry and highway robbery regulate transportation of crop products to markets. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Peace Meetings, barazas etc ❖ Deployment of security personnel ❖ Businesses have moved to the escarpment
<p>Settlement Over 15,000 homes from Chegilet & Chesegon have deserted the Kerio Valley for the safer escarpment and highland parts.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Victims are putting informal shelters in caves on the escarpment and also migrating to urban centres such as Eldoret and neighbouring districts.

them destitute and their dietary status affected. The displaced people find themselves relying more and more on relief food, wild fruits and roots. This explains the widespread malnutrition rates along the Kerio Valley.

In the district, the hunger gap is often severe, lasting for seven months. People cope with the food shortage through purchases and partial relief from the government and Churches often limited to responding to aid exigencies.

Recommendations and Rehabilitation of Conflict Victims

The Marakwet people felt that the government is abdicating its role of providing security to its citizens irrespective of their social or political affiliation. The respondents were quick to denounce government's fairness and objectivity in handling cattle rustling activities. As a way forward, the respondents suggested that government should live up to its expectations by ensuring that rule of law reigns supreme in the country. Every community, including the Marakwet, must be protected from cattle raids and other forms of conflicts.

The majority of the respondents suggested that all communities in the Kerio Valley, especially the Pokot, should be disarmed. All illicit arms should be taken away since they are the causes of severe cattle raids in the valley. This concern has also been voiced in many peace meetings and workshops in the north rift region of Kenya.

The elders felt that customary institutions and mechanisms of conflict management should be strengthened and appreciated. Such institutions should be empowered to apprehend rustlers. They should be trained on modern arbitration and mediation

skills, human rights and gender issues in peace building.

Other recommendations include diversification of livelihoods in the valley to include crop farming, zero grazing, commerce and bee keeping. Inter-community negotiations and dialogues should be scaled up as a way of managing the conflicts and creating awareness on the perils of illicit arms and cattle rustling. The graph below illustrates the suggestions advanced by the Marakwet people to manage conflicts and displacements in the Kerio Valley.

Case study

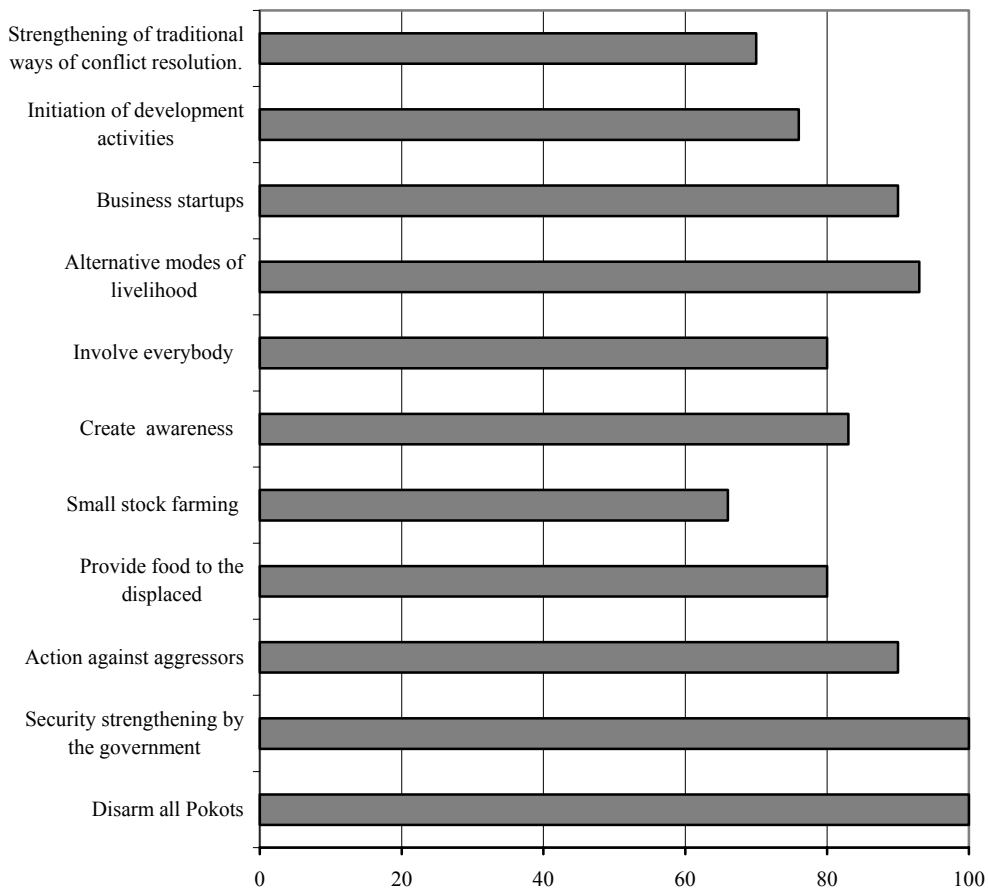


Fig. 6.8. Recommendations for conflict management and rehabilitation of conflict victims in Kerio Valley (Marakwet district). A total of forty people were interviewed

Michael Pangar

I woke up at around 6 a.m. My wife had woken up earlier and had gone to fetch water. I heard gunshots and ran for cover in a nearby bush. When things cooled down I came back. I found my mother dead and all my goats had been taken away. I started looking for my wife. Then I was told that a woman had been found dead. When I went to check on the dead person, I recognized her. It was my wife. She had been killed as she went to fetch water.

