

# CONFLICT ASSESSMENT

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## NORTHERN KENYA

Compiled By:



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## Contents

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|    |  |    |
|----|--|----|
| 1. | Introduction                                   | 2  |
| 2. | Methodology                                    | 3  |
| 3. | Nature & scale of conflict                     | 5  |
| 4. | District-wise conflict assessment              | 14 |
| 5. | Water, food and natural resource security      | 32 |
| 6. | The drivers                                    | 46 |
| 7. | Management mechanisms                          | 54 |
| 8. | Recommendations for conflict and NR management | 59 |
|    | References                                     |    |

## 1. INTRODUCTION

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The arid/semi-arid northern districts (Turkana, Baringo, Marsabit, Samburu, Laikipia) are part of a conflict-affected region, ravaged by internal and cross-border conflict with raiders from Uganda, Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia.

Pastoralist groups in these areas (2 million people, 70% women & children) have highest poverty (among 10 poorest Kenya districts), lowest education levels with large numbers out-of-school, highest food insecurity (crisis status on famine-index), and experience highest levels of civil insecurity. 90% are dependent on animal husbandry and subsistence agriculture. Unreliable rainfall and cyclical drought impoverishes, causes food scarcity, malnutrition, and high child mortality. Competition over scarce pasture and water is often severe and violent. Cattle rustling, traditionally practiced, has become more destructive with increasing poverty and proliferation of illicit arms and the influence of external political and economic motives.

Land grabs and political incitement is contributing to growing ethnocentrism and violence. Lack of clarity and breach of rights related to boundaries, inheritance and land sales, user rights, evictions as the major concerns.

Livelihoods are frequently disrupted, and unemployment among young pastorals, is turning them into key participants in perpetuating conflicts. Welfare facilities are limited, and the few that exist are destroyed, leaving children with no access to education and health services. The perpetual conflict makes it difficult to carry out effective development action and infrastructure building. There is frequent loss of life/property, and displacement of people (115,182 Internally Displaced People), rendered landless and without access to livelihoods. In the camps of the displaced, there is a high level of starvation, epidemics, as well as increased rape, assault, prostitution, child labour. There is a disproportionate effect on children and women, with associated impaired development and psychosocial trauma, and inadequacy of protection, relief and peace building measures/interventions. Conflict management is made difficult due to remoteness of the area and nomadism of pastorals. There is inadequate state security, whereas influence of traditional governance systems is diminishing.

## **2. METHODOLOGY**

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### **2.1 Participatory Assessment in the three districts of Turkana, Laikipia and Samburu**

Pragya-Kenya staff under the guidance of Pragya UK undertook a Participative Need Assessment, with its CBO partners for documenting key development issues, with a focus on the ASAL region.

Focus group discussions were conducted in 30 villages in Laikipia, Samburu and Turkana, covering 1586 people; children and young people formed independent focus groups given their role in the future of the communities. Meetings were conducted with 188 key respondents (local leaders, CBOs/NGOs that deliver services in target districts, national-level bodies (State/non-State), international organisations working on climate change and conflict issues). In the UK, meetings were conducted with organisations implementing development projects in Africa.

Pragya Kenya and Pragya UK board members also visited ASAL districts of Turkana, Laikipia and Samburu for a closer understanding where they interacted with multiple stakeholders. Interactions with local pastoralists, women, CSOs, teachers, govt functionaries and regional institutes helped in understanding of the emerging issues and prospective solutions.

### **2.2 Research on Water-Climate Change-Conflict Nexus in 6 counties of Arid & Semi-arid Lands of northern Kenya**

Following the above participatory assessment and the resultant identification of ‘Conflict’ and ‘Food and Water Security’ as critical and dominant issues for the target ASAL communities, Pragya undertook a detailed research on these two issues, in order to understand the causal factors and the dynamics, and thereby derive inputs for designing appropriate interventions to address the issues in a comprehensive manner.

This research covered:

- a) water & food security (including drought & relief studies), and associated factor of climate change and its impacts
- b) conflicts, contexts, and effects on vulnerable groups, and development processes.

The research was designed and guided by the Pragya Research Team, and conducted as a participative and distributed process, in keeping with the Pragya philosophy and principles. It included:

- a) data collection through consultations and a thorough secondary data study for the 6 counties of Baringo, Laikipia, Marsabit, Samburu, Turkana, West Pokot.
- b) a detailed and intensive ground survey in 2 districts of Laikipia North and Turkana South in Laikipia and Turkana counties, respectively.

The processes followed were:

- i. The study began with thorough background research and literature and secondary data study, by Pragya Kenya. Secondary literature review focused on studies by:
  - ACTS,
  - Practical Action,
  - ITDG,

- DAI,
  - World Bank,
  - University of Nairobi,
  - Foundation for Advanced Studies on International Development and others.
- ii. Ground surveys were carried out by grassroots partners, namely MPIDO, TUBAE and MFCCG, and coordinated by Pragma Kenya. Data was collected on events related to the 2 research foci (droughts and conflicts). Structured survey schedules were designed for the purpose.
- The partner organizations surveyed the drought-affected areas of Turkana and Laikipia and provided detailed reports on emergency relief requirements. The survey collected information on the victims of the drought in Turkana South, Laikipia East, Laikipia West and Laikipia North districts in Kenya's Rift Valley Province. It focused on assessment of damage related to life, livelihood, rate of out migration, reduction in food intake and hunger by age-group, status of water sources, fluctuations in price on livestock and grains, pockets of fresh violence due to the drought. It sought to identify specific affected groups and interventions required to help them.
  - They also compiled data extent of armed conflicts and violence in Isiolo, Baringo, Marsabit, Moyale, Samburu and Turkana Districts and looked at possible causes. The process involved interactions/FGDs with young people, women, village elders. These focused on identification of conflict actors, locations and catalysts of conflicts, historical, geo-political backgrounds and conflict drivers, loss of human life, property, livestock etc, patterns of displacement of population and nature of displacement (i.e. violent eviction or voluntary outmigration), impact on people of various age groups, on vulnerable groups, and the role played by young people. The study also focused on understanding traditional justice mechanisms and effectiveness of the ongoing peace building efforts.
- iii. Consultations were carried out with the partners and with local leaders, local CBOs/NGOs and international organisations working in the area (given below) on the two research foci.
- TUBAE (Turkana),
  - Turkana Women Advocacy Development Organization (TWADO),
  - Saint Peters Community Network - SAPCONE (Turkana),
  - MPIDO (Laikipia),
  - Ewuaso Ang (Kajiado),
  - Center For Conflict Resolution (Laikipia),
  - Centre For Maasai Development (Laikipia),
  - SWEEDO (Samburu),
  - Tree Is Life Fund (Laikipia),
  - The International Small Group & Tree Planting Program (Laikipia).
- iv. The data collected was put through a comprehensive analysis which included:
- community-based documentation-cum-analysis of conflicts and assessing their severity,
  - timeline & causal analysis of water stress and droughts, and mapping the two to derive inter-relationships.
- v. The research phase was followed by a process of sharing with project partners that included:
- sharing of research and focus group findings with community representatives in 2 sample districts,
  - intervention design exercises with the grassroots CBOs and NGOs, and
  - consultations with NGOs and international organisations in Kenya and UK.

### 3. NATURE & SCALE OF CONFLICT

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#### 3.1 Affected Areas

Conflicts affect the entire ASAL region and the specific counties studied, viz, Baringo, Laikipia, Marsabit, Samburu, Turkana and West Pokot counties.

- **Baringo:** Affected areas in Baringo include: Bartabwa division and Kipsaraman division in Baringo North, Nginyang division and Mondri division. Conflict hotspots include: Chepkesin, Chemoe, Katuro in Kabarnet division, Baruyo, Sibilo location in Kipsaraman division of Baringo North, Kapkechir sub location in Mochongoi division of Baringo Central, Kalabata sub-location in Baringo north, Kaborion, Kamwetio, Terenin, Kinyach sub-location Bartabwa division, Baringo North, Kuikui and Yatya in Kaboskei Kerio location of Barwessa division of Baringo North.
- **Laikipia:** Affected areas in Laikipia include Lekiji, Rumuruti, Segera, Daiga, and entire Mukogodo division bordering Isiolo District. The Ol Moran Division, has a long history of such violence. Ngarua in Laikipia west, Rumuruti division in Laikipia west, Ol Moran division in Laikipia west, Mukogodo division, in Laikipia north, Mutamiayu have been among the worst affected.
- **Marsabit:** The most affected areas emerged to be: Turbi division in north west of Marsabit, Bubisa in North Horr division, Maikona division, Sololo town, Waldaa village, Songa location (near Badasa reservoir), Kargi location, Badasa (near the water reservoir) in Jaldesa location, Kituruni sublocation in Songa, Loiyangalani division. Marsabit central and North Horr divisions were one of the worst affected.
- **Samburu:** Conflict affected stretches in Samburu include: Baragoi division in Samburu North, Elbarta in Samburu west constituency, Marti, Nachola sub location in Baragoi, Suyan, Ndoto, Latakweny sublocation in Baragoi, Kawopi, Parkati, South Horr location, Uaso Rongai or Waso Rongai, Tuum and Arsim locations in Nyiro division in Samburu North.
- **Turkana:** In Turkana county, the North and South districts are among the worst affected. Major conflict corridors in Turkana include: Kibbish and Todonyang in Turkana North district, Oropoi and Lokichoggio in Turkana West, Lomirai and Kotaruk in Loima, Lochakula and Kapedo in Turkana East and Kainuk and Norumoru in Turkana South district.
- **West Pokot:** In West Pokot county, the North and Central districts are among the worst affected. Conflict affected households in West Pokot are concentrated in: Kalapata, Akoret and Alale locations in Alale Division and Kasel location in Kasel division in Pokot North district, Sekerr location in Sigor division and Mosol and Sekerot locations in Chesegeon division in Pokot Central district. Kapenguria district has lower contributions to the conflicts. However, the Chepareria division along the Turkana border is victim of occasional conflicts.

## 3.2 Conflict Classification & Actors

Although the pastoral conflicts have deep roots in history and are generally attributed to their retrogressive and outdated practices, there is more to their current nature and dynamics. These were defined by Kratli and Swift in 1999 and continue to be the same to date.

### 3.2.1 Internal Conflicts

Clan-based raiding of livestock has been traditionally practiced among the pastoral communities, and culturally approved. However such raids had limited damage, barred killing of women and children, and contained inbuilt peace measures via control by clan elders. Such conflicts are even classified as sustainable and redistributive in nature, in that retaliatory raids occur between the clans, whereby cattle ownership keeps changing and an overall balance is maintained.

Competition over scarce grazing fields, water resources and pasture has escalated inter-ethnic animosity, often resulting in armed conflicts, which are predatory in nature and much more destructive. For example, Isiolo, Baringo, Marsabit, Moyale, Samburu and Turkana communities are moving in large numbers into agricultural areas of Laikipia in search of water and pasture. Similarly Pokots, Marsabit raid the Turkana villages that border their districts for control over resources available in Turkana areas.

Recently, intra-communal conflict, such as between two Turkana communities, have also begun emerging, as people have begun to perceive raids as a method to compensate for their lack of resources and livestock assets.

The second and the third above, may be classified as predatory raiding, in which the balance between clans is frequently lost, violence escalates beyond control and numbers killed are high. Many of these are even driven by external forces, with political and commercial interests.

### 3.2.2 Cross-border Conflicts

Pastoral groups in Kenya living or grazing their livestock along the borders, often get into scuffles with those from neighbouring Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda. Turkana county revealed a high number of trans-national raids by Tepeth (Uganda), Jie (Uganda), Dodoth (Uganda), Matheniko (Uganda), Moroto (Uganda), Merilee (Ethiopia), Dongiro (Ethiopia), Dassenech (Ethiopia), Toposa (Sudan), Nyagatom (Sudan) groups. The causal elements, discussed in greater detail in later chapters, are essentially the drawing of administrative boundaries between nation states across traditional migratory routes, as well as the ecological changes such as shrinkage of Lake Turkana basin wholly into Kenya (earlier stretched into Ethiopia).

Kenya has experienced a steady increase in refugees over the last 5 years. Protracted insecurity and prolonged droughts have created severe famine conditions and are leading to intra-region, cross-border migrations. These refugees are forced to trespass into resources used by Kenyan pastoralists, wherein is the source of conflicts that occur farther inland and beyond the borders.

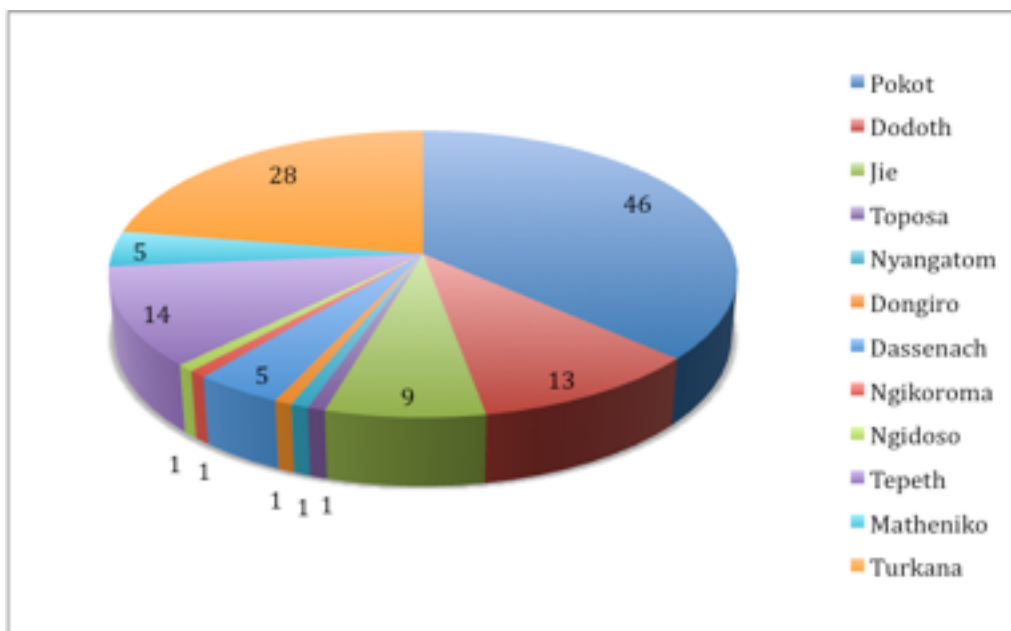
Analysis of the aggressors involved across the conflict sites in Turkana reveal that Inter-County conflicts contribute towards majority of conflict cases with number of raids from Pokots being very high in Turkana South and East districts.

- 68% of Turkana people are traditionally pastoralists and are constantly on the move. e.g. The Nayanae - Ngkalalio pastoral group travels 325 km in their grazing cycle along South Turkana - Pokot border, which in turn makes them vulnerable to Pokot attacks.

This is followed by high incidence of conflict within various Turkana clans themselves, in 28% of the conflict-affected sites, which is a recent feature in the conflict scenario of northern Kenya.

Among cross border raiders, Ugandan tribes Tepeth, Dodoth and Jie are the main aggressors and contribute towards over 60% of the cross-border conflicts. Other cross border actors such as Toposa, Nyangatom, Dongiro, Dassenach, Matheniko operate in limited stretches.

*Fig.1 Profile of aggressors across the various conflict sites in Turkana:*



The conflicts may also be classified by the motive and outcomes of the conflict, which also determine the nature and scale of violence and the specific actors.

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### *3.2.3 Traditional Conflicts*

These occur due to disputed resource sharing, restocking of depleted herds or accumulating livestock for bridewealth or as revenge for previous raids. Such raids are governed by customary rules and directed by elders, although the participants are the youth and other able-bodied and at times, hired warriors. It is usually with traditional opponents and historically carried out, but killing is limited and women and children are spared. The spoils are shared.

- Scrambling of livestock for prestige and marriage is an age-old tradition for the youth. For a young Turkana man (moran) to get married, he requires about 100 cattle, 200 goats and several camels to pay for dowry. Those who do not have such high number of livestock end up raiding neighboring communities and even fellow tribesmen (this is a major cause of internal conflict).
- Merilles from Ethiopia culturally kill and remove male organs then take them back home as trophies each year in August when they are circumcising their young ones.

### *3.2.4 Commercial Conflicts*



Although all raids are for commercial gains in some way, commercial conflicts are a more formalized form and are purely for the purpose of accumulating cattle for sale and exploiting otherwise inaccessible resources. The gains receivers are the catalysts, and these could be external arms dealers or wealth seekers from the community, and participants are the easily seduced youth and hired warriors. Although killing is not an aim, it does occur and in large numbers.

### 3.2.5 Political Conflicts

Multi-party politics have brought in political machinations to the traditional conflicts. Such politically motivated and politician incited conflicts are for the purpose of removing supporters of opposing politicians/parties and building on own supporter base and thereby gain political control, as well as for electoral fund-raising. The largest numbers of people are killed and displaced in such conflicts, since this is one of the aims, and there is even a deliberate targeting of and violence with women and children. As with commercial conflicts, both traditional warriors and hired warriors are used.

There are other conflicts caused by criminal undertakings but these gradually develop and feed into the above main categories. There are also latent conflicts frozen within the general institutional framework operating in pastoralist conflicts. These latent conflicts express themselves in the form of injustices, suppression and oppression, as in the case of multi-ethnic pastoralist conflicts.

### 3.2.6 Conflict Actors

The conflicts may be elder-driven or youth-driven, and the characteristics of each differ from those of the other. Although they may start violent conflicts to gain control over resources, the elders have a higher need for ensuring good relations and maintaining general security. Youth on the other hand have little to gain from security, and much more from economic power, prestige, etc., accessed via violent conflicts and illicit arms. Elders and women do incite conflicts, and elders also organize for the larger raids; but they also play a stronger role in maintaining and rebuilding peace. Although in the past, all raids had to be approved by the elders, increasingly the youth are launching raids without such approvals, seeing the wresting of control from the elders as an added benefit.

The traditional raids have metamorphosed with the involvement of actors beyond the traditional communities. Arms sellers supply weapons and mercenaries are also involved in large raids. Politicians promote conflicts and incite violence as a measure for gaining political advantage over opponents, and also enhancing prestige among supporters. Administrators sometimes facilitate the politicians by abstaining from intervening to stop such violence. Civil society carries with it its own biases and prejudices and acts based on these in a conflict-insensitive manner; funds provided by them is sometimes manipulated and provides additional power to warlords. At the same time, administrators and civil society also play a conflict mitigation and resolution role.

#### **'Ngingoroko':**

*These are Turkana troupes of armed youth who carry illegal arms and conduct cattle raids. When their motive is only to snatch cattle and from a smaller community, the size of the warrior group is usually between 15-30 armed youth. When they attack a large settlement/ kraal however, the warrior group size could be upto 100 armed youth. These warrior groups cut across multiple communities and settlements. Sometimes they are encouraged by locals to serve as protectors for their clans against the neighbouring communities. In times of scarcity, 2-3 such groups could come together to form a Ngingoroko troupe and carry out a raid and then divide the animals among themselves. The situation is often complex because many clans could come together in a Ngingoroko to resist a stronger aggressor. For example, in case of Karamoja circle in 1996, there were 9 clans - speaking the same Turkana group of language/ dialect (from Turkana, Uganda, Ethiopia) who came together to attack the Pokots who were stronger and harmed some government functionaries as well.*

### 3.3 Extent & Nature of Conflict-related Damage

The study revealed that inter-ethnic violence is escalating. Nature of violence ranged from abduction maiming, abandonment of elderly, rape and violations of women's rights, forced eviction, 'majimboism', snatching of animals ('shoats', camels, cows and donkeys) to even deaths. Armed conflict, including instances of bombing (Napeikidor Loikom, 2007, 143 killed) was identified as a prime concern.