Kirop Kiplialei

My daughter-in-law and her three children had gone to hide in a cave but they were shot dead. My houses were all burnt down. So many of my goats were taken. I do not know where some of my children and grand children went. I'm now left with my aged wife. We have not cultivated our shamba. We are just waiting for death.

Yego Chongwany

I heard gunshots and I ran and hid in a cave. Some Pokots pursued me. I heard somebody say there he is, kill him. They shot four times at me. The bullets missed my head but one went through my shoulder. I was helped by good Samaritans and taken to hospital. All my grandchildren are gone. My uncle's wife was killed. I thank God I'm still alive. I'm happy that you people care about us.

Kaino Kirop

My five children, wife and grandchild were killed. My seven houses were burnt down. I'm alone. All my people and wealth are gone. I wanted to kill myself but people restrained me. Your assistance strengthened me. I have a child at Kerio Valley School but I don't know what I will do because I have totally nothing.

Mary Joel

After I heard the gunshots, I ran and hid in a cave next to a river for three hours. There I saw some Pokots passing by and I prayed that they don't see us. Then the Pokots said check in that cave and see whether there are people hiding. They checked and said there were people and one said shoot them three times and leave them. I was shot on my hip and injured. Later people came and took us to hospital.

MARSABIT DISTRICT

Nature of Conflict

Just like in the other pastoralists' districts under focus, livestock or rather cattle's raiding is the principal manifestation and concern of conflict in Marsabit district. The district's proximity to Ethiopia has increased contacts with the Oromo groups leading to conflicts over grazing resources. The infiltration of Oromo Liberation Front into border regions of the district (border with Ethiopia) has sneaked in another form of conflict popularly referred to as insurgencies or casually rebels.

Causes of conflict

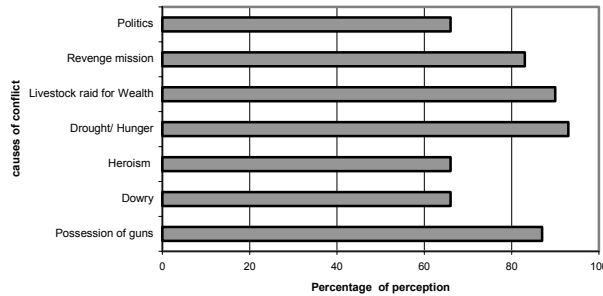


Fig. 7.1 Percent perception of the cause of conflict in Marsabit district based on the number of respondents per cause out of a total of thirty people interviewed.

Marsabit district is arid apart from the region around Marsabit hills. Chalbi desert that traverses the district is perhaps one of the poorly endowed areas with natural resources. Competition over the use, access and control of the little pasture resources is the main cause of conflict in the district. Rendille, Borana and Gabbra communities are in constant confrontations especially during the dry spell when livestock tend to concentrate in the limited sections with pasture and water.

Abuse of the traditional culture of cattle rustling to restock livestock after severe droughts or diseases is another cause of conflicts in this vast district. People are no longer raiding to replenish their stock but raid to kill, maim and enrich themselves. Commercialisation of cattle raids has taken toll in the district. Other causes of conflicts include proliferation of small arms, ethnocentrism, politics and revenge missions as illustrated by the graph below.

Conflict Actors

The players of conflict in Marsabit are the Rendile, Gabbra, Samburu, Turkana, Borana (both from Kenya and Ethiopia) communities. Rendille, Gabbra, Borana and to a lesser extent Turkana all live in the district whereas the Samburu attack from the southern part of the district. On the other hand, the Rendille and Samburu have youth, warriors, are the principal actors of conflicts in Marsabit district. Women,

children and the elderly are the main victims of conflicts.

People affected by the Conflict

The study found out that most of the people in Marsabit are affected by conflict. In the district, Loyangalani division is the most affected since it borders Turkana and Samburu districts. Kargi and Loyangalani locations experience frequent and deadly cattle raids between the Rendille (often combined with Samburu), Turkana and to an extent the Gabbra and Borana communities. This corroborates why the division is most affected by cattle raids.

In Kargi location 39% of the people are affected directly while 41% are affected indirectly. Only 20% of the population is not affected by conflict. The respondents

Table 7.2 Affected people in Kargi

People affected	Population	%
Directly	1798	39%
Indirectly	1891	41%
Not affected	922	20
Total	4611	100%

Table 7.3 People affected by the Conflict in Loyangalani location

People affected	Population	%
Directly	2580	39%
Indirectly	2713	41%
Not affected	1323	20
Total Population	6616	100%

added that at the moment the people have moved to safer zones where they can be more secure given the proximity and presence of government security officers.

Loyangalani is more of a cosmopolitan location with Turkana, Samburu, Elmolo and Rendille communities living together.

The most affected people are the Turkana since they are the majority and are regarded as immigrants from Turkana district and as such should go back. The findings indicate that at least 80% of the residents of Loyangalani are either affected directly or indirectly by insecurity in the location.

Displaced Settlements

According to the chiefs' estimates, at least 58% of all the households in Loyangalani are affected by conflict; with 45% actually living in displacement camps or villages. Most of the displaced people reported to have come from South Horr and North Horr and Pakati, Nachola, Marti, Kawap and Tum in Samburu District. In Kargi location at least 300 households were reported to have been displaced.

Small arms proliferation and its Impact on cattle rustling

Almost all the respondents cited the infiltration of guns into the district as a major cause of conflict. These respondents also provided information on the sources of the guns. On a possible hundred sources in each case, GOK was rated 87%, Pokot

Settlements affected	No. of households	%
Displaced households	667	45
Affected households	193	13
Not displaced	623	42
Total	1483	100

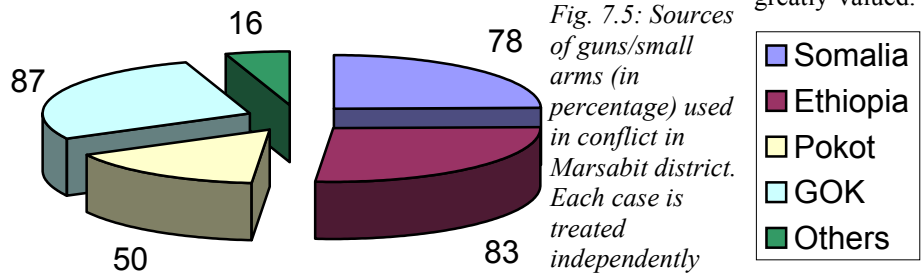
Table 7.4 Displaced settlements in Loyangalani Location

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scored 50%, Somalia scored 78% and Ethiopia scored 83%. In addition to arming Home Guards (better known as Kenya Police Reservists) the GOK ammunition finds its way into hands of warriors. Spent bullet cartridges collected by the residents bear government marks hinting that there is a booming trade between security forces and warriors. The chart below illustrates different sources of guns in Marsabit district.

On usage, the respondents indicated that they use the guns for protection purposes and to an extent for raiding opponents.

The informants hinted that ownership of a gun(s) among the people of Marsabit is greatly valued.



The price of guns seems to tally with those of the neighbouring districts. An old gun costs Kshs. 15,000 or one bull, AK-47, 30,000 (3bulls), G3 is bought at an average of Kshs. 40,000 (four bulls) while M16, the most expensive gun, costs Kshs. 60,000 (five – six bulls). It is worth to note that the guns are paid for in terms of animals. Given this situation it is safe to assume that the rustling activities are motivated by the gun culture.

Socio-economic impact of banditry and cattle rustling

Conflict has affected various economic aspects of the respective communities in Marsabit district. Massive theft of livestock, looting and destruction of property, reduced economic activities, degradation of the environment, inaccessible health services, increased number of school drop outs, displacements of people, and stalled development projects are some of the impacts of conflict in the district. Widespread poverty in the district to a larger extent is attributed to these impacts.

Major Food / Staple Food

The main diet of the people of Marsabit district includes milk, meat, fish and ugali. Fish is sourced from Lake Turkana and is increasingly becoming the main food for the people especially during droughts and conflicts after all the cattle have been lost. Although fish was not a traditional food of the pastoralists communities in the

Table 7.6 Social economic Effects of conflict

Socio-economic impact on	Coping Mechanism
Crop farming Reduced farming activities in Mt. Kulal and Marsabit hills due to conflict.	❖ Venturing into small business enterprises
Livestock Farming Cattle are concentrated in a small area where there is water and pasture.	❖ Community arm themselves for defence
Environment and Forestry Trees have been cleared to pave way for more settlement, charcoal burning and building materials	❖ Educating the communities on environmental conservation.
Health Abandoning health facilities due to conflicts, over crowding in a small place leading to spread of diseases – typhoid, malaria, diarrhoea, AIDS, etc	❖ Establishment of mobile clinics and public health education centres
Education Frequent closure of schools, drop out rates	❖ No coping mechanism
Transport and Communication Highway banditry on the increase	❖ Provision of armed escorts by the government to travellers.
Business Sector Businesses closed	❖ Setting up vigilante groups

district, contacts with Turkana and Luo fishermen has reversed the trend.