- *in 2 surveyed sub-divisions in Laikipia, incidents of violence in 2011 have rendered 4800+ homeless and displaced 4234 people*
- *in 3 sub-divisions in Turkana, 325,000 were affected and 11,600 displaced.*

The conflicts result in loss of life and property, mass displacement, gross violation of human rights. Food security, education, water/sanitation are at a deplorable state, and there is no effective addressing of issues by the State. Children, women and young people are affected the most: children have no access to education and suffer severe malnutrition, violence against women is rampant, and young people are conscripted early into armed conflict.

#### 3.3.1 Loss of life/injuries

Pastoral conflicts in most cases lead to some injuries and often result in considerable loss of life and property and maiming of people, particularly when they are armed conflicts or external-directed. The exact numbers of those who suffer or succumb to the wrath of the conflicts every year are not very clear, since most often fatalities are not reported, although the number of events make it evident that there are indeed a very large number of fatalities and injured. Thus OCHA-Kenya recorded 179 fatalities in 2010 due to resource-based conflicts in the ASALs of northern Kenya. Our survey indicated however, that in a single month in 2011:

- Kainuk division in Turkana experienced 27 attacks from neighbouring Pokots; 13 people got killed and 17 were wounded.
- Armed conflicts have killed more than 10 men, 6 women and 3 children in shootings by armed bandits in Lekiji and Rumuruti areas of Laikipia, with more than more than 800 households rendered homeless after their houses were set on fire.

The fatalities often wax and wane with the ecological conditions, the conflicts increasing in frequency, scale and severity when there are droughts, and reducing in years with good rainfall.

#### 3.3.2 Effect on livelihoods

The target districts are among the 10 poorest districts in Kenya with steadily rising levels of poverty, and very poor performance on almost all development indices. The conflicts result in significant loss of livestock, which affects the pastoral communities and their livelihoods, as well as farmlands for agriculturists.

- Livestock lost over 3 months in 2011 in Kainuk division in Turkana that experienced 27 attacks from neighbouring Pokots in a single month in 2011: shoats (sheep and goats) 30,500 cattle 5,200, donkeys 4,100 and camels 2,000.

Livestock numbers owned by the herders have reduced drastically due to these conflicts, lost to aggressor groups in raids, as well as due to death caused by diminishing pasture and water resources.

- Families that had over 50 herd of cattle, 100 shoats, 30 camels and 10 donkeys have been left with none, due to the Kainuk-Kasei conflict in Turkana.

- Pastoral groups earlier used to have large number of animals (around 5000 goats/HH); which have now been reduced drastically due to drought and famine (only 5-10 goats per HH).

Conflict situations also tend to control movement of commodities. Investors withdraw from the insecure zones for fear of loss of property and life, and there is an increase in transport cost in conflict-prone districts and counties. This in turn results in reduced livelihood opportunities, difficult access to markets, and squeezed margins, for the ASAL communities.

### *3.3.3 Effect on the environment*

Grazing reserves and water points have had to be abandoned in the insecure areas. Water points tend to get degraded when they are not used for long. The shrinkage in grazing and water availability due to insecurity has caused abnormal concentration of livestock in safer zones hence leading to ecological degradation and increasing the risk of new conflict.

Loss of the traditional livelihoods is also leading to communities taking recourse to cutting down the meager vegetation for production of charcoal for sale, in turn escalating and intensifying desertification and ecological degradation.

### *3.3.4 Destitution and displacement of people*

A very large number of people have been displaced in the pastoralists' north frontier districts of Kenya. The highest numbers of those displaced are from Turkana, majority from Kakuma and Lokichoggio divisions. Samburu district comes next with nearly 20% of the district's population displaced, although a majority of those displaced are Turkana from Baragoi and Nyiro divisions. Areas on the borders of Pokot, Turkana and Baringo districts have been severely affected with large numbers displaced due to conflicts. It must be noted that the exact numbers of displaced are difficult to determine, since many take refuge with members of their extended family or friends, and only those that are forced to depend on the IDP camps set up by the government are counted.

The large displacement from the region results from violent eviction or voluntary outmigration, or simply loss of all assets, property and livelihoods, and hence no option but to join relief camps. Conflict has led more and more peasants to run away from the agricultural zone for fear of loss of life. For instance,

- A total of 2,998 persons have been displaced from various parts of Laikipia District.
- A large number of Turkana people - 11,600 (female 8,630; male 2,970) have been displaced to urban towns of Lodwar, Kakuma, Lokichoggio and Kitale and other tea and sunflower growing areas in Kenya.
- Large numbers of people have been displaced from Todonyang, Turkana the fertile grazing and fishing areas and are currently relying on relief food in Loarengak IDP camp.

The raids are a major cause of destitution among the pastoral communities. Raids directed at numerous homesteads or kraals simultaneously ruin individuals' and communities leaving the entire chain of family members, friends and relatives in absolute destitution. For example,

- In Nakwamoru, Kaptir, Juluk, and Kalemung'orok, there are over 2750 households with population of 900 [2750 HHs x 6 persons per a family = 16500] people, who have been displaced and left to rely on relief food.

However, the living conditions of the displaced populations are largely inadequate. The IDPs are temporary shelters: a number of the displaced are accommodated in tents (given by the government or INGOs), while some have to sleep in the open. Most of the displaced are highly

distressed. There is a high level of malnutrition among children and the population is largely on the mercy of relief providers. The camps are over-crowded and suffer from lack of healthcare facilities. Insects, scorpions, snake bites are common and with nearest hospitals >5 km away, and no transport facilities, these often lead to death. Educational facilities, when provided, are inadequate for the number of children housed in each camp. The living conditions are far from hygienic, and there are no toilets provided, and camp inmates have to defecate in the open. Families in the camps lack even basic utensils and clothing and other items of necessity.

For the people left in destitution due to raids, rural–urban migration becomes an option. A large number of such destitute make their way to trading centres and towns (Kainuk, Lokichar, Lodwar, Kachiliba, Alale and Kapenguria), and make a living from menial jobs and indulging in activities including prostitution and gambling.

### *3.3.5 Lack/destruction of welfare services*

The ASALs are highly deprived in terms of welfare amenities and services. The few welfare facilities that exist have also been destroyed or rendered non-operational due to the perpetual conflict scenario.

Children have been left with no access to education. For instance,

- Turkana has only 182 primary schools 7000 sq km area with average distance of commuting ranging between 10-12 km. Several of these schools however, have been ruined/shut down due to the violence, along with dispensaries and churches.

Even where schools remain, security concerns have meant that teachers have moved out, the populations have migrated to safe zones (without schools) and children have been withdrawn from schools. School enrolment rates have fallen far below the national average. Children and young people thus have no option but to take to the route of armed violence for getting themselves a better life.

The population has been left without basic healthcare services, in spite of the rise in injuries, maiming, and malnutrition. Due to lack of health services, even vaccination of children is not consistent. Women's access to reproductive health services and maternal care services are disrupted. Water and sanitation services are unavailable for most pastoralists.

### *3.3.6 Hunger & disease*

These areas are becoming endemically food insecure, and large numbers of the population depend on relief food provided by relief agencies. Malnutrition levels are very high and starvation chronic with considerable fatalities. The famine early warning network system has declared Baringo as Stressed, and Laikipia and Turkana at a Crisis level in terms of food security (37% GAM in Turkana). Women & children are worst affected, and 53% of child deaths are due to malnutrition.

In the IDP camps, there is a high level of epidemics. Women and children account for 75% of the IDP population and migrate to the congested camps where availability of basic social services fall far below the internationally accepted standards. Children in the IDP camps are at risk of contracting waterborne diseases (diarrhoea, cholera etc) due to lack of water available for drinking and cooking and lack of waste management. WFP's food distribution programmes and food for asset schemes fail to reach out to 25% of affected population. As per UN OCHA's nutrition survey, GAM is severe at over 20%, 1 out of every 5 children is affected by acute malnutrition thereby exposed to a high risk of morbidity and mortality. However, the top 3 causes of morbidity and mortality as identified by WHO are Acute Respiratory tract infections, malaria and acute watery diarrhoea apart from injuries from weapons and traumatic stress. To

add to the concerns, in the areas of very high conflicts and tension, the insecurity has compromised availability of health staff, with over 30% health facilities lying defunct (WHO).

### *3.3.7 Increase in crimes*

Families are breaking up with the men moving to nearby towns, and at the homestead level traditional tribal norms are weakening. There is a disproportionate impact on women & children, and in the camps of the displaced, there is increased rape, assault, prostitution, child abuse. The level and scale of banditry along major roads and commercial settlements as well as social crimes has tremendously increased as a result of persistent conflicts.

### *3.3.8 Effect on most vulnerable*

Women and girls experience much inequity and hunger, disease, disempowerment, gender-based violence and human rights abuses, and associated psychological trauma. During conflict events, they suffer from abduction, SGBV, killing/maiming; post-conflict, unwanted pregnancies, separation/widowhood, HIV/AIDS (growth rate of HIV in the target area is very high), prostitution, increased domestic violence, psychological trauma and social stigma, etc. Women are often widowed, and have no right on property since traditionally women are denied any kind of ownership. Therefore, these poverty stricken women and children join IDP camps.

Children suffer from physical abuse/trauma as a result of conflicts, and hunger, malnutrition and illiteracy, from inadequacy of state services for health/education. Children and women often take up manual labour or else, die of hunger, and cases of malnutrition among children have been on the rise. Several children have been rendered orphans. Young people suffer hunger, illiteracy and disease, death, maiming/disability due to conflict, manipulation by political forces and the lack of options.

- 30% of households in Turkana south are victims of conflict associated tragedies, which include widowhood for women and orphaning of children.
- There are an estimated 20,000 orphans in Turkana today, as compared to 18,000 in the year 2006. Many orphans spend their life as street children. Only 800 children are in institutional facilities, and about 1500 are adopted by caregivers who receive a paltry sum of Ksh. 2000 per month.

Desperation and hopelessness has prevailed among the elderly. Some die from sickness or weakness after abandonment by their families. Elderly people have been left behind in homesteads with no livestock and therefore they are unable to access sufficient food for their daily needs. In addition, their health status has deteriorated because those who used to attend to them have no time as they search for food all day long.

### *3.3.9 Lack of access to rights*

The rights of the population in the target districts have been highly neglected, and those of the displaced have been grossly violated. Most of the displaced were also disenfranchised and hence unable to exert their political rights and vote.

## **3.4 Trends in Conflicts**

Communities indicate that the frequency and violence involved in conflicts is on a steady rise. In the past, the destructive effects used to be moderated, and there were norms with regards to limits of acceptable violence and a taboo on harming women and children. But with increasing commercialization and politicization of the raids, and the use of automatic weapons, there is

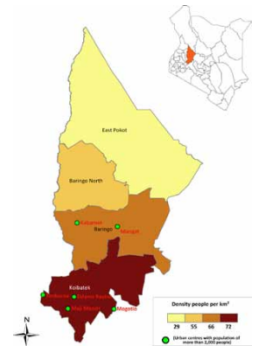
today a much higher number of killings, with no discrimination between warriors and women & children. On a shorter temporal scale, livestock raids tend to increase after droughts, as a coping strategy in order to restock the herds that would have depleted due to lack of forage. OCHA monitoring of conflict-related deaths indicate a clear correlation with droughts.

## 4. DISTRICT-WISE CONFLICT ASSESSMENT

### 4.1 Baringo County Conflict Assessment

#### 4.1.1 Introduction to the Region

Baringo, one of the arid and semi-arid districts in the Rift Valley Province of Kenya covers an area of 10,949 km<sup>2</sup> (Kaimba, et al., 2011) with a population of 328,070 and is constantly affected by drought (WCF Report). The County constitutes 5 constituencies namely Baringo Central, Baringo East, Eldama ravine, Baringo East and Mogotio. The district is hot and dry throughout most of the year and the rainfall highly variable, with an annual mean of 635 mm (Kaimba, et al., 2011). Water shortages are a permanent problem, especially in the dry lowlying areas of the district. The availability of water is limited during the dry season but usually increases with the onset of rains. However, rainfall in the district is irregular and has only 50 per cent reliability (WCF Report).



The district is characterised by bare ground and loose sandy loam soil. It is inhabited by the Pokot, Tugen and Njemps communities whose major occupation is livestock-keeping (Kaimba, et al., 2011). Only 10 percent of the land has high agriculture potential, mostly in the south west part and the highlands. In the other areas the main activity is nomadic pastoralism (WCF Report).

The degradation of Kenya's drylands has led to serious environmental and socio-economic problems, of which many are exemplified in Baringo District. Land degradation is severe in the Baringo lowlands, with little or no vegetative cover and diminishing biodiversity. Erratic rainfall and high-intensity storms cause heavy runoff and flash flooding. Erosion, exacerbated by deforestation in the foothills, is silting up Lake Baringo, the only large source of fresh water in the area. Overgrazing of diminishing communal reserves and the abuse of limited natural resources has accelerated. A breakdown of 'traditional' values further hampers people's ability to cope with their changed reality. Reduced employment and income generating opportunities have resulted in males migrating to urban areas, leaving women with double the workload. The recurring cycle of droughts and floods has become commonplace, with poverty increasingly widespread (raetrust.org) with absolute poverty (rural) at 31.5 per cent of households (WCF Report).

#### 4.1.2 The Conflict Context

Baringo has been the setting of numerous conflicts between reforming governments and administrators bent on saving the land and making it more productive and also recalcitrant farmers and pastoralists (Anderson, 2005). Grazing conflicts between ethnic groups has increased insecurity with boundaries and land tenure policies remain ill defined (raetrust.org). Baringo pastoralists are mainly transhumance pastoralists dependent on livestock for their livelihood. Traditionally, they move seasonally from their home bases and drive their herds to places with pasture and water and come back to their homesteads in other seasons when pasture improves. There is a tendency to accumulate cattle even under unfavourable environmental conditions, often exerting a lot of pressure on the meager range resources. Inevitably, there is competition amongst pastoralists in the district for the available range resources, necessitating frequent livestock movements with in search of pasture and water (Kaimba, et al., 2011).

*Conflict drivers:* The scarcity of water and concentration of people and livestock in the available water points in the district often leads to conflict between the different communities over the rights of use of the water source. Clashes and cattle rustling are common along the district border with Laikipia, Samburu and Turkana. These conflicts lead to loss of human life, displacement and destruction of property. The effect on the economy is also great, as livestock is lost and farms are abandoned (WCF Report). Pasture and water conflicts have long been part of the socio-cultural pattern of the pastoral communities in Kenya. The lands are traditional tribal grazing areas, such that migration in search of pasture and water by one tribe into areas that belong to other tribes often causes conflict between pastoralists. Besides, livestock movements into grazing lands and watering points that stretch into crop-growing areas also cause conflicts (Kaimba, et al., 2011). Population pressures and increasing affluence levels within the arid and semi-arid areas have necessitated a shift from pastoralism to sedentarization which is causing environmental and socio-economic land use conflicts (Mwasi, 2001).

*Nature of Conflicts:* Land use changes and the consequent changes in land cover characteristics are readily observable in the Baringo landscape. Widespread transformation of vegetated areas to almost bare surfaces consisting of farms, grazing lands, human settlements and degraded patches are readily visible. Rapid sedentarization of this area, which has been predominantly occupied by pastoralists, is causing two types of land use conflicts. First, environmental conflicts arise from putting land into uses that are not compatible with its characteristics. Cultivation of areas with little and unreliable rainfall resulting into frequent crop failures leaves most of the cultivated land bare for long periods thus also accelerating soil erosion as evidenced by the muddy water of L. Baringo (Mwasi, 2001).

The second conflict arises from competition for land by different land uses, i.e. pastoralism, sedentary agriculture, tree harvesting and conservation. Population pressures and increasing affluence levels have necessitated a shift in production systems from pastoralism to other socio-economic activities (Mwasi, 2001). Competition takes place between herders along class lines. The rich families are able to mobilize labour and capital necessary for irrigated agriculture. As they do so during the wet season, when grazing is not scarce, cultivation has little impact on livestock production. Instead, poor families can only afford wet season dryland farming in the rain-fed non-swamp areas, but this is also where and when the herds are grazed, with high potential for conflict (Kratli & Swift et al.).

#### *4.1.3 Conflict Cases & Impacts*

The most recent clashes in Baringo have occurred in May 2012 between the Tugen and Pokot when at least 5 people died and more than 7,000 displaced by violence, which also led to the closure of more than 10 schools. In this whole year, 82 people have reportedly died and 48 injured in the conflict pitting the two communities. On 28 June 2010, one man and one woman were killed in Nginyang Division. On 26 June 2010, one Turkana raider was killed during an attempted raid in Nginyang division. On 22 July 2010, two Turkana raiders were killed in grazing fields located in Mondri division, Kapedo East sub-location.

#### *4.1.4 Conflict Management*

*Efforts in conflict resolution:* Several NGOs and Trusts in Kenya are making consistent efforts towards resolving conflicts in the district. Historically conflict has existed between the Njemps and Pokot people over grazing rights and access to water for their livestock. By ensuring equal participation from both communities in the *Tuske* Trust it is believed that areas of conflict between the two tribes will be resolved allowing them both to benefit from the region and create a sustainable future for their people, livestock, environment and wildlife (Tuskana). The work by *RAE (Rehabilitation of Arid Environments) Charitable Trust* is benefiting the people and environment of the Baringo lowlands and having a growing impact on improving drylands. Increasing



numbers of local people contribute actively to the community-based solutions developed by RAE reaping multiple socio-economic benefits from their once degraded lands (Raetrust). The Kenya Red Cross in Baringo North has helped >2,000 people displaced by cattle rustling incidents (Allafrica). The water situation in Baringo is the subject of concern of several aid agencies. The district is included in the *Arid Lands Management Programme*, funded by the World Bank (WCF Report).

*Problems in conflict resolution:* Policies pursued by successive governments have failed to contain the cattle rustling menace, perhaps because the traditional conflict-solving institutions have been undermined by the creation of administrative structures that are not subject to traditional institutions (Kaimba, et al., 2011). Since master plans for rural development do not exist, decisions on land use are made at the individual household level. Such decisions can easily be conflicting. Rural land use development is regulated by some restrictive legislative mechanisms meant to protect and conserve land for ecological functions. Most of the legal rules are often ignored or simply so out of touch with the actual development taking place such that their implementation is impossible. The communities also lack a framework within which they can by consensus identify and resolve land use conflict.

*Interventions needed:* Increasing the level of development in pastoral areas may help in reducing part of the problem. Formulation of appropriate policies; achieved through an all-inclusive consultative process, coupled with improved infrastructures will be a key to controlling the cattle rustling menace. Such policies should not only aim at improving existing livelihood sources mainly based on livestock but also provide alternative livelihood strategies so as to achieve food security.

## 4.2 Laikipia County Conflict Assessment

### 4.2.1 Introduction

Laikipia is a plateau district, straddling the equator north west of Mount Kenya. Nanyuki is the main town of the Laikipia region, and there are two rivers, the Ewaso Nyiro and Ewaso Narok, which wind through the region giving life to frequently very dry areas. Altitude varies from about 1500 to 1950m, and the environment includes open grasslands, acacia bushland, basalt hills, cedar forests and kopjes (tribes.co.uk).