In the district, hunger is often severe and could last for as long as eight months (January - April and September – December). Food is only available between May and August. The rest of the months are characterised by relief food from the government, churches and other aid agencies. The same is replicated during times of conflicts.

Recommendations for conflict management and rehabilitation

The people of Marsabit district ranked disarmament, strengthening or starting alternative livelihood (income generating activities, fishing, crop farming and restocking) development of water sources as the most effective ways of rehabilitating conflict victims and resolving conflict. The figure below illustrates the suggestion of the victims on the way forward to resolving conflicts.

Table 7.7 Ratings of recommendations for conflict management and rehabilitation of conflict victims based on a total number of 30 interviewed (Each recommendation is independently treated).

Recommendation	Frequency	%
Disarm all people and government to provides security	30	100
Exchange visits	23	76
Taking action against aggressors	27	90
Provide food to the displaced	24	80
Constructing of houses to settle the displaced people	20	66
Encourage education	25	83
Encourage peace workshop to involve all tribes	24	80
Introduction of alternative modes of livelihood	28	93
Start small enterprises for conflict victims e.g. shops, buying and selling of stocks	27	90
Return of stolen animals/restocking	23	76
Strengthening of traditional ways of conflict resolution.	21	70
Drill water for both livestock and people	24	80

WAJIR DISTRICT

Nature of Conflict	Causes of conflict	Coping Mechanism
<p>W A G A L L A MASSACRE (Ajuran clan and Degodia Clans) <i>1983/4</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Natural resources and Politics: Ajuran believed the land was theirs, however they are fewer in number than Degodia people. Incidentally the populous Degodia often win political elective positions hence precipitating the inter-clan tension. ▪ The Ogaden war between Somali and Ethiopia contributed a lot of arms to these conflicts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Many widows started small-scale businesses in Wajir town. ▪ Some families were accommodated in the sprawling refugee homes of Wajir such as Kom and Makorot Village.
<p>KOM CONFLICT (The Borans of Isiolo and Somali from Wajir) <i>1997 – 8</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Natural resources and land conflicts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The displaced were settled in displacement camps in Wajir town.
<p>B A G A L L A MASSACRE Boran of Isiolo and Somali of Wajir. <i>1998</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Competition for natural resources. The Somali were perceived by the Boran of Isiolo as exploiting their natural resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Two special settlements were set up by Red-Cross Organization (i.e. Athiboliol and Garsekofu) ▪ Other settlements that were set up including Griftu, Eldas, Arbejan and Makoror, which also accommodated Elnino victims
<p>MAGADI SODA CONFLICT (Somali and Maasai in Magadi in Kajiado) <i>1999 – 2000</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Competition for natural resources is the major cause of conflict. ▪ The Maasai as being exploitative perceived grazing and business orientation of the Somali. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Make shift settlements known as Magadi village/Kalkach were established at Wajir.
<p>I S I O L O CONFLICT (Borans and Somalis in Isiolo District.) <i>2000 – 2001</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Natural resource rivalry and politics (the Borans perceived the Somalis to be tilting the outcome of elective politics to their disadvantage). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Somali displaced from Isiolo were settled at Makoror village at Wajir town. • Others were absorbed into the communities.
<p>WAJIR NORTH CONFLICT (Gare clan and Ajuran clans). <i>2001 – 2002</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Land/resource Conflicts (Gares are agro-pastoralists and businessmen whereas the Ajuran are pure pastoralists. The two fought over land for their cherished lifestyle: farming and grazing respectively). ▪ The conflict also has Political dimension 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refugee settlements put up at Ndanaba at Wajir North.

Table 8.1 Causes of conflict and attempts put in place by the community to cope with

Nature of conflict

Wajir is a home of several refugee camps owing to the repeated cases of conflict in the past two decades. Cattle raids overtly manifest the clan conflicts and blatant massacres meted on innocent women, children and the elderly. Ajouran, Gare and Degodia are the main feuding clans in the district. Other aggressors include Borana, Gabbra and to a lesser extent the Maasai.

Causes of conflict

Most of the conflicts have their root causes to natural resources, namely pasture, water and land which has hitherto been politically capitalized outside the district. The table below captures the most pertinent of the conflicts. Other causes of conflicts include sheer clan rivalry/egocentrism, politics, boundary/land clashes and proliferation of illicit arms.

Small arms and conflicts in Wajir

In North Eastern province, Wajir district is considered to harbour a large consignment of illicit arms than the other districts. The district's proximity to Somalia, has made acquisition and trafficking of small arms and light weapons lucrative and an alternative pre-occupation of the unemployed youths and other belligerent groups in the district. There are widespread allegations from conflict actors in the other pastoralists' districts in Kenya that apart from South Sudan and Eastern Uganda, Somalia, through Wajir and other North Eastern districts is a big source and conduit of small arms proliferation. Police also believe that arms used by thugs in Kenyan urban centres are coming from Somalia through North Eastern province.