Laikipia region is made up of three districts; Laikipia East (the capital in Nanyuki); Laikipia West (Nyahururu) and Laikipia North (Dol Dol) (irinnews.org). Lying in the East of the Great Rift Valley, Laikipia borders Samburu District to the North, Isiolo District to the Northeast, Meru District to the Southeast, Nyeri District to the South, Nyandarua and Nakuru district to the Southwest and Koibatek and Baringo to the West (Mkutu, 2001).



The six communities inhabiting the region are the Kikuyu, Maasai, Kalenjin, Turkana, Samburu and Pokot (irinnews.org). The region is made up of a mixture of community group ranches and privately-owned ranches, which between them include commercial cattle ranches, agricultural enterprises of various sizes, wildlife conservancies and pastoralist grazing lands (tribes.co.uk). It is a multi-ethnic tribal district which pastoralist communities share with ranchers, farmers, horticulturalists and wildlife conservation areas. It includes extensive arid and semi-arid lands as well as arable and urban areas. The total population of Laikipia District is estimated to be 378,477

(1999 census). The high rate of population growth has implications for pressure on scarce and land resources and service provision in the district (Mkutu, 2001).

#### 4.2.2 *The Conflict Context*

Pressures on water and land resources have increased greatly in recent years, with increased farming activities, rapid population growth, and periodic drought. Conflicts involving pastoralists associated with resource competition, cattle rustling, and wide availability of small arms are widespread and of increasing concern (Mkutu, 2001). The region often experiences clashes between pastoralists and cultivators or between different groups of pastoralist communities. The conflict over grazing land is experienced in all three districts. Often there are raids between the Samburu and the Maasai and between the Samburu and the Pokot; the Turkana are often used by either side of the war communities in their quest for better grazing land. The raids over grazing land are often exacerbated by drought when the rains are inadequate to accommodate the grazing needs of the pastoralists (irinnews.org).

*Conflict causes & drivers:* The main causes of ethnic conflicts include land, poverty, militia gangs, gun culture, political incitement, racism and ethnic animosity (Mwangi, 2012). There are many factors contributing to the risk of violent conflict involving pastoralists. *Cattle rustling*, the key contributing factor has intensified in Laikipia. Responses by pastoralists to try to protect and defend their livestock have often tended to exacerbate the problems, as they contribute to local 'arms races' and local overgrazing as herds are concentrated into defended areas. *Small arms*, including automatic and semi-automatic weapons have become widely available and are increasingly used in Laikipia. Such arms availability has made traditional raiding more deadly, which in turn has made conflict management and resolution more difficult. *Inadequate policing and state security policies* has increased insecurity and the tendency towards self-defence and retaliation. *Traditional leaders and governance systems* in pastoralist communities have generally weakened, reducing the capacity of communities themselves to manage and prevent conflicts and crime. National and district state authorities have exacerbated this problem, through policies that either neglect or undermine traditional governance systems (Mkutu, 2001).

In addition to these, other factors that contribute to the risk of violent conflicts between pastoralists and other communities include: inappropriate government development policies, inadequate land tenure policies, inadequate engagement with traditional governance systems, political and socio-economic marginalisation of pastoralists and inadequate arrangements to cope with droughts and other emergencies (Mkutu, 2001).

Pastoralists are also coming into conflict with ranchers, farmers, horticulturalists and conservation area wardens, and thus with State authorities. Scarcity and insecure access to water and pasture land has led to constant friction with ranchers and other users, which has led in turn to violent conflicts. Long distance nomadic movements by pastoralists with their herds require local cooperation with sedentary communities and this is not being adequately addressed.

#### 4.2.3 *Conflict Cases & Impacts*

In January 1998, armed Pokot who stole 15 goats attacked the home of Esther Njeri Mburu. The assailants were followed by a group of Kikuyu who, unable to catch them, attacked 54 animals belonging to Pokot. Raiders from the Pokot and Samburu communities, supported by some Turkana tribesmen, retaliated, killing four people. They also burnt and looted houses in Olmoran. This attack was followed by a series of raids on different homes. As a result, nearly 2,000 people fled their homes and took refuge in Chuches. A more aggressive invasion of a Laikipia ranch occurred in June 2000 when heavily armed herdsmen from Samburu and Pokot with thousands of their cattle invaded several private ranches. Research revealed that migrant pastoralists brought over 50,000 heads of cattle, 5,000 camels and 19,500 shoats from the 6 districts in North Rift. The Laikipia district thus received an additional population of around 1000 herders further increasing the number of firearms in the district (Mkutu, 2001).

Violence rocked Laikipia West in March 2008, as two communities - the Tugen and Turkana – clashed with the dominant and mainly farming community of the Kikuyu, leaving at least 25 people dead and more than 8,000 displaced. The violence was allegedly sparked by an incident in which a suspected Turkana rustler was killed. KRCS recorded at least 19,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Laikipia East and Laikipia West (irinnews.org). In 2009, drought intensified in the northern Kenyan districts of Isiolo and Laikipia, reducing available pasture and raising tensions between farming and pastoralist communities in the area. Tensions flared in June, when members of the Pokot community in Laikipia West, clashed with other communities in Sipili area. Five people were killed and hundreds of families forced to abandon their homes. One primary school, Wangwashe, was closed after pupils fled with their families. The clash also disrupted transport and the livestock trade (irinnews.org).

#### 4.2.4 Conflict Management

The churches in Laikipia West District have been at the forefront in fostering peace using different methods particularly submission, confession, and peace visits (Mwangi, 2012). Recognizing the fact that conflict over the right to access grass and water is a serious issue in the Laikipia region, The Nature Conservancy is working very closely in the region and elsewhere in Kenya with local partners, including the Samburu and other pastoralists, to protect grasslands and help reduce conflict over natural resources (The Nature Conservancy, 2011).

*Interventions needed:* A complementary approach to peacebuilding and reconciliation is inevitable for long lasting peace. In multiethnic society, all actors should ensure they use a comprehensive approach that appreciates the diversity of cultural world views (Mwangi, 2012). Serious attempts to address the problems can contribute substantially to conflict prevention and management if they are recognised as such by the communities involved. A good start could be made by taking measures directly aimed at conflict prevention, such as establishing agreed programmes to address the needs of pastoralists and other resource users during periods of drought and other predictable crises. Projects in support of pastoralists need to strategically invest in awareness raising, training and local peace-building resources, including potentially undervalued resources within each community such as women’s networks. Primary responsibility for developing and implementing the programmes must rest with the Kenyan government and its people. Conflict prevention requires the active involvement of local and national stakeholders to be effective. External technical and financial assistance from international donors can play a secondary, facilitative, role (Mkutu, 2001).

#### Laikipia North (Mukogodo Division, Lekiji Village)

*Nature of conflicts:* Natural-resource based inter-ethnic conflicts are common in this District and have been occurring between local pastoralist groups and agricultural communities since January 2011.

- i. Internal Conflicts: Lekiji community and government officials over the ownership of 1,400 acres piece of land conflict where local people claimed to have lived since 1962. Kabarak farm conflict pitting the local Samburu people displaced from the land they have lived for more than 20 years
- ii. Inter-state Conflicts (conflicts between people of Kenya-Somalia, Uganda and Tanzania): Turkana Kenyan people and neighbouring pastoral groups from Ethiopia leading to loss of lives of many Turkana people living along the borders. Conflicts along the Kenya-Somalia borders spilling over from the war torn Somalia Republic

*Conflict reasons/catalysts/drivers:* As a result of prolonged drought, pastoralist from Isiolo, Baringo, Marsabit, Moyale, Samburu and Turkana Districts are moving in big numbers into Laikipia

District agricultural areas in search of water and pasture. Competitions over scarce grazing fields, water resources and pasture have escalated inter-ethnic animosity often resulting to armed conflicts.

The conflicts are triggered mainly by prolonged drought and famine in Northern Kenya region. To a smaller extent, there are cases of incitement by local politicians as the general election approaches. Reduced access to grazing areas and water resources occasioned by climate change has disrupted migratory patterns and drought coping mechanism of local pastoral communities also act as conflict drivers.

*Conflict actors:* The conflicts are usually between local pastoralist groups and the agricultural communities in the region.

*Affected areas:* Affected areas include Lekiji village, Rumuruti, Segera, Daiga, and entire Mukogodo division bordering Isiolo District. Owing to prolonged drought in major parts of Northern Kenya, there has been an influx of pastoralist to areas which have received some rainfall in Laikipia West areas including Ngobit, Rumuruti, Ngareng'iro as well as some pockets of Segera and Daiga areas. The security situation is further made worse by longstanding inter-ethnic based conflicts fueled by cattle raids and unresolved land ownership disputes.

*Loss of life, property and livestock:* Armed conflicts have also occurred killing more than 10 men, 6 women and 3 children in shootings by armed bandits over the last 2 months. In Lekiji and Rumuruti areas more than more than 800 households were rendered homeless after their houses were set on fire. More than 1,000 sheep and goats were stolen with a few of them recovered by the police and approximately 250 heads of cattle were lost through raids. Already around 20 persons have lost their lives as a result of these recent clashes.

*Displacement of people:* Violent eviction by government officials under direction of powerful personalities in the ruling regime has resulted in the displacement of people. A total of 2,998 persons have been displaced from various parts of Laikipia District. 1,109 live in PowysRobo area next to Kabarak farm where they have been displaced by government authorities in a land owned by the retired by powerful persons in the Moi administration and a further 1,889 are spread out in numerous locations of Laikipia District.

The displaced people live in makeshift shelters made of polythene papers and worn out clothing. They have no means of earning a living and most of them have turned into illegal charcoal burning to sustain their livelihoods. During evictions, there are reports of rape and great violation of women rights.

*The impact of displacement:* There has been environmental degradation as a result of immense pressure exerted on available pasture and water resources. Most school going children have had to drop out of school to follow their parents as they move from one place to another. Because the livelihoods of local people have been disrupted and have to rely on well-wishers for food, cases of malnutrition amongst young children is on the rise over the recent past. Elderly people have been left behind in homesteads with no livestock and therefore they are unable to access sufficient food for their daily needs. In addition, their health status has deteriorated because those who used to attend to them have no time as search for food all day long.

Just like elderly people, local women have been negatively impacted by prolonged inter-ethnic conflicts in a number of areas. Their access to reproductive health services and maternal care services has been disrupted occasioning a crisis in the provision of vital health care services for women and children. Livestock numbers have drastically reduced since the onset of these conflicts mainly due to death occasioned by diminishing pasture and water resources as well as from raids. The level and scale of banditry along major roads and commercial settlements as well as social crimes has tremendously increased as a result of persistent conflicts.

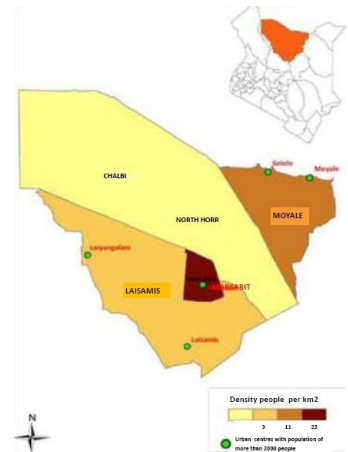
Traditional justice mechanisms: Traditionally justice mechanism like council of elders were used for resolving inter ethnic based conflicts, however, though they are still recognized, the decisions taken by them are not legally enforceable and are being increasingly subjected to political manipulations.

Peace building efforts and interventions needed: To address the growing conflict situation in the region, the government has set up District Peace Committees which is responsible for ensuring that the local communities co-exist harmoniously. Apart from this there is also a need for an emergency response program to provide the basic need items like food, clothing and shelter mostly for the displaced persons and those under stress from the effects of prolonged drought in these areas.

## 4.3 Marsabit County Conflict Assessment

### 4.3.1 Introduction

Marsabit District is one of the thirteen districts that form Eastern Province of Kenya bordering Samburu to the south, Turkana to the West, Isiolo to the East, Moyale to the Northeast and the republic of Ethiopia to the North. It covers an area of 66,000 km<sup>2</sup>, which includes 4,956 km<sup>2</sup>, of Lake Turkana. The second largest district in the country, it accounts for 11 per cent of its total area communities (The Mission Team, 2005). Most of the district is an extensive plain lying between 300m and 900m above sea level, which slopes gently towards the southeast. Seasonal rivers dominating the district include Milgis, Merille, Dida Galgallu and Chalbi depression. Located in the driest region of the country, it receives 200 mm-1000 mm of rain annually (Pkalya, et al., 2003).



Human settlements are concentrated around the humid and sub-humid mountain areas where agro-pastoral livelihood is practiced. Other pockets of concentration are in the low lying areas where a mosaic of semi-permanent pastoralist's *manyattas* is found. Recurring drought in the past decades are largely responsible for increased rural to urban influx of destocked pastoralist communities (The Mission Team, 2005).

About 80 per cent of the district's residents are pastoralists deriving their livelihood from livestock and livestock based industries. About 10 per cent practice subsistence agriculture and reside mainly around Mount Marsabit which receives comparatively high rainfall. About 7 percent are involved in commerce trade and the rest are salaried employees. The pockets of poor are predominantly found in Loiyangalani and North Horr Divisions, where people are wholly depend on livestock as a source of livelihood with extremely unfavorable climatic conditions for agriculture. Poverty is also found in Central Division especially in Marsabit town among the victims of tribal clashes, cattle rustlers and immigrants from other districts in search of relief food (The Mission Team, 2005).

### 4.3.2 The Conflict Context

Cattle raids, inter-communal resource conflicts and banditry are common across much of the arid lands of the region, where firearms are increasingly common among pastoralist communities. Pastoralist communities across the Horn of Africa frequently cross national borders in search of pasture and water. Although neighbouring states often share ethnic groupings, such migrations can be problematic (IRIN, 2009). In Marsabit, two communities (The Rendile and the Borana) are fighting on what is believed to be a war over water and pasture (Chulogo, 2009).

*Conflict drivers:* The onset of the short rains, from mid-October to December, increases the likelihood of cattle raids and thus conflict, because this is when pastoralists restock their herds. Livestock movement in search of water and pasture remains a driver of conflict. Competition for scarce natural resources is a primary cause of conflict in the region. The movement of livestock and herders often transcends national borders and pastoralist groups across the region depend on the same communal pool of natural resources. Land demarcation also presents a problem as communities claim ownership of territories and regions. The loss of communal grazing land to farming and environmental degradation also fuels conflicts in pastoral areas (IRIN, 2009). In the largely arid Marsabit 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 Pkalya, et al., 2003.

*Conflict Actors:* The players of conflict in Marsabit are the Rendille, 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. Women, children and the elderly are the main victims of conflicts Pkalya, et al., 2003.

#### *4.3.3 Conflict Events and Impacts:*

In Marsabit, Loyangalani division is the most affected by conflict since it borders Turkana and Samburu districts. Kargi and Loyangalani locations experience frequent and deadly cattle raids between the Rendille, Turkana and also the Gabbra and Borana communities. Conflict has affected various economic aspects of the communities the district. Massive theft of livestock, looting and destruction of property, reduced economic activities, degradation of the environment, inaccessible health services, increased number of school dropouts, displacement, and stalled development projects are some of the impacts. Widespread poverty to a larger extent is also attributed to these impacts (Pkalya, et al., 2003).

On 12 July 2005, following conflict between the Borana and Gabra communities, over 70 people were killed and 3,000 were displaced in Torbi Centre, Maikona Location, approximately 125 Km from Marsabit town (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2005). About 1000 heavily-armed bandits made a series of raids and left a trail of destruction at the trading centre and Turbi Boarding Primary School and burned to the ground the nearby group of dwellings. They also stole about 3000 cattle, 5000 sheep and 4000 camels (Mwangi, 2006). A subsequent cycle of revenge and retaliation action occurred between the two communities, raising the death toll to 90. The total number of displaced people in 2005 increased to 6,200, and a considerable amount of property was destroyed (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2005).

#### *4.3.4 Conflict Management:*

*Conflict Resolution Efforts:* The KRCS (Kenya Red Cross Society) responded swiftly to assist the victims of the Turbi conflict and is working closely with all partners and stakeholders, with support from the International Federation and the ICRC (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2005). The Inter Agency Group (IAG) has initiated a number of peace initiatives in Marsabit. Members of IAG have over the past years been facilitating initiatives aimed at bringing a sense of dialogue among the warring communities in Marsabit (Wafula, 2007). Through the conflict management project, Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) is implementing peace programmes in Northern Kenya (Turkana, Marsabit, and Samburu) and works through partners in neighbouring districts (Pkalya, et al., 2003).

*Problems in conflict resolution:* There are several factors that contribute to the growing insecurity in the conflict prone area of Marsabit, with political, economic and socio-cultural dimensions. It is often linked to lack of power, lack of voice or the means to successfully negotiate on situations dealing with the causes of the conflict and the well-being of the affected people. The absence of a good governance culture has been the bane of development in Marsabit. The privatisation of the state and political power is a basic factor in the growing marginalisation, poverty and material insecurity of the communities here. This situation has led to social insecurity of crime, violence and inter-group and inter-clan or communal conflict (Wafula, 2007). The absence of the government in some parts makes people take the law into their own hands, Poor leadership and a breakdown in community values also foster insecurity. The role of elders is fast diminishing and people rely on community-organized security groups such as home guards/police reservists to maintain law and order (IRIN, 2009).

*Interventions needed:* The government must define the parameters for assessing or evaluating security and should be in a position to provide protection to vulnerable groups. A major contribution towards security in northern Kenya could be made if people from the affected areas are given the opportunity to participate in development work in the area. Such a move will join communities and leaders across the region; improve the living conditions and broaden the horizons of those facing poverty; and give those who are in relatively better off position the opportunity of engaging with the real problems and challenges facing the region. The most tremendous challenge that the communities in Marsabit face is the need to have a new and pragmatic leadership equipped with new ideas to propel the region forward Wafula, 2007. Disarmament, strengthening or starting alternative livelihood (income generating activities, fishing, crop farming and restocking) development of water sources are some of the most effective ways of rehabilitating conflict victims and resolving conflict (Pkalya, et al., 2003).

## 4.4 Samburu County Conflict Assessment

### 4.4.1 Introduction

Samburu, a district in the North Rift Valley Province, Kenya covers an area of roughly 21000 Km<sup>2</sup> and is divided administratively into three districts namely Samburu Central, North and East. It borders Laisamis district to the East and North east, Isiolo to the South east, Laikipia North to the South, Baringo East to the South west and Turkana South district to the west and North west. It has a population of approximately 174,000 (1999 population census).

The district is semi-arid and supports crop farming in the highlands whereas the lowlands are predominantly endowed with livestock resources (Masinde, et al., 2004). The people practice small-scale irrigation along the Kerio and other major rivers in the North Rift and grow millet, sorghum, cassava, bananas, cotton and vegetables. Cattle, goats, sheep and camels are their main source of livelihood and they derive 90% of their livelihood from sale of the livestock and its products. Honey production and marketing in North Rift is widespread and making and selling of ornaments among the Samburu, East Pokot and Turkana is also an important trade (Pkalya, et al., 2003).

Geographically, the district is divided into lowland and the plateau consisting of both Kirisia and Lorroki divisions. The vegetation is mainly grassland with stunted bushes, while deciduous forests dominate the mountainous ranges. The Lorroki and Kirisia plateaus are characterised by



mountains and indigenous forests. The zone serves as water catchment areas and dry season grazing areas for livestock. The district is generally a water deficit area as there are no permanent rivers except WasoNyiro. Average rainfall is about 500mm annually and the temperatures vary with altitude generally from 21 to 35 degree Celsius.

#### *4.4.2 The Conflict Context*

Samburu district is the second poorest in the country, with 83% of its population living below poverty line and the community still in total dependence on nature for its survival. The high aridity and prevalence of livestock diseases have accelerated the poor performance of livestock as a source of livelihood. This coupled with other socio-economic factors such as money economy and cattle rustling have forced a large number of the households out of pastoralism to settle in trading centres. Poverty and acute dependence on natural resources (grazing land and water) have fuelled conflicts in the district.

Competition over grazing land and water resources, often leading to cattle rustling is the Samburu's definition of inter-ethnic conflicts. On the other hand, among the agro-pastoralists Samburu found in high potential areas, land ownership is another emerging description of conflict. Throughout their history, the Samburu community has been in a defensive position with all their neighbours. They have had clashes with most of thenomadic people. Their main concern is cattle. Cattle raids are the major inter-ethnic pre-occupation or manifestation of conflicts with the neighbouring communities. The community is in conflict with the Turkana, Borana, Meru, Kikuyu, and to a lesser extent the Pokot(Masinde, et al., 2004).

*Conflict causes & drivers:* Cattle rustling/raids, night attacks and road robberies are regarded as the key causes of conflicts in the district. Other major causes of conflict include: revenge, infiltration of firearms, competition for scarce resources, dowry, discrimination amongst the residents, and poverty and politics. Crossing district borders has also caused conflicts in some cases (Pkalya, et al., 2003). Masinde et al. 2004 attribute the following to occurrence of inter-ethnic conflicts in the district: diminishing grazing land and resources; ethnocentrism and prejudice; land disputes and territorial expansion; the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) into the hands of Samburu warriors and fellow tribesmen; and also political incitement against other communities.

*Conflict Actors:* The principal actors/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 youth from these communities are directly involved (Pkalya, et al., 2003).

#### *4.4.3 Conflict Events and Impacts*

Conflicts have impacted negatively on the victims, especially women and children. Other than loss of livestock, conflict impacts include loss of human lives, disruption of trade, injuries, increased poverty and school closures. Others are revenge, slow or stunted development, displacements and resultant orphaned children. Cattle's rustling in Samburu district has displaced 17% of the district's population or 23,707 people (Pkalya, et al., 2003). The general population affected by conflict in Baragoi division is 73%. The Samburu people do not usually come to camp at market centres, but instead, seek refuge in manyattas of relatives and friends. The situation in Nyiro division is similar to that of Baragoi division, although the effect of conflict in Nyiro is milder. 59% of the population of this division is affected by conflict either directly or indirectly although in different extents (Pkalya, et al., 2003).

In September of 2009, 300 heavily armed Borana and Somali gunmen attacked the Samburu tribe at Losesia, in Samburu District, near Archer's Post, approx 38 km from Lerata. In addition to



killing 3 herdsmen and injuring 2 others, the militia stole 3765 head of cattle, 2635 goats and sheep, 141 camels, and 19 donkeys, according to Samburu East MP Raphael Letimelo. All livestock were removed in lorries (pamazuka.org). The near recent conflict of March 2011 in Samburu district, led to the displacement of over 1200 people, mainly women and children, who initially moved to camp at Nachola Primary School but were forced to vacate the school since education had to go on (reliefweb.int).

#### 4.4.4 Conflict Management

Traditional Resolution Efforts: The council of elders composed of respected elders in the community, respective heads of the *nabos* is perhaps the highest socio-political organization and institution of managing conflicts amongst the Samburu, especially internal conflicts. Due to their nomadic lifestyle and cultural attachment to large herds of cattle, the Samburu community has also come into constant conflict with other communities. In response to the security threat it has operationalized an elaborate customary mechanism for inter-ethnic conflicts prevention and management. It seeks the services of indigenous intelligence information experts to prevent and manage conflicts. In response to information gathered, respected elders and laibons are mobilized to initiate inter-ethnic negotiations to prevent the conflicts. The community has also entered into binding peace arrangements (*Imumai*) and military alliance with their strategic neighbours. In addition to these measures, they also intimidate neighbouring communities using charms, sorcery or witchcraft (*laisu*), which are thought to be effective in disabling potential aggressors or enemy soldiers (Masinde et al., 2004).

External Resolution Efforts: Through the conflict management project, the *Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG)* is implementing peace programmes in Northern Kenya (Turkana, Marsabit, and Samburu) (Pkalya, et al., 2003). The *Turkana-Pokot-Samburu Pastors Cross-Border Conflict Management Initiative* operates in the three regions benefits the Turkana, Pokot and Samburu communities. The initiative began in 2010 with the aim to encourage and promote adoption of mechanisms by the 3 communities to resolve their conflicts amicably and also encourage sharing of natural resources and harmonious co-existence (kenyaman.org). The *Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS)* has continued to provide humanitarian assistance to victims of a conflict between the Samburu and the Pokot in Nachola, Samburu (reliefweb.int). Kenya's pastoral communities of Turkana and Samburu are also set to benefit from peace initiatives and conflict management skills from *Shalom Centre for Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation (SCCRR)*, based in Nairobi. The institute would be involved in research work on peace-making and conflict management as well as training the local people on the issue.

Interventions Needed: The community regards the following as coping mechanisms to deal with the conflict situations and also minimize potential conflict in Samburu district: Reduction of dowry requirements; 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 on rotational grazing; Intensifying patrols along the roads; Educating the communities through use of radios, chiefs' barazas, political rallies. All the respondents in the ITDG study conducted in 2003 recommended that government should 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 (Pkalya, et al., 2003).

## 4.5 Turkana County Conflict Assessment

### 4.5.1 Introduction

The dusty and windswept Turkana county is situated in the North-Western part of Kenya and falls within the Rift Valley Province of the country. The county is bordered by Uganda on the West, South Sudan and Ethiopia on the north and north-east and Lake Turkana in the east. To the south and east, the neighbouring districts of West Pokot, Samburu and Baringo surround this north-western most district. With an area of more than 68,500 km<sup>2</sup> it is considered to be one of the largest districts in the countries.



The dominant community in Turkana is the Turkana people; apart from them there are several other pastoralist groups who have settled in different parts of the county over a period of time. Being the largest town in the county, as well as the capital, Lodwar attracts a substantial share of tourists. The main economic activities in the region apart from tourism are fishing and livestock rearing.

However, with a warm and hot climate, unreliable rainfall pattern ranging between 300mm and 400mm per annum, Turkana faces several challenges. More than 95% of the population in the county lives below the poverty line and are victims of droughts and famines which frequent the region. Food shortage and insecurity have made life in Turkana extremely difficult. Cattle rustling and conflict between the different pastoralist groups due to constant migration are becoming increasingly common.

#### 4.5.2 The Conflict Context

The county, like other parts of Northern Kenya suffers from problems of climate change migration conflicts between the different inhabiting groups. Conflicts involving pastoralist groups are widespread in Turkana. Frequent spells of drought force the pastoralists to migrate constantly in search of water and pasture across the district, sometimes even across the national borders, thus often leading to wars and conflicts over the scarce resources. Though most of the conflicts are local in nature, inter-ethnic conflicts arising from persistent droughts, food scarcity and changes in lifestyles can also be seen amongst the different nomadic groups. The lack of basic services like education health facilities, limited infrastructure, lack of market, trading opportunities and limited socio-economic activities is further contributing toward the increasing human insecurity. The districts' propinquity to Sudan, Uganda and Ethiopia and other hostile districts also leads to violence arising out of insecurities.

Conflict causes & drivers: In Turkana, the conflicts are a result of several intertwined and intricate factors. Wealth, livestock, ethnocentrism and easy access to illicit arms are some of the leading causes for the *cattle raids*. Earlier pastoralist conflicts were organized, sporadic and communal ventures which were guided by a designated set of rules which limited destruction of life and property and were resolved through the community elders. However today the nature of these raids and cattle rustling have changed due to the presence of firearms and in being increasingly compounded with *road robberies, killings, lawlessness and banditry*.

Other traditional causes which also lead to conflict include *heroism, drought, poverty and dowry*. One of the primary drivers of conflict is the *resource competition* in the region. The Merille people and the Turkana enter into frequent clashes for food, cattle and fish, mostly around the Lake Turkana region.

The *establishment of refugee camps* in the marginal land of the district has also given rise to tension between the native poor Turkana and the relatively cash rich but resource poor refugees, most of which are from Sudan.

The *recent discovery of oil in Turkana county* is also leading to the increased polarization among the ethnic communities and intensifying violent struggles over access to water and grazing resources.

*Conflict actors:* 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.

#### *4.5.3 Conflict events & impacts:*

The violent conflicts have had very negative and severe effects on the lives of the communities involved. Loss of livestock is one of the most severe effects of these conflicts. Loss of lives and property, displacement of large number of people, increased hatred between the communities, environmental degradation along with threat to the water catchment areas, disruption of socio-economic activities and livelihoods, increased economic hardship, high level of starvation and an increasing dependency on relief food and materials are some of the negativities affecting the communities in Turkana. The rights of the displaced people are being grossly violated along with an increase in incidents of rape, physical assaults, prostitution and child labour among the displaced. Also due to displacement most of the people are disenfranchised, making them unable to cast their vote in the General Elections.

In early May, 2011, 20 Turkana people were attacked and killed by Dassanech youth when they had gone to the Dassanech village in Ethiopia. This massacre happened only after a couple of hours after another tragic incident where several Dassanech gunmen had attacked Turkana fishermen in at the Todonyang beach during which one Turkana lost his life and others were injured. The incidents incited the Todonyang villagers to retaliate in which 5 Dassanech were killed. In a single day 26 people were killed; further attacks lead to a killing of another 10 people.

Conflicts over pasture land and boundary disputes have resulted in bloody confrontations and attacks between the Pokots and Turkana. In August 2012, in Turkana East 5 Pokot raiders were killed when an attempt for cattle raiding was foiled and 8 more have been killed and several injured in clashes between the pastoralists in the region. In less than a week almost 13 people were killed.

#### *4.5.4 Conflict Management*

*Conflict Prevention and Resolution Efforts:* IOM and the Ministry of Livestock under the Emergency Livelihood Support for Peace Building carried out skills training program for the pastoralists which helped the herders gain knowledge about the cattle. The program aims to counteract the growing culture of armed among the communities and promote peace by addressing the underlying issues of scarce resource based conflicts. In order to reach the communities and promote peaceful co-existence and partnership with formal and grass root structures, IOM has also launched District Peace Committees (DPCs). The bottom up approach adopted by CEWARN has a strong focus on the community needs and perceptions regarding the dynamics of cross border peace and security. In November-December 2011, CEWARN a number successful of peace initiatives were carried out with Turkana of Kenya, Dassanech of Ethiopia and the Toposa of South Sudan through CEWARN's Rapid Response Fund for expanding the current peace agreement between the Dassanech and Nyangatom and including their neighbours. The Security in Mobility Initiative advocates for long term interventions to help build the communities' resilience to drought and facilitating mobility to shared resources in order to prevent further conflict.

*Interventions needed:* There is a need to strengthen the existing peace building structures and the indigenous mechanisms and institutions of conflict management. Inter-community dialogue should be encouraged; the communities should be facilitated to understand and analyse the conflicts so as to come up with joint interventions for curbing the conflicts. The government needs to ensure that the law and order is maintained and the security forces should be armed with the necessary facilities to apprehend the conflict perpetrators. Other actions like 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.

## **Turkana South**

*Nature of conflicts:* The conflicts that occur in this part of Turkana are mostly cattle rustling and land conflicts. These conflicts occur between the Turkana people and the Pokots and have been prevalent in the region since 1974. The conflict is armed where both sides use modern weapons to fight. This usually threatens even the government security personnel. This has made many families in both sides but mainly on Turkana side more vulnerable due to more orphans and widows left i.e. 30% of households in Turkana south are victims of the tragedy.

*Conflict reasons/catalysts/drivers:* The major conflict causing issues have been scrambling of livestock for prestige and marriage, commercialization of cattle rustling by politicians and traders, poverty and education. Conflicts are triggered by political influence from the West Pokot side as political mileage for them, rampant and persistent drought. The structure by the government to enforce law and order is highly inefficient. Law enforcement is biased due to strong bargaining power from West Pokot. In West Pokot, land is a major problem and the Pokots have been taking advantage of the Kinsman in power to grab Turkana land since this land is known to have longer grazing periods.

Turkana District located in North Western Kenya, Rift Valley, comprises 77,000 square kilometers of desert and semi desert where very little grows. It is bordered in North Eastern side by Ethiopia, on the Northern side by South Sudan and on the west by Uganda and on the East and south by the Kenya Districts of Samburu and West Pokot.

In Turkana, poverty and lack of government effort to provide an alternative to livelihoods to the pastoralist communities and lack of recognition to pastoralism as a mode of conflict also gives rise to conflicts. Easy availability of small arms and light weapons acquired through collapsed Ugandan governments in the late 1970s and Sudan's civil war encourages the conflicts. The government has also not adequately addressed the issue of Todonyang and Nadapal borders. The conflict also is caused by the government appointing two administrators in one area from conflicting communities for example there are two chiefs in Turkwel Gorge project area; there are 4 chiefs in Kapedo and two civic leaders for Pokot and Turkana. This has led to increased poverty.

The lack of international and regional agreements renders the government structures too weak to deal with cross border conflict which threatens the livelihoods systems for Turkana Pastoralist community and their neighbours. Gross human rights violations and abuses are sometimes caused by the absence of a strong government presence for example an administration Police is the "government" in some centers. The people also have inadequate access to formal justice caused by existence of only one court in an area of 77,000sq kms.

*Conflict actors:* Conflicts are mainly with the Karamojong, Jie, Tepeths and Dodoth of Uganda, Toposa and Nyagatom of Sudan, the Dongiro and the Dassenech of Ethiopia and the Pokot of Kenya.

*Affected Areas:* The conflict affected areas in Turkana South Constituency include the Divisions of Kainuk, Lokichar and Katilu in Turkana South District.

Loss of human life, property and livestock: In the two targetted divisions, conflicts lead to human killings every week. This has led more and more peasants to run away from the agricultural zone for fear of loss of life. Kainuk division experienced 27 attacks from Pokots in a month, 13 people got killed and 17 were wounded. Security officer killed in the last 2 weeks are 7 leaving 5 injured just because of political influence Pokots have in the government which interfered with the operation set by the government.

Livestock lost for the last three months are as follows: shoats (sheep and goats) 30,500 cattle 5,200, donkeys 4,100 and camels 2,000. Crops in the land burnt by pokots, and one village in Lokwaar burnt.

Displacement of people: The Turkana people have been displaced from Todonyang, the fertile grazing and fishing areas currently relying on relief food in Loarengak. A large number of Turkana people - 11,600 (female 8,630 while male 2,970 children are not counted) have been displaced to urban towns of Lodwar, kakuma, lokichoggio and Kitale and other tea and sunflower growing areas in Kenya.

The impact of displacement: Overpopulation in the settlements and increase in criminology, highway robbery, desertification as a result of mass charcoal burning, selling of local burning materials. The impact on children education as a result of migration is irregular attendance by learners which has reduced efficiency in learning process, shortage of food supply to regular schools which support the mobile kraal schools. Children from vulnerable families drop out from schools and find it hard to continue with education. The elderly has not been recognized by the society. There is need to be supported through cash programme and construction of shelter i.e. Semi permanent structure. This has increased prostitution among girls from poor families, commercial prostitution along the permanent centres Kitale- Lodwar highway, HIV/AIDS rate increased, gender discrimination by the rich in line with Cultural practices.

The indirect impact of burglary, safety levels on road, people occupying less productive barren tracts. burglary- illegal trade affects the normal commodity prices in the market by over floods the genuine goods, no taxes and encourages unacceptable business like drug abuse trade to name but a few. Road- control movement of tracks which affect commodity flow, increase in transport cost and investors withdraw from the insecure zones for fear of property loss and driver's life. People occupying less productive barren tracts – persistent starvation, high use of human labour by a few able families with meager wage of 100/= per day which can't afford to buy a meal of a family.

Traditional justice mechanisms: Traditionally it was the Council of Elders, who are rich and influential decision makers, took decisions on behalf of the residents. The policies passed are adhered to by everybody and violation will be based on penalties agreed. Women do not participate in these forums as they are seen as of low cadre just like children, more so they are seen as property to a man. Though this has changed in some settlements where women are involved in decision making but need to be enhanced to increase capacity on gender mainstreaming.

Peace building efforts and interventions needed: The peace program here is being carried out by governmental, non-governmental and human rights activists. However, this has not helped the local community since peace activities are not addressing the problem but it is becoming trade by the implementing institutions which made human activists to come up to address the gaps.

The provincial administration through UNDP programme is supported to carry out peace meetings/ dialogues which has bared no fruits. There is DPCs (District Peace Committees) drawn from the corridors or areas affected. Office of the Prime Minister through ALRMP-III (Arid Lands Resource Management Programme) also support some times in times of emergency. RIAMRIAM (peace network of all CSOs – this is not in operation due to misappropriation of funds and poor structures without involvement of the affected local community in addressing their own issues), Oxfam- GB supporting Turkana North, LWF (Lutheran World Federation –

operates in Turkana West specifically in two divisions Oropoi and Kakuma. They are doing good job and there is rest they are supporting LOKADO local community organization operating in Kakuma). Practical Action support Loima district in conjunction with IRC (International Rescue Committee – US agency).

Presently there is a need to support the communities through alternative livelihood options to enable them to diversify or adopt relevant skills and technology to be able to apply in sustainable exploitation of viable natural resources within reach. The victims needs to be supported through compensation of lost livestock (restocking), construction of shelter, assist in judicial proceedings in realization of justice; rehabilitation/ rescue centre for victims of raid, HIV/ AIDS victims have to be constructed. Health facility needs to be given a priority since medical facilities are far apart and not well equipped. There is also need to enhance food security programs, identification of porous borders, source of arms and Community policing in sealing and addressing the menace and Lobby and advocacy at all levels for fairness and realization of justice.

## 4.6 West Pokot County Conflict Assessment

### 4.6.1 Introduction to the Region

The West Pokot county is situated in the North-West of Kenya and is a part of the Rift Valley Province. With the district headquarter at Kapengura, the total area of Pokot is 9100 square kilometres and stretches a distance of 132 km from North to South (Kenya Year Book: 2012). The population of Pokot is 512,690 (NBS, Kenya: 2009). The rainfall is bimodal with the long rains between March and June and the short rains between September and November. The total rainfall, depending on different areas, amounts to the range between 700 mm to 1600 mm (MOSDNK: 2005).



The West Pokot region is relatively rugged mainly consisting of dry plains, rugged escarpments and hills with altitude ranging between 900m to 3000m. The high altitude areas are suitable for crop agriculture and livestock production whereas medium altitude (1500-2100m) areas are best suited for pasture. Major sources of economic activity in Pokot are Livestock, limited crop agriculture, minerals, wildlife, solar and wind energy and medicinal plants. Mining and Tourism are also sources of the economic wealth.

The inhabitants of Pokot, when compared to the neighbouring districts, are better off in terms of resources and economy. However, 70% of the population continues to live below the poverty line (USAID, CRA: 2012). Thus, endemic poverty remains to be the greatest challenge of this district like all other neighbouring districts. The dominant tribe of the district is Pokot. Traditional pastoral mobile lifestyle is practised by most of the community members in Pokot (MOSDNK: 2005). Nevertheless, one quarter of Pokot people are also corn cultivators. Due to their nomadic pastoral characteristic they are in constant conflict with neighbouring tribes in Kenya as well as in Uganda.