Arms proliferation in Wajir district has made cattle rustling and other conflicts (shifty banditry) more deadly and heinous. Arms played a leading role in all the major conflicts that have rocked the district in the recent past. A number of lives and property have been lost and many people displaced as a result of illicit arms backed conflicts. Nevertheless, the people of Wajir district have come up with a home-grown model for peace building. This initiative, which has transformed itself into the model Wajir peace and development committee, has played a vital role not only in mitigating conflicts but also in combating proliferation of illicit arms. Men, women, youth, religious leaders and local civil servants are the active members of the committee, which has networks at the sub-location level. This is why roads in Wajir district and the entire North Eastern province are relatively safe in comparison to Kapenguria-Lokichogio, and Rumuruti-Maralal roads.

Socio-economic impact of banditry and cattle rustling in Wajir

In Wajir district, intermittent clan rivalries and inter-ethnic conflicts have impacted

negatively on the socio-economic livelihoods of the people. Conflict victims have been reduced to beggars who mainly depend on charity and humanitarian aid. Economic activities have collapsed, environment degraded and deterioration of health services. Displaced conflicts victims are putting up in informal congested shanties, which are devoid of any sanitary facilities. There have also been increased school dropouts, low investment in the commercial sector and stalled development projects. The table below detail impacts of conflicts on people livelihoods in Wajir district.

Staple Food

Table 8.2. Socio-Economic Impact of Banditry and Cattle Rustling

Livelihood	Coping Mechanism
Crop Farming Small-scale farming stopped due to insecurity.	Dependence on relief food
Livestock farming Loss of livestock through cattle raids. Pastoralism as a livelihood greatly curtailed by raids	The people are attempting to restock their livestock
Environment and Forestry Deforestation on the rise	The government and development agencies are discouraging cutting down of trees and instead encourage people to plant more desert trees.
Health Malnutrition, poor sanitation and withdrawal of health personnel from the conflict prone areas	Digging of temporary pit latrines.
Education Increased dropouts and school closures during times of conflicts	Mobile schools are being piloted
Business Sector. Very low investment, shops closed due to insecurity and collapse of livestock trade.	Government is trying to restore calm; community peace initiatives are bearing fruit. The case of Wajir Peace and Development Committee is an example of the local initiatives.
Settlement / Displacement Many households displaced and widespread shelter constraints.	Construction of temporary informal settlements and shelters.
Social Lifestyle Women headed households on sharp increase.	Religious and civil society organizations are facilitating social reintegration of the displaced groups

The informants listed milk, meat and blood as their traditional food. However, during

Chapter Three: Findings

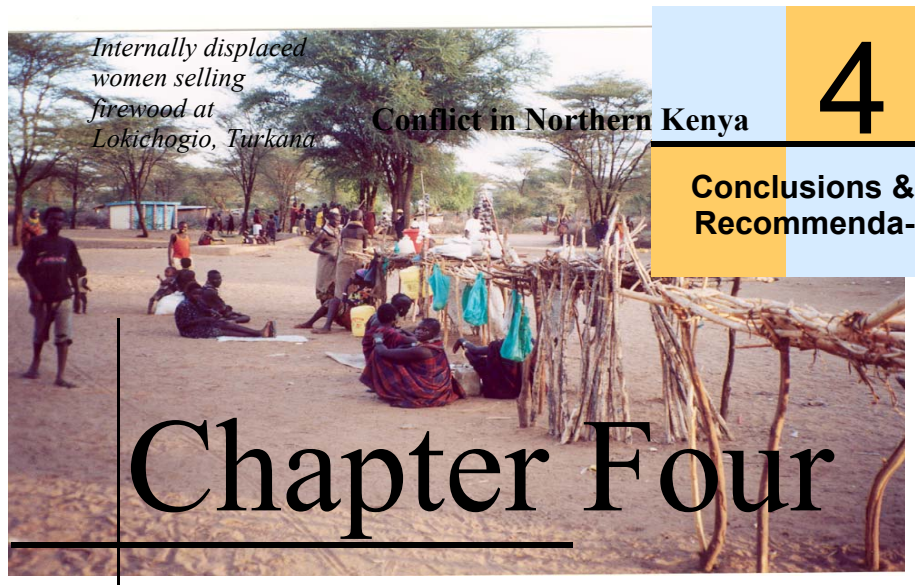
and after conflicts their diet is or has been compromised. This has forced the residents to depend on relief food supplemented by rice, wheat flour and tea. The hunger gap is as long as eight months (January - April and September – December). Food is only available between May and August. The rest of the months are dry and there is no food.

Recommendation for Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Re-Integration of Conflict Victims in Wajir

Resettlement of the displaced groups should be undertaken the soonest possible. Trauma healing and counselling sessions should precede such resettlements. The government should play a leading role in the process.

There is growing need to encourage conflict victims venture into alternative livelihood options such as setting up micro-enterprise businesses like *jua kali* and groceries. The government should guarantee security so that livestock trade could thrive. New livestock marketing centres/auctions should be established near dry season grazing lands so that herders will not waste time in taking their products to markets far away.