### 4.6.2 The Conflict Context

The source of conflict in this region is emblematic of the North Rift Valley region. The low land and plains of the region receive relatively low rainfall than highlands of Pokot district. Thus, most of the region is arid or semi arid and limits economic advancements. Majority of Pokots is depended on livestock and this is the source of major conflict and altercation between communities. The clashes happen mainly over the control of natural resources like pasture and water, which are scarce in the whole region (Schilling, 2012). Other causes of conflict are cattle

rustling, ethnocentrism, poverty, marginalization and proliferation of illicit arms. (Pkalya, et al.: 2005). Pokot people are often not only in clash with Turkana people but also with the tribes across the Ugandan border. The border area with Turkana is one of the most conflict prone regions. Disputes and differences are compounded by minimal routine interaction and communication between the two communities. Apart from this, there is a constant competition between two communities to control valuable resources like KENGEN power generation plant in Turkwell and the oil rich areas of Ngamia (Small Arm Survey: 2012). In 2012, when oil deposit were discovered in Turkana region close to the boundary, fresh controversy erupted as the Pokots laid their claims on the newly discovered oil wells (Ndanyi: 2012).

*Conflict drivers:* There are five big major tribes, which are in conflict with the Pokots. The most prominent rivals of Pokots are the Turkanas. These two tribes are constantly in bloody clashes all along the border regions. The Marakwets tribe is also one of the big actors of conflict in the Pokot region. Marakwet district, dominated by Marakwet tribes, lies south of West Pokot and is the source of constant raids in the Pokot district. The West Pokot district also faces regular raids from Uganda, where Karamojong groups are the major actors. Sebei tribe in Uganda also raids Pokot district, though not frequently. Luhya tribe in Kenya is also in conflict with Pokot, but their raids on the Pokot lands are rare. Pokot community themselves are considered one of the biggest drivers of conflict. Traditionally, Pokots are known as aggressors and are well known for raids and theft of cattle. In Kenya, the Pokots raid the Tugen, Marakwet, and Keiyo and internationally they frequently raid Karamajong of Uganda (HDR: 2005).

*Nature of Conflicts:* There is usually massive theft of livestock, looting, destruction of property, that eventually result in reduced economic activities, collapse of education facilities, degradation of physical infrastructure, low investment in the business sector, and stalled development projects. Moreover, the conflicts between Pokot and other communities bring large-scale casualties and massive displacement of people, especially along the borders with other neighbouring districts/country (Pkalya, et al.: 2005). Women and children are the worst affected and make up the majority of the displaced population. The major divisions, which are affected because of these bloody conflicts, mainly because of the hostilities from Uganda, are Kasei, Sigor, Alale, and Chesegon. According to the government figures, in these divisions the raids from Uganda affect 60% of the population. A considerable section of the population is also affected along the Turkana border.

#### *4.6.3 Conflict Cases & Impacts*

Violent incidents and raids in West Pokot results in large-scale displacement of people and deaths. In July 2011, the members of Namalu and Lolachat Sub-County of Uganda raided West Pokot district, on the issue of cattle theft, killing two Pokots. In 2011, the Independent Electoral and Boundary Commission (IEBC) looked at delimitation of new constituencies in the Pokot-Turkana conflict zone. The decisions appreciated by the Pokot community and opposed by Turkana, triggered large-scale violence resulting in loss of lives (Obare: 2012). Between January and October 2012, clashes resulted in deaths of more than 30 people at Pokot-Turkana border forcing in the closure of the Turkwel Hydropower station in the Turkwel Gorge of West Pokot (Odunga: 2012). In the year 2012, more than 80 people were killed in the West Pokot district and thousands of people were displaced over the violent clashes with different communities (Kenyan Red Cross: 2012).

#### *4.6.4 Conflict Management*

*Efforts in conflict resolution:* In Kenya, and more particularly in the North Rift Valley province number of NGOs and international organisations are involved in resolving conflicts and building confidence between communities. The border region of Pokot and Turkana is one of the most

turbulent regions. The casualty in this region is second highest after Tana river region where 116 people were killed and more than 30000 were displaced (UNOCHA: 2012). UNOHCR (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner of the Human Rights), Red Cross society, Handicap International (HI), UNOCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), World Food Programme (WFP) are the major international and NGOs involved in peace building in Pokot district. Some organisations in past have tried to resolve conflict between the two communities. Kerio valley Peace and Development Committee (KVPDC) is one of them (Weiss, ISS: 2004). SETAT is also a Confidence Building Organisation (CBO) founded by seven Pokot women in Kapenguria, working towards the same objective. In 2009, the Government of Kenya facilitated a peace building measure between Pokot community and Samburu community (Okumu: 2011). Since then these Peace Caravans have become popular in the Rift valley. Focus is also on to secure livestock movement. Security in Mobility (SIM) initiative, to promote pastoralist mobility as a climate change adaptation strategy, to advocate for the reconciliation of regional security concerns with pastoralist livelihood and mobility needs (UNOCHA: 2010; Schilling and Akuno, USIP: 2012).

*Problems in conflict resolution:* The traditional ways of conflict resolution include peace pacts signed by two or more warring communities in a *suo moto* initiative. However, it observed that the Pokot community enters into peace pacts mostly during dry seasons so that they can have access to pasture and water in the neighbouring communities (Adan, et al.: 2004). There is a high possibility that the agreement is broken during the rainy season. Other methods such as Traditional Early Warning method etc. have helped in accentuating the conflicts, as in such methods, the Pokots in order to protect their community, take preventive measures. The alternative ways to resolve conflict are various peace building mechanisms, conflict resolution methods etc. through interference of external agencies such as the Government, NGOs, and international/national development organisations.

*Interventions needed:* The biggest issue in the Pokot region, as everywhere in the Northern Rift Valley, is the economic limitations because of the geographical conditions. The arid/semi-arid region restricts pasture and limits water availability. Thus, development of pasturelands is the best way to reduce conflict in the region. More peace initiative involving youth and women would help in building peace as it has happened in many other cases in West Pokot. The region has a high tourist potential. The community can be trained in tourism activities, which will help to generate income. Government interventions are needed to resolve border disputes, involving people from the two communities as well as various other stakeholders in the region.



## 5. WATER, FOOD AND NATURAL RESOURCE SECURITY

The ASALs of Kenya account for over 80% of the country's landmass, support nearly 50% livestock population of the country and over 30% of the human population. They are characterized by harsh weather conditions and the communities are vulnerable to natural hazards, mainly droughts. Poor infrastructure and socio-political marginalisation of these areas coupled with fragile ecosystems, deserted landscapes and unfavourable climate represent a major development challenge.

### 5.1 Ecology of the ASALs

The landscape is northern Kenyan ASALs in Rift Valley province mainly comprise of uplands and peneplains, covered with shallow, poor soil with minimal or no organic matter. The vegetation comprises of scattered Acacia bush and annual herbaceous plants, with increasing density of the woody plants towards the higher altitudes. A narrow band of soil running southwards from Lokichar comprises lava soils, are poor in organic matter and is shallow, stony and rocky, not well suited for agriculture. The only good arable soils are confined to the Ugandan border. Most of the highlands and slopes bordering Uganda are covered by *Cambisols* (young weathered soils) with relatively high natural fertility than sandy loam. The two major rivers Turkwel and Kerio also generate alluvial soils suited for agriculture. Overall, owing to harsh terrain and un-supportive climate, the vegetation of the region is confined to: Near-barren (NB) or Sparse, Dwarf shrubland (DS), Shrubland (S), Shrub-grassland (SG), Grassland (G), Riverine Forest (RF) and Bushland (B). The major species composition and the percentage coverage are depicted in the table below.

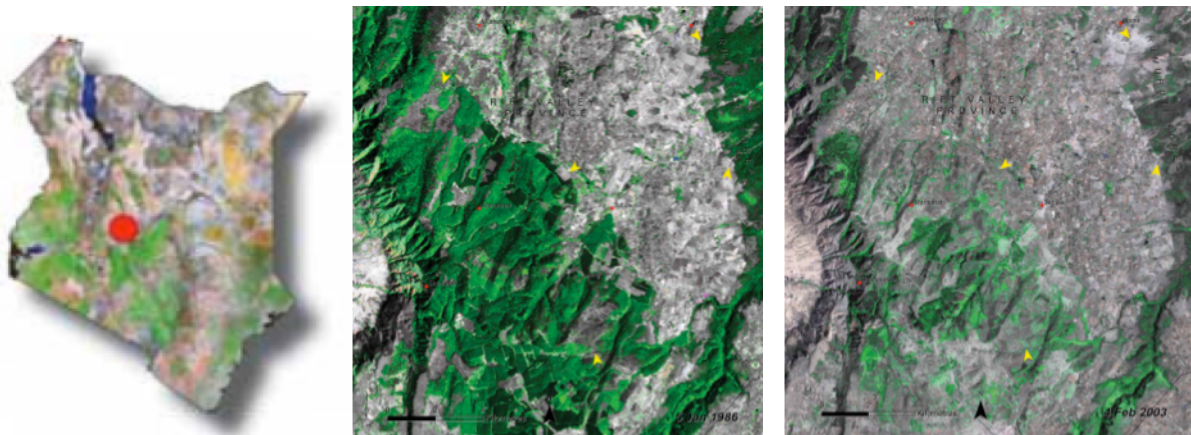
| Vegetation Type |                 | % Woody Cover | % Herb Cover | Standing crop (kg/ha) | Major Species   |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------------|---|
| NB1             | Near Barren     | 1             | 3            | 160                   | <i>Acacia reficiens</i> , <i>A. condyloclada</i> , <i>Astridia mutabilis</i>  |
| NB2             | Near Barren     | 2             | 5            | 260                   | <i>Acacia reficiens</i> , <i>Duosperma eremophilum</i> , <i>Jatropha villosa</i>  |
| DS              | Dwarf Shrubland | 5             | 7            | 340                   | <i>Acacia condylocata</i> , <i>Balanites orbicularis</i> , <i>Astridia mutabilis</i> , <i>Tragus berteronianus</i>                          |
| G               | Grassland       | -             | 12           | 580                   | <i>Tribulus terrestris</i> , <i>Mollugo cerviana</i> , <i>Tetrapogon cenchrififormis</i> , <i>Seteria sphacelata</i> , <i>Becium ovatum</i> |
| S               | Shrubland       | 18            | 16           | 680                   | <i>Eneapogon cenchrififormis</i> , <i>Chloris virgata</i> , <i>Aristida mutabilis</i> , <i>Acacia reficiens</i> , <i>Cordia sinensis</i>    |
| SG              | Shrub Grassland | 6             | 25           | 1600                  | <i>Acacia reficiens</i> , <i>A. mellifera</i> , <i>Grewia tenax</i> , <i>Cadaba farinosa</i>  |
| B               | Bushland        | 40            | 42           | 2040                  | <i>Acacia reficiens</i> , <i>A. mellifera</i> , <i>Boscia coriacea</i> , <i>Dactyloctenium aegyptium</i> , <i>Digitaria milaniana</i>       |

|    |                 |    |   |     |  |
|----|-----------------|----|---|-----|--|
| RF | Riverine Forest | 44 | 6 | 400 | <i>Acacia tortilis, Maerua crassifolia, Indigofera spinosa, Jatropha villosa</i> |
|----|-----------------|----|---|-----|--|

**Ecological degradation:** Before 1960, large herds roamed freely in Turkana, fishing was bountiful and the shores of River Turkwel produced quantities of cotton, fruits and honey, the surplus being exported to other parts of Kenya, mining was active and gold, gypsum and white sand exported as well. Turkana people in Kibbish move southwards to allow grass in their grounds to regenerate. During their absence however, the Ethiopian Merilles tribesmen graze these pasture thus sparking conflict.

Unsustainable human activities in already fragile areas of northern Kenyan ASALs have aggravated the conditions arising from natural disturbance such as drought or flooding lead to land degradation and desertification. Studies in 1990s showed that 64% of Kenya’s land area was subject to moderate desertification and about 23% were vulnerable to severe to very severe desertification. Recent studies drawing from local findings of spatial and temporal patterns estimate that desertification is increasing in severity and extent in many areas and that over 20% of all cultivated areas, 30% of forests, and 10% of grasslands in Kenya are subject to degradation (2008). Land degradation manifests itself in various forms: including soil erosion, increased sediment loads of water bodies, loss of soil fertility, increased salinity, reduced ground cover, and reduced carrying capacity of grasslands and other ecosystems.

In Kenya, 78% of the land is threatened by desertification. Anthropogenic stress intensifies this risk. For example, the population of Laikipia District has grown rapidly since the 1960s with an annual growth rate of over 7% between 1967 and 1979. Much of this growth was in the arable southwestern corner. In the District’s southwest and northeast corners, pressures from growing populations have been affecting the viability of the land. The satellite images below taken 17 years apart show the extent of damage caused to the natural habitats in the region.



*Satellite images of Laikipia County showing extent of degradation (location; 1986; 2003); Source: UNEP*

In the northern ASAL district of Samburu, the cattle population has grown remarkably along with the human population, thereby increasing pressure on the pastures of the fragile arid environment. Increasing livestock population has led to localized patches of degradation where the cattle movements are concentrated during the dry season. Loss of forest and vegetation cover is evident from the study of satellite images on vegetation for 1973 and 2000.

Studies suggest that all the forest areas in Kenya are fragmented, while parts of grasslands and shrublands are highly degraded (2007). Forest cover continues to decrease rapidly in the region

due to the clearance for settlement, extraction for timber for commercial use, removal for charcoal and fuel wood. Gaps in vegetation cover caused by fragmentation often lead to isolation of populations of certain species and lead to their demise, while land and water degradation also render habitats unhealthy, thus threatening species survival. Due to fragmentation and degradation, invasive species has become the new threat to biodiversity of the Kenyan hotspot. The area has been subject to the invasion of at least 34 alien species with negative impacts on biodiversity, agriculture, and economy as they vigorously compete with native species and spread in new areas.

Recurring droughts are common and can be quite destructive, especially when prolonged and often cause extensive damage to the pastoral groups and their livestock. Grasses and shrubs die, thus instigating long-term changes in vegetation composition and structure. Effects on soil health remains unclear as there have been very few studies for monitoring salinity and sodicity in Kenyan soils.

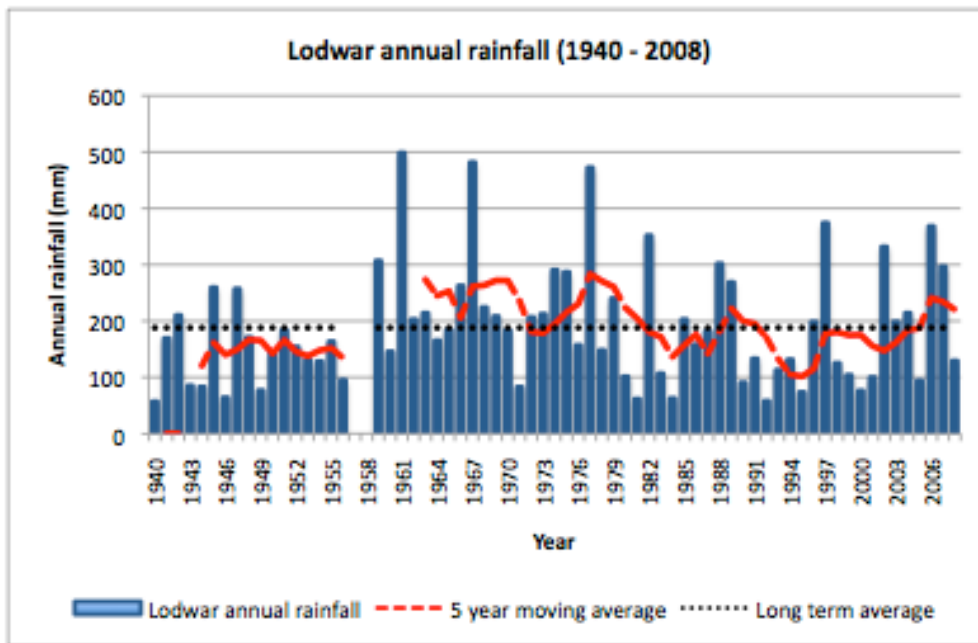
## 5.2 Climate Patterns

### 5.2.1 *Variability*

Seasonality and distribution of rainfall are critical factors that determine land use patterns. In northern Kenyan districts rainfall variability is extreme across both spatial and temporal scales with highly skewed distribution of rainfall. Typical convective showers produce high levels of rainfall in one area none in a location a few kilometers apart. While one part of the Rift Valley province receives rain, several other parts might be experiencing drought. Rainfall increases with altitude, thus, areas on western border with Uganda and Sudan receive rains more than 500 mm per year. The highlands bordering Ethiopia also register high rainfall. The lowest rainfall occurs along the shore of Lake Turkana and in the central plains (150 mm per year).

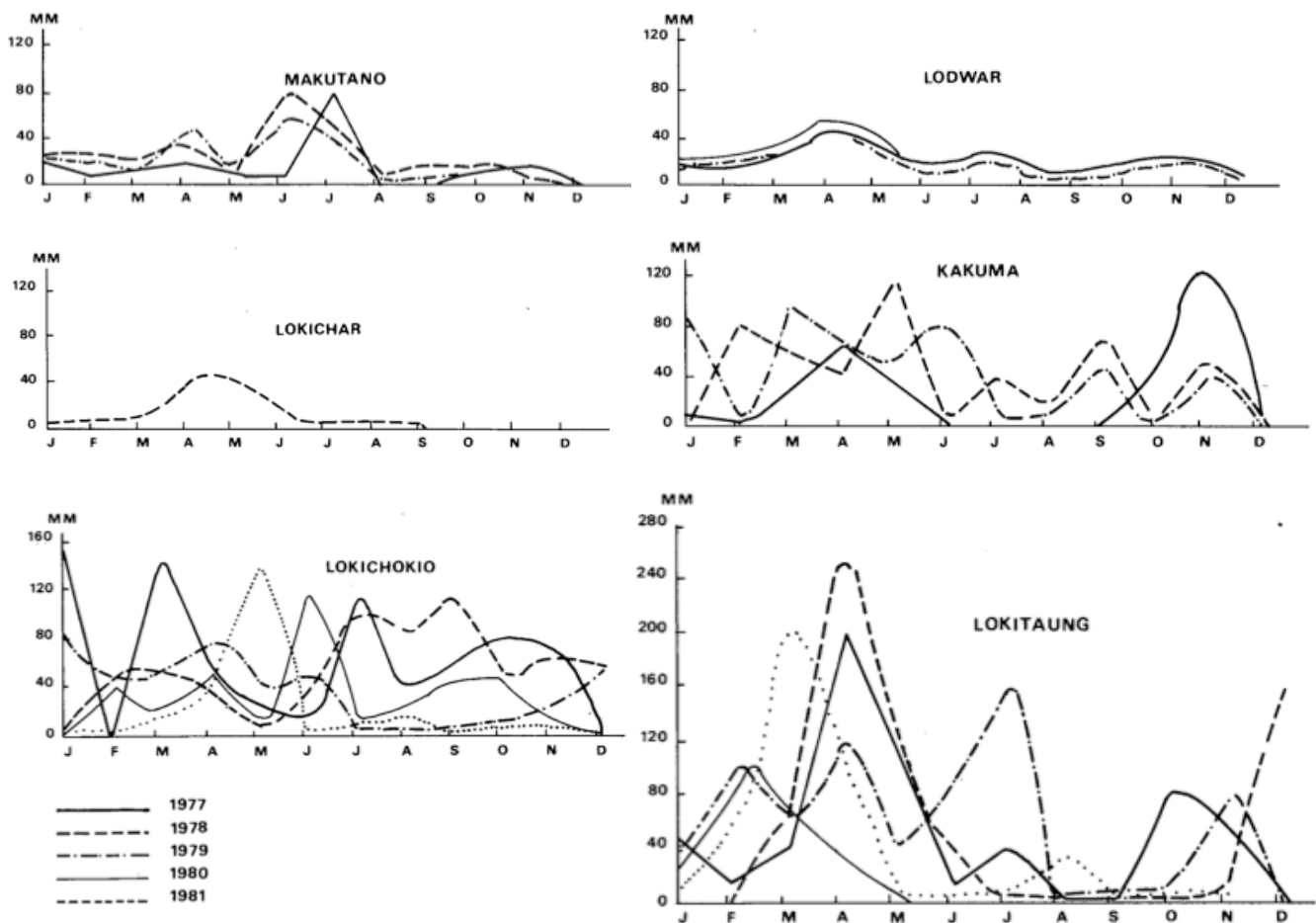
Rainfall in isolated storm events lead to patchy vegetation. The mountains and hills receive higher rainfall therefore support richer vegetation, whereas the plains with low rainfall support lower primary production. However, little or no standing or well water restricts grazing in the mountains. The mobile lifestyle enables the pastoralists to take advantage of the ever-changing diversity of the dryland as they seek out grazing routes based on their herd composition and rely on their traditional knowledge to track the random concentrations of nutrients in space and time.

In Turkana, the temperature ranges between 24° and 38°C, the driest months being January, February and September. The longest rainfall record (1921-1990) is available for Lodwar in Turkana where out of the 69 years, 40 years the rainfall has been below the long-term average (<208 mm year). The districts experience Long Rains between April and July, and Short Rains in October and November. The Long Rains or MAM rainfall (March-April-May) determines the food security of the division.



*Annual Rainfall fluctuations in Lodwar, Turkana*

Data from Laikipia East shows rainfall reliability during this season is 60% and accounts for over 80% of food production in the area. Rainfall data across 6 stations in Turkana district (Lokichoggio, Lokiatang, Kakuma, Lokichar, Lodwar and Makutano) bring out the spatial variation of rainfall as shown in the graphs below.



*Spatial variation in rainfall - 6 stations in Turkana*

### 5.2.2 Changing climate

Climate change in Kenya has been quite evident through the increase in temperatures throughout the country, irregular and unpredictable rainfall, and more intense rainfall. As per the National Climate Change Response Strategy, both minimum (night time) and maximum (daytime) temperatures have been on the rise since the early 1960s. Extreme and harsh weather has now become the norm. There is a general decline of rainfall in the main rainfall season of March- May (the Long Rains) and drought in the Long Rains has become more frequent and prolonged. There is however an increasing rainfall during September to February, suggesting that the Short Rains (October-December) is extending to the hot and dry period of January and February. As per data shared by weADAPT however, the discernible patterns of Short Rains in northern Kenya becoming wetter while in southern Kenya and Tanzania becoming drier in the 1951-2000 period are not statistically significant. Decrease in precipitation has been common across the Sahel, Mediterranean, southern Africa and parts of south Asia with more number of intense storms in the dry areas being experienced. But again, data sets for 1901-2000 or over 1951-2000 do not reveal any statistically significant trends for wetter or drier climates in East Africa. The increasing rainfall in the region is attributed to increase in high intensity rainfall rather than the number of rain days and the decadal rainfall intensity increased from an average of 7.0 mm between 1976 to 1985 to 8.9 mm between 1996 to 2005.

### 5.2.3 Natural Hazard Profile

*Drought is a persistent phenomenon for Sub-Saharan African pastoral lands. As climatologist Glantz puts it: "drought is a part of (Africa's) climate and not apart from it".*

A problem characteristic of the ASALs is that of cyclical drought (and floods) - increasing in frequency & severity since 2001. Drought is the most prevalent natural hazard in Kenya affecting mainly eastern, north-eastern stretches, parts of Rift Valley

and Coast provinces.

Historically, pastoral belts in East Africa have suffered numerous disasters. For Sub-Saharan Africa, 8 major drought events have been documented in last four decades: 1965/66, 1972/74, 1981/84, 1986/87, 1991/92, 1994/95, 1999/2001 and 2005/06 (Nikola 2006). These events reduce forage production, water availability, thus placing serious pressure on the livestock rearing.

## 5.3 Human - Nature Interactions

The ASALs are home to over 10mn people. The tribes inhabiting the ASALs stretch in the northern Kenya are highly dependent on the natural resources. Majority of ASAL population depend on animal husbandry and subsistence agriculture. The livestock sector accounts for 90% of employment and 95% of household income. High levels of human poverty in the ASALs co-exist with a rich store of natural wealth and biodiversity. Livestock, wildlife, forests, pasture, minerals, and medicinal plants are all critical resources upon which the people of the region depend.

### 5.3.1 Effect on NR based livelihoods

Turkana contains pockets of high potential rangelands, which are crucial to the land use pattern in the district. The other key vegetation resources are woodlands along the Turkwel, Kerio, Suguta and Tarach Rivers and other seasonal streams. The evaporation far exceeds the scanty

rainfall. Lake Turkana is located within a very arid environment, with evaporation rate ten times the annual rainfall. Evapotranspiration data from Turkana shows a very high net deficit (2625.3 mm/year ET as against rainfall average of 208 mm/year). The rainfall and evapotranspiration rates determine the availability of the forage and thereby the livelihood security of the pastoralists.

| <i>Month</i> | <i>Avg Temp. (°C)</i> | <i>Dew point Temp (°C)</i> | <i>Sun hours per day (hrs)</i> | <i>ET per day (mm)</i> | <i>ET per month (mm)</i> |
|--------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| January      | 28.85                 | 15.05                      | 10.0                           | 7.0                    | 216.6                    |
| February     | 29.70                 | 15.55                      | 9.9                            | 7.3                    | 203.2                    |
| March        | 30.25                 | 16.80                      | 9.2                            | 7.5                    | 232.5                    |
| April        | 29.85                 | 18.80                      | 8.9                            | 7.2                    | 215.0                    |
| May          | 29.65                 | 18.95                      | 10.0                           | 7.0                    | 218.2                    |
| June         | 29.15                 | 17.50                      | 10.1                           | 6.9                    | 206.6                    |
| July         | 28.35                 | 17.30                      | 9.4                            | 6.6                    | 204.3                    |
| August       | 28.65                 | 16.80                      | 9.9                            | 7.2                    | 222.2                    |
| September    | 29.55                 | 16.40                      | 10.4                           | 7.5                    | 225.9                    |
| October      | 30.05                 | 16.70                      | 9.9                            | 7.8                    | 241.1                    |
| November     | 29.15                 | 16.80                      | 9.6                            | 7.1                    | 213.8                    |
| December     | 28.70                 | 16.35                      | 10.2                           | 7.3                    | 225.6                    |
| <i>Total</i> |                       |                            |                                |                        | 2625.3                   |

#### *Evaporation data: Lodwar, Turkana*

Changes in rainfall patterns alter farming activities with negative impacts on final yields. 68% people in Laikipia acknowledged that the climate had changed and the length of the MAM growing season had shortened due to inadequate rains or delayed rainfall onset and early cessation of the rains. Shorter growing periods has led to changes in crop varieties as the growing season had shrunk by about 3 weeks. Early season droughts are now common. Due to "false rains", which makes it difficult for farmers to plan for agricultural activities, planting is often done in early March and eventually the poor farmers bear the brunt.

#### *5.3.2 Food insecurity and water stress*

11.2mn people in Kenya are malnourished, and 34% of its children are stunted. The country's dependence on food imports is steadily increasing, with 3.5mn people requiring food assistance. Incidence of food poverty is rising and some parts are recording the highest malnutrition levels in decades. Majority (75%) of the poor, food insecure, and malnourished are in smallholder agro/pastoral households. Food prices are skyrocketing as a result of global trends and the 2011 Horn of Africa drought, and have increased the no. of poor & hungry.

Diet is poor and malnutrition high resulting in stunting, low immunity, high mortality among children; infant mortality is exacerbated by LBW, due to poor health of mothers (since women are typically allotted lesser diet), and poverty, inadequate food supply, poor water & hygiene. U5 malnutrition rate is 36% in Rift Valley, and nearly 50% women suffer food poverty (Baringo 59.1%, Laikipia 49.5%, Turkana 49.9%) and give birth to underweight children who are vulnerable to disease and mortality.

Turkana and Marsabit are amongst the driest and least productive counties in Kenya. An Oxfam survey in 2004 found prevalence of acute malnutrition in Turkana as 34.4% (31.3-37.4), including 5.4% (4.0-7.0) severe acute malnutrition. It also notes an increasing trend from around 10% in 2001, and 28% in March 2003 to the level mentioned in February 2004. During 2011 drought a sharp rise in food prices severely affected the most poor and vulnerable populations in northern

Kenya. Preliminary findings from nutrition survey by Save the Children, UK in March 2011 indicated that acute malnutrition rates went extremely high and above the emergency thresholds. Marsabit recorded >20 percent GAM. Crude mortality rates in Turkana went up above the emergency threshold, especially among the drought-affected pastoralist communities in Turkana North (2.13/10,000 per day). Turkana experienced malnutrition rates of up to 37.4% during this phase; the highest in last 20 years and more than double the threshold level (15%) prescribed by the World Health Organization (WHO). Malnutrition rates in West Pokot were above the emergency thresholds (GAM at 18.8% and SAM at 4.2%) in May 2011.

Drought affected homesteads in parts of Marsabit, Isiolo, Turkana, Samburu were reportedly accessing only 0.5 liters of milk per day (2011), as against usual consumption of 2-3 liters per day. Milk in the ASAL district of Wajir was being retailed at Ksh 60-80 per litre, which is three times the usual price. Lack of livestock produce, exceptionally high food prices, declining terms of trade constrained the ability of pastoral communities in the region to access adequate food. Maize prices were high and reached 30-60% above the 5-year average in most pastoral markets in Baringo, Laikipia, and Turkana. World Bank reported a 27% increase in the price of maize flour, the staple food in Kenya during this phase. Approximately 75% of the community in Turkana were depending on food relief from various agencies. In absence of food-aid, men and children were the worst affected. Kariobur, Sasame, Kokuro and Meyan villages in Turkana North district exhibited signs of heightened malnutrition. Families were found to be surviving on wild fruits and animal carcasses, while disease outbreaks became rampant.

The northern Kenyan ASALs are home to a large number of pastoral groups who reside in temporary settlements called 'kraals'. Resource stress and food insecurity is a persistent problem for the inhabitants. Turkana county, for instance, has been referred to as 'inhospitable environment where drought and famine recur with regular frequency'. Factors affecting food security are: civil insecurity and cattle rustling; frequent and prolonged droughts; environmental degradation; poor roads infrastructure resulting in high food prices; poor irrigation infrastructure; endemic livestock diseases due to poor husbandry; and wildlife menace. The trend of food security varies across the livelihood zones in the ASALs. Agro-pastoral areas are relatively better off, with higher levels of food availability due to successful irrigation schemes.

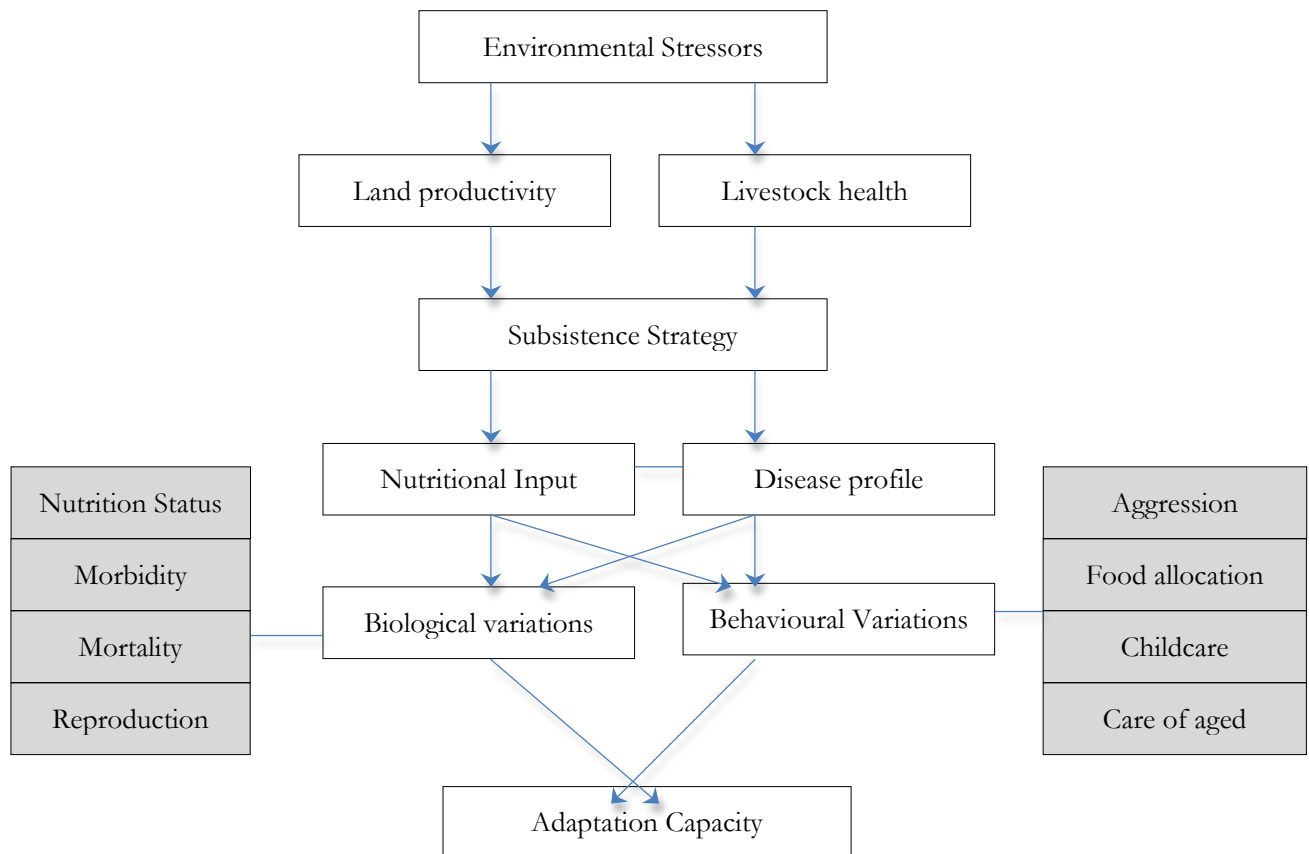
Kenya is about 80% arid and semi arid and a 'water scarce country'. As per UN, Kenyan people are one of the most struggling populations in the world in terms of water access. The water shortage means that a large population of women and children spend up to one-third of the day fetching water from the nearest fresh water source. In addition to exposure to risk of attack by predators and other warring communities, these primary water gatherers are also vulnerable to water-borne diseases. During the dry seasons, several rivers in the region dry up, e.g., Ewaso Nyiro in Laikipia, and they cease to flow for hundreds of kilometers, thus affecting the pastoralists, cultivators and the wetland ecology and wildlife.

Water availability is poor in the Kenyan ASALs. Nearly 43% of people in arid areas take more than one hour to reach water in the dry season; 24% take more than two hours. Rainfall variations and fluctuations affect the vegetation cover and water resources, which in turn the livestock resources of the people and the dispersed human settlements struggling with increasing population growth. Delayed/fluctuating rainfall lead to acute shortage of surface water, which is the main source of water as evidenced by drying of seasonal rivers and sand dams. This forces the communities to trek for long distances in search of water for use by both human and livestock. UNOCHA estimated trekking distances in areas of Turkana and Baringo to be about 38 kilometres daily during the drought conditions (April, 2011).

Farmers from the Rift Valley Province grow about 2,000 MT passion fruit and more than 3,000 MT mangoes every year. Lack of water for irrigation often hampers horticulture production in

Nakuru and other Rift Valley districts. The Kenya National Federation of Agricultural Producers (Nakuru chapter) observe that the soils in this region are sandy and the plantations come under stress very rapidly if there is lack of adequate moisture during the dry spell.

The drought is often also responsible for blackouts in the Kenyan districts including the Kenyan capital, when there is not enough water for the hydroelectric plants to function. In order to address the water stress, the government resort to various coping mechanisms including: (i) contingency boreholes in strategic locations; (ii) rain water harvesting – water pans (small earth dams), sub-surface dams (sand dams), roof catchment, (iii) Water tankering.



*Schema of NR stress and effect on Human life*

#### 5.4 Impacts of Natural Harzards

The pastoral nomads of Kenya are extremely vulnerable to droughts. For instance, in 1960-1961, Maasai herdsmen lost 3,00,000-4,00,000 cattle (an estimated 65-80% of their total herds) due to droughts. Many of them were thus left stockless and hungry. The nomadic Turkana also suffered at the same event and lost two thirds of their livestock; 10,000 Turkana pastoralists were registered as destitute in famine relief camps. During the 1971-1974 drought, the woes were compounded by outbreak of cholera and high incidences of malnutrition, TB, meningitis, and measles. The 1979-1980 droughts hit the northern part of Kenya and obliged many herders to give up pastoralism at least temporarily. The 1990-1992 droughts again took a toll on their livelihood and forced them to take refuge in relief camps. Dependence on external food assistance thereon became essential as survival strategies.

Drought in 2004-2006 affected approximately 3 million people; in 2005-06 it led to a loss of 50-60% of livestock (shoats, camels, cattle); Turkana pastoralists were among the hardest-hit in



Kenya. An assessment by UNICEF indicated that 25% of the population suffered from malnutrition, a large number of people dropped out of pastoralism and settled in peri-urban areas in search of employment. In 2008-09, droughts affected a third of the population along with massive livestock losses. The 2011 droughts have pushed the country to famine.

Recent major events in terms of natural disasters are summarised in the table below, which depict increased frequency of major disaster events and the number of people affected:

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Type of disaster</i> | <i>Area</i>   | <i>People affected</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|---|------------------------|
| 2011        | Drought                 | Wide spread   | 3.5 million            |
| 2004-2005   | Drought                 | Widespread  | 2-3 million            |
| 2004        | Landslides              | Nyeri, Othaya, Kihuri   | --                     |
| 2002        | Landslides              | Meru Central, Muranga, Nandi                                  | 2000                   |
| 2002        | Floods                  | Nyanza, Busia, Tana River Basin                               | 1,50,000               |
| 1999-2000   | Drought                 | Widespread  | 4.4 million            |
| 1997-1998   | Flood                   | Widespread  | 1.5 million            |
| 1995-1996   | Drought                 | Widespread  | 1.41 million           |
| 1991-1992   | Drought                 | Arid & Semi Arid Districts of NE, Rift Valley, Eastern, coast | 1.5 million            |
| 1985        | Flood                   | Nyanza and Western  | 10,000                 |
| 1983-1984   | Drought                 | Widespread  | 2,00,000               |
| 1982        | Flood                   | Nyanza  | 4,000                  |
| 1980        | Drought                 | Widespread  | 40,000                 |
| 1977        | Drought                 | Widespread  | 20,000                 |
| 1975        | Drought                 | Widespread  | 16,000                 |

Pastoral groups report that the frequency of drought has increased from once in 10 years during the '60s to once in 2 years from the '70s. The table below depicts some of the major drought events in Turkana county and mortality rates of small livestock associated with them. As per average mortality rates of 50%, for cattle, 30% for sheep, 24% goat and 17% camel herds, and Dahl and Hjort's herd growth theory, computer simulations estimate recovery period of 10, 2, 1.5 and 4 years respectively. Such long recovery periods, as compared to the high and increasing frequency of drought events leave the pastoralist extremely vulnerable.