The piloted mobile primary schools should be extended to include secondary school and more others established to cater for the largely nomadic Wajir community. Permanent schools should be constructed in settled areas in addition to recruitment of more teachers. More polytechnics and vocational training institutes should be set up to cater for the school drop outs and ex-combatants. Mobile health services should also be introduced in the district.



CONCLUSION

Cattle rustling and banditry have led to the loss of many human lives and the displacement of various population groups. The raiding is accompanied by indiscriminate killing of innocent people, majority of them women, children and the elderly. One morning alone in Marakwet district, more than 50 people were killed in cold blood courtesy of cattle rustling menace. The practice has undergone fundamental transformation from a cultural practice of replenishing to a more militarised, predatory and destructive practice. Cattle rustling has been commercialised.

Conflict has led to serious environmental degradation and real threat to water catchments areas in North Rift and North Eastern Kenya. In the attempt to find alternative livelihood after conflict-induced displacements, the displaced and other conflict victims have cut down trees for charcoal burning and firewood for sale. This has seriously affected the fragile ecology of the pastoralists areas in Kenya. On the other hand, informal displacement camps established in various places have put high pressure on water sources, leading to high water shortages.

In all the areas under focus, conflicts have increased economic hardship as the people only livelihoods option, pastoralism, has been ravaged. Cattle have been raided away thereby increasing the vulnerability of the resource poor pastoralists to hunger, malnutrition and abject poverty. Food, crops, cash money and property are looted during the raids. Schools, health facilities and settlements are destroyed. In the

Marakwet-Pokot conflict alone about 25 schools have been abandoned while at least 27 schools have been closed in Samburu district. Similarly market centres such as Chesegon, Marti and Nachola are virtually deserted. Many roads are no longer useful economically. The Turkana, Pokot, Marakwet and the Samburu communities have lost between 50% and 80% of their livestock to either drought or cattle rustling. It is extremely difficult for pastoralists to get started over again after such heavy stock losses.

Small arms and light weapons proliferation has made traditional raiding a commercial venture, more deadly and severe. Small arms including automatic and semi automatic weapons have become widely available and are increasingly used in the pastoralist's districts. These weapons have come from a variety of sources, including conflict prone neighbouring countries (Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Northern Uganda). Each community is trying to arm itself creating a local "arms races".

There is inadequate policing of Pastoralists areas as both the national and district police and security forces are either unable or unwilling to confront cattle rustlers who have more often than not struck with impunity. State's obligation and duty to provide security to her citizens is conspicuously under siege in northern Kenya. This has greatly contributed to the spiralling gun culture, self-defence and retaliation missions. The state arming of local vigilante groups, popularly known as Home Guards, in response to security problems, has exacerbated the cattle rustling conflict rather than ease the situation. Legal state arms issued to these groups have been used in criminal activities including cattle raiding.

Adequate arrangements to enhance communities' resilience to cope with severe droughts and other disasters have not been undertaken in northern Kenya. During droughts, pastoralist's livelihoods become particularly precarious. There are worrying incidences of conflict over scarce water and pastures during dry spell, which could last for as long as eight months. Economic insecurity and deprivation during draught has increased the risk of violence and social breakdown.

Approximately 2 million people are affected by conflict either directly or indirectly in Kenya, majority being the pastoralists. Those affected include the Turkana people in the north, Samburu and Pokot in the centre, Marakwet, (Keiyo and to a small extent Tugen) in the South. To the east are Rendille, Borana and Somalis. In these pastoralists' districts, at least 10,000 households are actually displaced from their original settlements.

There is also a serious food shortage among the pastoralists' communities. Those hard hit are the displaced and are living in the displacement camps. Women and children are the ones who bear the brunt of these forms of violence. Many of them go without food for days. They depend on wild fruits (Elamach and Edapal), which

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are scarce and seasonal. Cases of malnutrition are rampant in these conflict prone districts, as communities' traditional diet consisting of meat, milk and blood becomes increasingly unavailable. Some have died of starvation.

Conflicts chiefly manifested as cattle rustling and sheer banditry activities have devastated pastoralists' lives and livelihoods in northern Kenya. This has doubled the percentage of the people living below poverty line (less than a one US\$ a day). No wonder the ten poorest districts in Kenya are pastoralists inhabited. In the neighbouring countries, the case is no better as Karamojang districts in Uganda (pastoralists region) are the worst performers in all development indicators.



Weiwei irrigation scheme. Development projects can lead to peaceful coexistence.