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Local Name of drought</i> | <i>Mortality rate of livestock</i> |
|-------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1952        | Lotiira                      | 61%                                |
| 1960        | Namotor                      | 55%                                |
| 1970        | Kimududu                     | 54%                                |
| 1980        | Kiyoto atang'aal/Lopiar      | 65%                                |
| 1990        | Lokwakoyo/Akalkal            | 53%                                |
| 2000        | Logara/epompo                | 63%                                |

*Source Ebei and Oba; 2007*

High levels of vulnerability and low adaptive capacity of the ASAL communities have been linked to high reliance on natural resources, limited ability to adapt financially and institutionally, high poverty rates and lack of safety nets. Possession of livestock plays an important role in the ASAL economies. Their value is determined based on not just the production of meat but the entire set of services they provide (milk, meat, blood, hides), their asset value in form of savings, their cultural symbolism. Even when it becomes environmentally, or economically unviable, the communities find it difficult to give up pastoralism as a means of livelihood. The severity of droughts and their impact on livestock lead to reduced purchasing power of the pastoral households. Traditional strategy of pastoralists is to move towards the areas with higher rainfall during drought spells and then return to traditionally drier areas once the rains arrive. These

cycles however are compromised these days by establishment of national frontiers, increased frequency of droughts, increasing population, insecurity and encroachment of traditional dry season pasture by sedentary communities.

#### Drought survey results for Laikipia North

##### **Laikipia North - Lekiji Village**

Nature of damage: 292 homesteads have been affected including 898 people, 269 of whom are children. There have been report of 274 livestock deaths. The school in the village is unable to provide food for the children. 126 people have already migrated to Segera and Kimugandura areas.

Water shortage: The inhabitants draw water from 2 rivers namely Ewaso Nyiro and Nanyuki river, the water levels of which has drastically reduced.

Effect on livelihood: 1,400 acres of agricultural land is affected in the area, much of it under the plantation of maize, beans and potatoes. Fodder availability for livestock has been reduced to very low levels. Adding to the woes of the small farmers and pastoralists, livestock prices have dramatically decreased since the onset of the drought since people have started selling off their animals to acquire food. For instance, a mature bull is being sold at between Ksh 80,000-100,000, as against Ksh 20,000-30,000 during non-drought conditions. More than 40% of the local pastoralists have reportedly started disposing off their livestock herds from fear that the herd might succumb to death due to drought and then they would face higher losses. The outbreak of Foot & Mouth disease in cattle is yet another concern that they have been dealing with.

Hunger and food intake: At present, the people are dependent on supply of grains from government, family well-wishers and relief agencies. Food intake - by the family has reduced from 3 meals per day to 1 meal per day and sometimes none. Available varieties/choice of food is also restricted as the people now solely rely on maize with no other supplements. Prices for food have dramatically increased by over 300%. For example a kilo of Unga (maize meal) is available at Ksh 60 per kilogram as against the previous rates of Ksh 20 per kg.

Conflict scenario: Fresh conflicts have been brewing and there have been reported clashes in numerous areas of the Laikipia County including Lekiji, Rumuruti and pockets of Mukogodo division. No agencies have come forward to provide relief in these areas ravaged by conflicts. WFP was providing relief supplies but has withdrawn for lack of donor support. Centre for Conflict Resolution and Laikipia Legal Forum are leading the peace building initiatives.

Needs/requirements: There is need to provide food, clothing and shelter to those who have been displaced as well as food distributions for those under stress from the effects of prolonged drought. Cereals (maize), pulses, cooking oil for adults and Unimix for young children is the need of the hour. Water storage tanks and supply of water to affected people and their livestock are urgently required. The IDPs also require provision of basic shelter.

#### Drought survey results for Laikipia West

##### **Laikipia West - Kinamba Location**

Nature of damage: An estimated 12,000 people have been affected in the division, which amounts to about 40% of the population. The worst affected are the homesteads that depend on irrigation based crop production. Ol Moran division is one of the worst hit.

Water shortage: Water resources have been dwindling and the women now have to walk for over 5-6 km for water as against half a km earlier as the source dried up. The livestock (especially cattle) have become feeble. People transport water on cycle and donkeys from waterholes for the cattle.

Effect on livelihood: The pastoralists have been affected due to high number of cattle deaths. Cows are dying as compared to smaller animals such as sheep and goat. The pastoralists have already started migrating towards Kahurura range in Mount Kenya. Many of the livestock death is attributed to East Coast Fever and are among those grazers who migrated to Laikipia from the neighbouring counties of Isiolo and Samburu. Due to existence of privately owned ranches, area for agriculture and grazing is limited for local people. Hence, during drought the communities are hard hit. Many of them have started selling livestock to avoid suffering a higher loss when they die. People have also started selling of their land (5 acre at a stretch, areas that are not deemed productive). Many are selling off their household assets (including chicken that they rear) in Lamura, Naibor and Ndaiga towns. Around 10% of the population have migrated from Laikipia West to Nyandarua district in search of job as farm labour or for greener pastures.

Hunger and food intake: Food intake has reduced to 1 meal per day or half the portion as compared to previous intake. Maize, wheat, beans, potatoes, cassava crops have been affected and the communities now have to starve more often. Maize is scarce, there is low supply of potatoes, cassava and beans are not available. Price of food grains has shot up 2-3 times (maize bag being sold at Ksh 40 to 60 as against usual price of Ksh 20).

Conflict scenario: Fresh conflicts have been reported with the Maasai clans in neighbouring areas. The church and the government are playing an active role to settle these disputes. ActionAid, NAREDA and TIST are also working in the area.

Needs/requirements: There is need to provide food as short term measure to the affected households. Malnourishment and lack of food supplies in schools and at the homesteads need to be addressed. Apart from this, community empowerment and credit facilities, conservation of environment, creation of infrastructure (roads) and capacity building for alternate livelihoods (e.g. sunflower oil extraction, rearing rabbits for higher income) are essential to address the situation. There is need for harvesting rainwater, introducing irrigation schemes and renovation of dams at local rock catchments for harvesting rains.

#### Drought survey results for Turkana South

##### **Turkana South - Katilu and Kaputir**

Nature of damage: The occurrence of drought is widespread in the district with over 30,000 homesteads being affected with over 1,80,000 people and 62,500 children. 900,000 livestock have been affected. 15 primary schools and 24 Early Childhood Development (ECD) Centres - accounting for one third of the facilities are affected and are reportedly unable to provide food for the children. 25,200 (including 18,150 pastoral nomads) have migrated to Kitale and neighbouring tea producing areas in search of menial jobs. People have also moved to the towns of Lodwar, Kakuma and Kitale in search of food.

Water shortage: The inhabitants in the districts depend on: 13 boreholes, 3 shallow wells and river water. Distance of the water sources are as follows: Nabeiye (water source is 1 km), Kekunyuk (1.5 km), Namakat (3km), Juluk (1.5 km; people also draw water from the river which is 10 Km away), Kakongu (10 km) and Lokapel (5 km). Areas without water sources are under severe stress and include: Areas without water sources include Tina, Lomokomol, Naregae, Kangiregae, Nakabosan, Nabeiye, Ekoropus, and Nawoiyaregae.

Effect on livelihood: 10,000 acres of agricultural land along the Turkwell rives is affected. The crops affected include: Maize Hybrid (katumani), sorghum, green grams, vegetables, sugarcane, fruits, pawpaw, cassava, sweet potatoes. Production of these crops has dramatically dropped on an average from 2250 kg/ acre to 900-1350 kg/acre. The local community has also lost a number of livestock to their Pokt counterparts due to cattle rustling. Due to food shortage, drought, insecurity and rampant out- break of diseases 30% of nomadic families have been trying to sell a few of their livestock in order to obtain food for the family members. 65% of the nomadic population in the south are also reportedly selling off their valuable household assets.

Hunger and food intake: Currently the people are dependent on supply of food from government, and relief agencies, which is mainly in form of maize. Thereby access to protein and vitamins have gone down drastically and cases of malnourishment are rampant. The local diet usually comprises: maize, rice and maize flour, beans or peas, lentils, vegetables and fruits which has now been reduced to only maize from relief supply. Food grains are being sold at Ksh 200 per kg as against usual market price of Ksh 80. Other grains and vegetables are also available at 2.5-3 times higher prices.

Conflict scenario: Conflicts between the nomads themselves and with Bandits from Pokot have been reported, resulting in loss of life, rape, destruction of food crops. The Kenyan Government and CSOs in the area along with the Tree of Elders have embarked in peace building efforts.

Needs/requirements: There is immediate need to provide food in form of maize, rice, beans, CSB (Corn Soy Blend which is locally known as *Uji*), Oil, Salt, What flour. Regeneration of rangelands is required for the livestock. Inputs for water storage systems, farm implements and seeds, horticulture farms, marketing support would be essential as long term measures. Aloe cottage industry could aid IDPs as alternate vocations. Enhanced food production, veterinary drug stores and cattle dips, trained CAHW (Community Animal Health Workers) are also required urgently.

Drought affected areas are estimated to double by the end of the century (from 25% to 50%) while drought periods are likely last longer (Birch and Grahn; 2007). The environmental conditions and stressors affect the temporal and spatial distribution of the vegetation and thereby the primary production and the food chain. This affects the subsistence strategy of the agro-pastoralists living in the region. It affects their nutritional intake, number and health of their livestock and the disease profiles. These factors affect both biological and behavioural variations, which in turn affect their capacity to adapt to the external environment and the volatility. The capacity to adapt determines the stability of socio-economic structures of the ASAL communities and resultant degradation due to overuse and conflicts.

Factors that contribute towards the severity of impact of the drought events include:

- Inadequate water storage and management capacity
- Increased destruction of forests due to charcoal burning and lack of alternate employment
- Poor management of catchments areas and lack of soil conservation measures
- Cultivation on stream banks and steep slopes causing erosion of topsoil

- Inadequate stress on implementation of policy for managing water and drought
- Inequitable distribution of water resources

The economic and social impacts of droughts in northern Kenyan ASALs include:

- Migration and displacement of families
- Deaths of children and the aged
- High dependence on relief supplies
- Loss of livelihoods and paralyzed rural economy
- Malnutrition causing ill health
- Poor health and vulnerability to diseases
- Increased conflicts due to diminished water and food resources; political conflicts
- Price hikes for commodities of daily use
- Lack of basic amenities like water, food and sanitation
- Livestock diseases like foot and mouth, lumpy skin disease
- Low yields or no yields from agriculture.

## 5.5 Indigenous coping mechanisms

Traditionally, causes of drought are attributed to:

- breaking cultural taboos,
- curse of Turkana elders,
- declining powers of the *Emuron* (diviner).

Pastoral communities also have strong traditional methods to cope with insecurities. Some of these are summarised below:

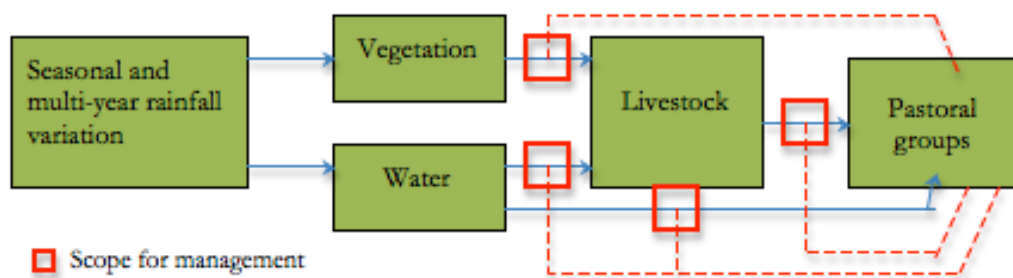
- The sheep and cattle are more sensitive to droughts while goats, donkeys and camels are more resistant to drought-induced stresses. Camels are highly drought-resistant whereas small stock breed rapidly and thereby recover quickly. Therefore, most pastoralists prepare for droughts by keeping herds with multiple species.
- In contrast to many East African pastoral communities, the Turkanas employ diverse food-procuring strategies involving fishing, farming, and gathering of wild foods, in addition to pastoralism, thereby reducing their dependence on single resource.
- Species specific herding orbits are followed. These independent herding orbits are function of livestock forage and water availability, and the availability of manpower to manage the herds.
- The herd owner and herders avoid areas where diseases such as *trypanosomiasis*, etc are prevalent, and areas with high probability of attacks from neighboring clans.
- Livestock are used as a means for establishing and maintaining social security linkages. Livestock are exchanged in a reciprocal system of rights and obligations between "bond-friends" where mutual insurance is maintained through a wide range of relationships: close affine, same age-associations or special friends. In pre-colonial days livestock transactions maintained "pathways of social interactions" across societal boundaries and linked neighbouring tribes. The *Tilia* institution among the Pokots they supported each other in the disputes, exchanged small gifts such as goats, beer, and ornaments, and generally assumed an intimate relationship.
- In earlier days, hunting has been an important means of survival for drought-affected communities.
- Food preservation techniques were used by women to store milk (in form of: *Edodo* - dried milk that stays for 1-5 years; butter - that stays for 2 months; Sour milk - that lasts for 1 week); fish and meat (in form of: fried meat - lasts for 2 weeks; dried meat - that lasts for 2

months; dried fish - that last for 1 year); grains (in form of: dried grains - that with regular dusting lasts for 1 year; powder of fruits - that lasts for 4 weeks).

## 5.6 Way ahead

Long-term planning for pastoral production in the northern Kenyan drought affected districts through natural resource management requires high degree of flexibility, supplemented by formal drought EWS involving the local community especially the Tree of Men - the traditional institution where decisions on migratory patterns are adopted. Drought-time decision-making needs to be decentralised. Improved access to financial services, livestock marketing, formulation of contingency plans for each nomadic group, inclusion of water management interventions in district contingency plans should be looked at.

The schema below show the simple relationship and the scope of management interventions.



## 6. THE DRIVERS

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Key factors & dynamics (past and present) and issues associated with the environment of conflict in the area, including the sources of conflict and impediments to reconciliation, are as follows:

### 6.1 Socio-Cultural and Developmental Factors

#### 6.1.1 *Local traditions/ritual killings*

- The pastoral communities have been in constant competition over boundaries, pasture lands, water sources and cattle ownership. Traditionally raids have been motivated by desire to gain control over limited grazing resources and restocking of livestock herds. Pastoral people are legitimised in their raids by the quasi-religious belief that ‘all the cattle on earth are theirs and as such they have a right to graze and water them anywhere, and to forcefully dispossess anybody occupying that particular land’ (Kona, 1999b: 50). Hence livestock raiding continues as an important aspect of the socio-economic organization of these communities.
- In pastoral cultures, young boys are still socialized into martial (military) roles, and there is cultural importance given to success in raids. The raiders are not seen as criminals but as heroes and achievers. Young men perceive raids as a means of gaining recognition and status in the community, and in this they are motivated and encouraged by their elders and the women and families.
- Young men from these communities have to pay a bride price in the form of livestock, to the girl's family. Young men who do not possess much animal wealth, use raids to snatch others' livestock, for paying the bride price. Given the high levels of poverty and the absence of alternative economic opportunities, raids have become the most convenient solution for young men desiring to get married.

#### 6.1.2 *Social inequity and exclusion, victimisation*

- A central feature of the post-colonial State and society in Kenya is its falling back along ethnic fault-lines and consequent mutual ethnic antagonisms. The society portrays vast inequalities of power, wealth, communication, and the pastoral communities in remote northern areas are at the lowest rungs. These communities are characterized by poor access to resources and opportunities, insecurity of tenure and alienation from the state administration.
- Historically neglected & deprived, they continue to be marginalised in political processes and excluded from the mainstream. People lack awareness of existing govt schemes and development funds and capacity to access these rights and benefits. Minimal involvement in political domain & lack of voice in governance & electoral processes has perpetuated and reinforced traditional hegemonies, restricted their ability to address most of these issues, and increased their vulnerability in the face of environmental, economic and political problems. Pastoral communities have very limited participation in decision-making in relation to matters that affect them. Traditional governance structures have been systematically undermined. These groups have therefore become increasingly alienated and socially vulnerable.
- Minorities are silenced or deliberately harassed by the courts, and security forces tend to enforce the rights of wealthy and influential individuals over those of such communities.

Charges of trespass against pastoral groups have increased whenever the community seeks access to grazing grounds, even in what they consider to be community lands.

### *6.1.3 Poverty, low development status*

- Pastoralist groups in conflict-affected areas of northern Kenya are among the poorest in the country, with lowest educational levels, greatest gender inequality, highest food insecurity. The majority of the marginalized ASAL inhabitants lack access to basic amenities such as water, food and shelter, and suffer from endemic poverty and perpetual famine. Livestock & farming systems in ASALs are under-resourced & constrained owing to erratic rains, inadequate extension services, limited technologies & productive land, and lack of credit. Abject poverty (75% population Below Poverty Line), compounded by resource insecurity and frequent droughts, has hamstrung their capacities to effectively respond to the adverse milieu in order to fulfill their basic needs and the communities have been reduced to eke out a precarious livelihood.
- Apart from low levels of income, these communities are out-of-reach of mainstream services, excluded from development & participation, and suffer from poor health and nutrition, literacy and educational performance, and physical infrastructure. The basic foundations of development (education, health, water, diverse dietary intake, infrastructure, energy, ICTs) are inadequate or lacking. In these communities also, there is a poorly developed physical and administrative infrastructure in terms of roads, schools, healthcare and safe water. Literacy levels are abysmally low (eg., 94% illiteracy in Loima, Turkana North, West and East districts in Turkana; 68% in Central and South Turkana). Basic welfare services are poor (eg., only 1 hospital in the entire Turkana county, with 4 doctors).  
Further, conflicts are affecting the development process and provision of essential services, destroying the social amenities already in place. Teachers are forced to withdraw from conflict-stricken areas, and communities relocate their settlements in fear of being invaded and thus lose access to available schools and health centres. Education of children and young people is affected. Conflict also acts as a disincentive to economic cooperation and investment.
- The perpetual conflict is also disrupting communities' livelihood systems by restricting access to natural resources as well as markets, and further impoverishing the people. There are few opportunities for income diversification, alternate livelihood avenues suffer from lack of support/linkages, and this has led to the stagnation of incomes & unemployment. Livelihoods are frequently disrupted, and unemployment among young pastorals, is turning them into key participants in perpetuating conflicts. Frequent droughts and spells of famine deplete the livestock herds, forcing especially the young men to either migrate to the urban centers or obtain guns and engage in highway banditry.

The conflict is creating larger and larger numbers of destitute people- IDPs dependent on relief food. There is low preparedness, response capacity and coping mechanisms in communities. Market prices for food, general utility items have been soaring high, contributing to destitution.