Based on the main findings of the study, a number of recommendations are made to amicably and effectively resolve conflicts in northern Kenya. Conflict resolution should be entrenched or made part and parcel of every poverty reduction intervention in northern Kenya. Conflict sensitivity should be the cross-cutting thematic area of focus in projects' formulation, design, implementation and evaluation. Some of the recommendations include:

1. Establishing and strengthening existing peace building structures

The study recommends the strengthening of the existing and or marginalized indigenous mechanisms and institutions of conflict management. Where such structures are non-existent, new peace structures should be established. Such capacity building interventions would include trainings, formation of linkages and networks and exchange visits to learn from successful case studies. In addition to local peace structures, peace animators/facilitators, various stakeholders (NGO's and CBO's), women and youth leaders and religious leaders among others should be trained on conflict transformation and management. Formation of linkages should include increased consultation between local indigenous peace structures and provincial administration (village elders, chiefs, DO's, DC's and PC's). Security and law enforcement officers and local political leaders such as councillors and members of parliament should be enlisted in such consultations, collaboration and linkages.

The established or strengthened peace committees/institutions should be mandated to identify underlying causes of conflict and violence, equipped with skills to lobby and

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advocate for communities interests both at the district and national forums.

2. Mediation and dialogue

Inter- community dialogue and or mediation should be promoted before eruption of violence. Such meetings should be used to pre-empt conflicts between different communities. Modelled on customary conflict management mechanisms, elders should be facilitated to understand, analyse conflicts and come up with joint action plans for necessary intervention to curb the conflicts.

3. Sensitization and awareness creation on conflict and peace building

Awareness and sensitivity are key elements in building a culture of peace. All awareness creation tools and medium should be used as widely as possible so as to shade more light on the severity of inter-ethnic conflicts, emergent conflict dynamics, destruction wrecked on society by conflicts and the need to uphold and embraced peace in society. Inter-community meetings, radio/print media, songs, poems, drama and exhibitions should be used to create awareness on conflicts. The expected impact of this awareness will be changes in attitudes, stereotypes, prejudice and a deeper understanding of conflict dynamics.

4. Provision of Security by the state

The government as a matter of duty should ensure that the security and safety of all Kenyans, pastoralists included, should be guaranteed. Coercive apparatus of the government should ensure that law and order is maintained in the country. More security personnel should be recruited and deployed in conflict prone pastoralist region of Kenya. Security forces should be armed with appropriate facilities and instructions to apprehend conflict perpetrators.

5. Disarmament and control of arms

All the respondents cited the infiltration of guns into the communities as a major cause of conflict. They pleaded for disarming of the various communities involved, noting that government is the only entity with the mandate, capacity and machinery to do this. However, before disarmament could kick off, the government should strive to understand and unravel the myth behind gun culture. Questions as to why people acquire guns should be debated upon and consulted widely. The state should first assure by action that it can guarantee the security of all, and then proceed to convince the communities that they (communities) no longer need the guns for everybody is safe.

Disarmament should be a gradual process based on consultation and consensus building between the government and the concerned communities. It should be not perceived as a calculated move to make certain communities vulnerable to attacks or so. At minimum, disarmament should be done regionally and not restricted to certain districts or regions in Kenya. Mistakes of the past courtesy of forced and selective disarmament should not be repeated. During the study in West Pokot district, a

Pokot elder was overheard saying “ Don’t threaten us with disarmament or military operation. The KANU administration subjected us to deadly military operations in the name of disarmament 19 times but we are still surviving, even growing stronger”.

Institutions like parliament should play a key role in advising the government on how to curb the proliferation of illicit arms. Parliament should debate and sanction military operations aimed at disarming the various armed communities in Kenya. Disarmament is not a ones man show or whim.

6. Community-based peace initiatives

The success of community based peace initiatives stems from the communities’ ownership of the entire conflict management process. A high level of sustainability of peace is attained when a locally formulated framework of conflict prevention and management (agreements, pacts and penalties) is brokered to address conflict. The study recommends that the communities should build on and or formulate an all inclusive, comprehensive and systematic framework of resolving conflicts. Where necessary, the government should be called upon to enforce communities’ resolutions.

7. Initiating development programmes

The study recommends that various development projects be initiated to help improve the people’s livelihoods and engage them in productive activities, which will dissuade them from engaging in conflict. The community should be involved in identifying the priority projects from which they will derive direct benefits. Examples would include:

- i). Management and sharing of scarce natural resources e.g. water, pasture
- ii). Common service projects:
 - Primary and secondary schools
 - Hospitals and health centres
 - Churches
 - Roads linking key areas of the communities thus enhancing social interaction and trade.

When communities are aware of the potential damages conflicts have on these shared services and projects they will play an active role in maintaining peace and security.

iii) Livestock development:

The study recommends the establishment of livestock projects, which will entail treatment of livestock diseases, improvement of breeds and keeping the right number of animals. This will translate to enough milk for sale and consumption thus solving the problem of poverty and malnutrition. Effective marketing of both livestock and livestock products e.g. milk, hides and skins, and meat should be promoted. Cooperative societies that deal with livestock and their products and the moribund Kenya Meat Commission should be revived.

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iv) Agricultural projects:

Most of the areas under study could be put into very productive irrigated agriculture. The only problem is that active irrigation has either been affected by insecurity or displacement of people. There is therefore need to revive and enhance these irrigation activities through project loans and other funds. Some of the crops that can be grown would include maize, cassava, sorghum and millet; and fruits such as mangoes and paw paws.

8. Financing of small enterprises

Unemployment and lack of capital to start small businesses is a major contributor to the idleness and poverty that contribute to conflicts. Projects that would enable groups and co-operatives to start income generating projects should be initiated. Such would include:

- i) Livestock trade
- ii) Hides and Skin business
- iii) Posho milling (particularly for women)
- iv) Honey production and marketing
- v) Retailing
- vi) Jua kali activities such as weaving

9. Establishment and promotion of:

i) *Youth specific activities*

The study identified the youth as the major actors in the perpetration of violence in the country. Poverty and unemployment make them vulnerable to manipulation mainly by politicians and/or elders to carry out activities that is peace threatening. The study therefore recommends that the youth should be involved in peace processes that take place in their communities. Youth interactions across ethnic divides should also be promoted through sponsoring activities such as youth clubs, sports, music and drama festivals. The study also recommends empowering these youth economically through activities like carpentry (such as making of beehives), sand harvesting and gravel production, quarrying among others. This should be done in partnership with the government to ensure sustainability and follow-up.

ii) *Women specific activities*

The role of women either as perpetrators of violence or providers of emissaries for peace cannot be underestimated. The study recommends that specific activities that target women should be supported such as workshops, seminars, exchange programmes and other related activities. During these activities, the women should be equipped with skills to enable them play an active role in conflict transformation and peace building within their communities. Women, especially those displaced by conflicts, should also be provided with seed money to start income generating activities as a way of diversifying their livelihoods.

10. Peace education in schools

Peace education in schools should be pursued at the policy level so that education policy entrenches peace education and activities in education curriculum. In this initiative, teachers and pupils will be sensitized to do drama and develop songs, poetry, and puppetry among others to be used in peace rallies.

Through the same initiative, children will be engaged in drawing for peace competitions that will help in inculcating values/issues of peace in the minds of pupils. These posters will be used in assessing the pupils' understanding of the peace issues at the community level.

11. Emergency relief

The study revealed that in the event of continued violence, people tend to run away from their homes with almost nothing. The victims lose their property after their houses are razed down. In the event of such situations, the study recommends that victims be assisted with emergency relief in the form of food, clothing, health facilities and shelter.

12 Facilitation of trauma healing sessions

The study recommends the facilitation of sessions for trauma healing through counselling and reconciliation. This should be undertaken in the camps hosting displaced. It is aimed at forestalling revenge retaliation as well as giving the victims an opportunity to come to terms with what befell them during the violence.

13. Rehabilitation of destroyed social amenities

Violent conflict is often accompanied by destruction of property. The study recommends that the destroyed community amenities such as schools, dispensaries, cattle dips and other structures be reconstructed.

14. Resettlement of displaced families

Internally displaced conflict victims and or families should be provided with materials to rebuild their shattered lives, livelihoods and houses. Such assistance could include construction of houses for the displaced, provision of seed money/ revolving fund to enable them start small scale business, construction of schools, hospitals and sanitary facilities or restocking those who are willing to go back to their original homes. They should also be assisted with farm inputs so that they can engage in farming activities.

However, prior to the actual resettlement, several community meetings should be held to sensitize the communities to live in peace, and security mechanisms be put in place.

15. Improvement of Education

The study shows that the pastoralists' communities under focus place high value on livestock, early marriages of girls (dowry) and ownership of a gun. As a result, they

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place very little premium on education. The few girls who enroll in school are withdrawn for marriage while boys are mainly preoccupied with herding livestock. This lifestyle, like raiding, also stagnates the general development of the communities. The study therefore recommends the following:

- ❖ Sensitising the communities on the value of education especially in the modern competitive world
- ❖ Establishing boarding primary and secondary schools.
- ❖ Enforcing Universal Primary Education
- ❖ Injecting quality teaching and learning processes into the schools.
- ❖ Improvement of polytechnics, non-formal and formal education to rehabilitate former combatants and school dropouts.

16. Infrastructure

Poor road networks inhibit movement of people from one place to another, hamper timely and effective dispatch of security personnel to apprehend rustlers and constraints the provision of social services to the communities. The study recommends the improvement of such roads and the construction of other feeder roads that will open up the interior. This will facilitate trade, the general development of the area and mobility of the security personnel during security operation missions. The supply of electricity to these areas will also boost development of the area and this will go a long way in solving conflicts.

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Conflict in Northern Kenya

ITDG's Vision

A world free of poverty in which technology is used to the benefit of all.

ITDG's Mission

ITDG aims to help eradicate poverty in developing countries through the development and use of technology, by demonstrating results, sharing knowledge and influencing others.