## **6.2 Environmental Issues**

### *6.2.1 Natural resource stress*

- 90% of the people of northern Kenya are dependent on animal husbandry and subsistence agriculture. Nomadic pastoral groups migrate along established routes throughout the year in search of water & pasture for their livestock. Access to pasture and water is critical for these



communities. The most widespread cause of conflict among the pastoralists is competition over scarce resources. The pastoralist groups compete and collide over better pastures for grazing and watering points for their stock.

- Boundary disputes between communities that want to acquire as much land as possible and thereby access to and control of natural resources, acts as the trigger for violence and conflict among the pastoral groups. Community leaders seek to gain significant gains in land area under each group's control and shift administrative boundaries, which would guarantee communal benefits.
- Conflict makes sustainable management of natural resources difficult. Disruption of normal migratory patterns due to administrative boundaries, and changes in ecology, as well as conflicts, is leading to concentration of livestock in secure areas. This in turn resulting in further environmental degradation due to unsustainable use of and exacerbated threat to pasturelands and water catchments, concentration of people and livestock, and hence escalated threat of conflicts.

### *6.2.2 Climate change*

- The region is characterised by severe aridity, unreliable rainfall and cyclical droughts and floods, which causes severe insecurity, livelihood damage and competition for natural resources, particularly during droughts. Climate change is aggravating the problem, shrinking water bodies and making forage scarce, putting resources under increasing pressure, deepening and prolonging droughts. Acute water scarcity, lack of pasture & water for livestock as well as massive & catastrophic losses in livestock herds has a direct bearing on household incomes, assets and livelihood security, and contributes to perpetual and violent conflicts as a coping strategy.
- The humanitarian impact of NR stress is escalating as communities are subjected to chronic food shortage and frequent famines. There is endemic food scarcity and insecurity, malnutrition, and high child mortality, and an escalation of poverty levels and vulnerabilities.
- As droughts increase and natural resource shrinks, and livelihoods vanish, the pastoral communities are exceedingly insecure about their future. In the young men, this pressure and tension, in the absence of alternate livelihoods and an adaptation strategy, leads to outbursts of violence.

## **6.3 Politico-administrative factors**

### *6.3.1 Cross-border conflicts and illicit arms*

- The complexity of the conflicts is heightened by the presence of international borders. Northern Kenya and its international neighbours have porous and in cases, disputed borders.
  - The “Illemi Triangle” is a classic example of a disputed land, under de facto control of Kenya, but is frequented by 5 ethno linguistic communities: the Turkana, Didinga, Toposa, Inyangatom, and Dassanech, from Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Sudan and traditionally migrate to graze in the triangle. Hence, conflict is inevitable. During pre-colonial conflicts, the raiders of Ilemi used traditional weapons and guns which they obtained from Ethiopian gunrunners and outlying trade centres (such as Maji), where ammunition was so common it was used as local currency.
- Physical boundaries that cut across traditional migratory routes makes access to pasture

resources difficult. Boundaries between counties and countries have affected nomadic pastoralism, through the creation of administrative units, which split communities that once lived together. Much of the conflicts may be observed to be along borders. Instability and protracted wars in neighbouring countries has resulted in increased cross border conflicts. The pastoralist communities are also directly or indirectly getting drawn into these wars.

- Weapons entering the region from neighbouring war-torn countries are leading to proliferation of small arms, and making the traditional raids increasingly dangerous, sophisticated and lethal. Availability of automatic weapons lowers the strength required for participating in violent conflicts and thereby extends the participation to young boys as well. Their proliferation and misuse results in high casualty rates and indiscriminate killing extending to women and other vulnerable groups. Communities own guns to protect themselves and safeguard their livestock and crops; however, while these could have been the source of security in the past, they have now become a source of insecurity.

### *6.3.2 Declining influence of traditional conflict management*

- Traditional mediation and conflict management modes involved community elders and local mediators; these modes are declining in their influence however with the changing dynamics and social structure. The position, authority and role of elders are undermined. The elders' peacemaking role has also been undermined by the development of modern state, market economy, the introduction of armed warfare and the institution of state-based ascribed authority. The multiplicity of actors and influences (local states, international organizations, development agencies) has also contributed to the breakdown of indigenous traditions and practices, and overpowered the culturally approved rules and mechanisms of conflict management.
- Leadership has gradually been taken up by the young elite, and tension exists today between customary and formal mechanisms of conflict management and systems of justice. The stark contrast between these two systems makes it difficult to negotiate a peaceful transformation of most conflicts. The elders are no longer the directors of inter-ethnic raids, and the leadership of the raids has become diffused. For the purpose of conflict management, it has become very problematic to know the commanders of raids with whom to carry out peace processes. Youth spearhead raids without seeking consent from elders, however both the elders and the peacemakers are yet to recognize the role the youth can potentially play in local and peace processes.
- Families are breaking up with the men moving to nearby towns, and at the homestead level traditional tribal norms and associated conflict-related norms and practices are weakening. The unifying principles of "common humanity, reciprocity and respect" (Mkangi, 1997:1) has been eroded. Violence is becoming ingrained as the means of solving problems, and perpetuating a vicious cycle.

### *6.3.3 Emerging issues of control over land & resources*

- Historical land injustices and years of inappropriate land tenure system, and illegal or irregular acquisition of land are a fundamental aspect of structural conflicts in Kenya. Conflict in the ASALs is closely related to the formation of states in the colonial era when large tracts of pastoralist land were appropriated and gazetted for other purposes. The laissez-faire system of land sale and allocation often took no account of communal tenure and was flawed due to corrupt allocation and registration practices.
- With the new development and exploration projects (power plant, oil exploration), there is

growing fear about the locals losing out on their land. The national legislation of land tenure and resource management is in conflict with, and undermines, the pastoralists' traditional land tenure organization and resource use. The customary regime governing pastoralists' land recognizes the communal use of land and is in contrast to the privatization of land example being the Turkwell Gorge power plant in Turkana. This area had been the dry seasons' grazing reserve and therefore its privatization jeopardizes the source of the user groups' livelihoods as their livestock risk starving to death. As a result, the two communities graze anywhere they can find grass and water within fenced compound of the plant; this has become a cause of conflict amongst pastoralists, and between pastoralists and KenGen. The policies regarding damming of river Turkana, geothermal, oil and natural gas exploration have not looked at the impact on the pastoralists and the fisher folk in the region.

- Pastoral land is owned communally, and until recently, there were few land disputes. This is changing however. Often families that migrate to other regions return to find that other people have taken over their land.

#### *6.3.4 Political incitement and commercial manipulation*

- The conflicts and their bloodiness intensified with the dawn of political pluralism in Kenya and have continued to escalate and destabilize the region. The increased ethnicization of Kenyan politics has deepened the sense of exclusion among minority groups. Traditional raiding has also taken a political perspective, with politicians encouraging conflicts to flush out supporters of political opponents from their political turfs. These factors have complicated and compounded the conflict management process.
- Their lack of awareness renders the pastoral people vulnerable to machinations of ruthless political regimes, and misappropriation of political clout/powers/funds and associated conflicts. e.g. many cattle raids in Turkana are said to be instigated by Pokot political leaders, who are also believed to use their political power to secure larger benefits in favour of the Pokots from Turkwel Gorge Power plant project in the border of Turkana and Pokot counties and other such developmental interventions. Political incitement is contributing to growing ethnocentrism and violence, with frequent loss of life/property, and displacement, rendering people landless and without access to livelihoods.
- Raids has metamorphosed into a business activity with economically powerful people funding livestock thefts and political leaders along with the traders monetising the animal wealth. As a result, stolen livestock are rarely recovered by security personnel after a raid. The animals so obtained are loaded onto trucks and transported to faraway markets in Nairobi and Uganda. The lure of ready cash prompts the participating youths to participate more and repeatedly.

#### *6.3.5 Poor State administration & protection*

- There is inadequate state security, diminishing influence of traditional government systems, and dawdling legislative action. The remote terrain and the nomadic lifestyle of the pastoralists renders the formal security system inaccessible, the capacity of security forces and other government agencies to prevent, mitigate and manage conflict is limited.
- The political context is marked by instability and widespread corruption. The region suffers from lack of support for policy implementation, and the ASAL policy formulated for the region has not been implemented. There has been no significant effort on behalf of the government to promote alternative livelihood options to support the conflict-affected families or as a means to address abject poverty.

- Legislations are often biased towards one community, leading to deprivation of others and thereby contributing towards growing agitations. Law enforcement is weak, and a long chain of command leads to slow response from the army during emergencies. Most conflict perpetrators have not been brought to justice. The govt is perceived to do little to address conflict situations except providing relief (maize).

### *6.3.6 Policy neglect and injustice*

- The ASALs are characterised by severe under-development. There has been a severe lack of public/private investment in infrastructure and economic development, & inadequate policy support and extension services. These regions are most under-served in terms of roads and electricity, which limits access to national and international markets.
- Affirmative action by the state is neither planned nor implemented for these scattered, low population areas of Kenya. Historical marginalization included a policy of non-interference by the govt in pastoralist affairs which led to the creation of alternative power centres in the region and even across the borders. This has been compounded by apathetic govt. support/investments since then, poor policies and sluggish implementation of regulations/legislations.
- Most communities and policy makers in Kenya have very little understanding of the pastoral communities and their ways of life. Further, most have deep-seated biases which has contributed to the systematic marginalization of these groups over the years. The specific needs, interests and aspirations of these communities have tended to be disregarded in the general planning of national development.

### *6.3.7 Weaknesses of civil society*

- Weak state machinery in the remote north has left the civil society with the responsibility of conducting the development functions. However, the capacity of civil society in these areas is low, and their efforts are fragmented and hence limited.
- The perpetual conflict makes it difficult to carry out effective development action and infrastructure building. The CSOs lack knowledge of legal instruments and often pay the price for it.
- Conflict also acts as a disincentive to invest into development, by development actors, and major part of the efforts and funds go towards conflict management and relief. Massive relief and humanitarian assistance has been channeled to the all of pastoralist regions, basically in response to emergencies and drought/famine situations. This assistance has however not been coupled with appropriate sustainable development strategies that would enhance coping at the end of this relief period. The consequence has therefore been that episodes of relief assistance are unavoidably followed by an increase of newly vulnerable groups driven to dependency by this relief effort.

## **6.4 Key Findings**

### *6.4.1 Key Contributors*

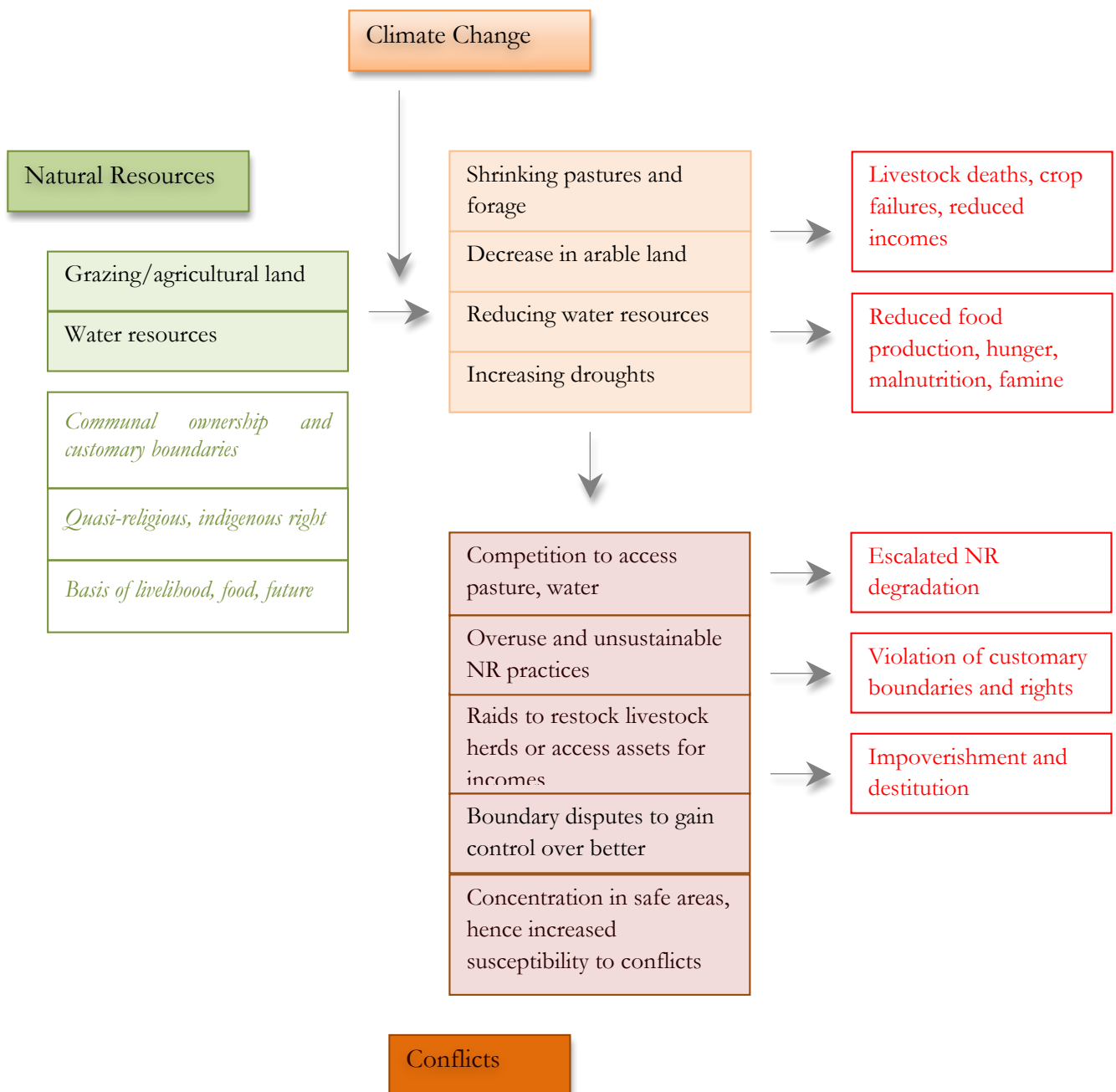
The key contributors to the conflict conditions are two:

*a. psycho-social:* the perception of conflict as a cultural practice, as well as the solution to resource stress, social inequity and poverty.

*b. environmental/economic:* conflicts stemming from pressures due to climate change and resource degradation and/or sharing issues, as well as the aim to access greater economic gains.

### 6.4.2 The Water-Climate Change-Conflict Nexus

The study findings indicate a clear Natural Resources - Climate Change - Conflict nexus, with a strong correlation between inadequacy of water (and pasturelands), exacerbated by climate change, and increasing humanitarian crises and conflicts.



### 6.4.3 Conflict Triggers

The study also helped identify the major conflict triggers as follows:

- *Political manipulation:* Statements by politicians both from the pastoral areas and from outside incite their voters against each other so as to popularize their selfish political agenda, and serve as a trigger for most conflicts. They play the role of “spokespersons” to their respective communities and knowingly (or unknowingly) pit communities against each other for their own political gains.

- *State neglect and deprivation:* Severe poverty and marginalization of pastoralists from mainstream development leads to inter-ethnic tensions and discontent. Strong feelings of deprivation and neglect, along with hunger and destitution, have provided a fertile ground for the communities to engage in communal violence and confrontation. Perceived higher gains of neighbouring communities or losses for their own, triggers reactive raids and violence, to get even or to snatch some of the others’ wealth for themselves to alleviate their poverty.

- *Drought and resource constraint:* As has been mentioned earlier, drought years show increased violence. Livestock losses due to droughts mean herd sizes of families shrink drastically and result in a drop in household incomes, as well as famine and insecurity. In the absence of any long-term State measure for post-drought recovery, this is achieved by the herders through restocking by snatching others’ cattle during raids. Trespassing into other communities’ grazing lands and/or watering points, due to inadequate resource availability in their own areas, as a result of ecological degradation, also triggers conflict and violence.

- *Development projects:* Perceived and real injustices and/or threats to community assets or way of life due to development projects by the State, particularly given the extreme development neglect of the communities, are leading to simmering tensions. The loss of communal lands and unequal sharing of the benefits of such projects between different groups, are conflict triggers, as are the concentration of populations and livestock in smaller areas forced by land lost due to development projects.

- *Killings:* Retributory raids are triggered by a community on another as a response to the latter’s raid on the former and the loss of lives and livestock as a result. The killing of popular leaders, in particular, has served as a trigger for new and prolonged conflict amongst communities. Offensive attacks are then mounted and retaliatory killings carried out.

## 7. MANAGEMENT MECHANISMS

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Since conflicts, albeit less damaging than now, have been a part of the canvas for northern Kenya for a long time, it has also had traditional conflict management measures; newer measures are being created as the nature of conflict changes and the older management structures become less effective in handling these changes.

### 7.1 Traditional structures and mechanisms

#### 7.1.1 Council of Elders

The structural base of the pastoral communities in Kenya is the 'tree of men'. This comprises the Elders and other men in the society who are rich and influential, who are charged with the responsibility and authority to make decisions on behalf of the community. They also set the rules and norms, which are adhered to by the entire community, and their violation attract penalties. Women do not participate in these forums, although this has changed in some settlements where women are now being involved in decision-making.

Traditional mechanism for peace, included sending a peace messenger followed by community dialogue (witnessed in 1972 between Turkana & Ethiopia that lasted for 6-7 years); elders participated in such dialogues. An olive branch would be extended via the peace messenger, typically a representative of one of the warring communities who would approach the counterpart in the other community, all the while holding up a white feather to signify a friendly visit. He would then be allowed to communicate the message of peace; elders of the two communities would thereafter meet, talk and resolve for peace.

Earlier the Council of Elders would intervene to resolve conflicts and make informed judgments. However, changes in value systems and institutional structures have tended to erode their power base and thereby the conflict management capacity of the elders. Currently, the pastoral youth are driven by incentives they get from selling cattle and seem to overpower the elders who were the traditional conflict settlers. The market economy has made personal interest paramount and weakened clan unity and government appointed agencies and structures have replaced the elders in their functions and undermined the elders' authority. Urbanization and other forces of development are changing the value-system, eroding adherence to it, and challenging traditional hierarchies. There is also increasing conflict amongst the elders themselves and thus the breakdown of the traditional methods and processes for conflict management.

#### 7.1.2 Peace mechanisms

*Inter-ethnic alliances and marriages:* At times, different ethnic groups would enter into alliances to cooperate and protect each other from aggression by other groups, and jointly repel attacks. Such alliances also served as a deterrent for aggression, since alliances of multiple groups would tend to be stronger than any single aggressor. Some of the tribes, such as the Turkanas have also intermarried with neighbouring tribes and other ethnic groups. Such inter-marriages in past have helped in bringing peace.

*Compensation for losses, return of livestock:* Customary approaches to conflict management included a degree of reciprocity and collaboration, such as compensation for those whose fields were damaged by others' livestock, (eg, among the Il Chamus of Baringo), and in certain cases, if excesses had happened, even return of stolen livestock.

Resource Management agreements: Pastoralist clans that share grazing lands and watering points would frequently discuss and reach an agreement on how best to use the scarce resources. For example, Boran and Somali elders negotiate and reach a general agreement on the movements of their groups through the Isiolo corridor for access to water and pasture. Such negotiations are intense and particularly useful during periods of droughts.

## 7.2 Current, Ongoing efforts

With the administrative, political and social changes in the overall context, newer modes of generating peace have been initiated.

### 7.2.1 Actors

The peace programmes are being carried out by governmental, and non-governmental human rights activists. Along with elders, govt representatives, members of the church, CSOs, Peace Committees participate in the discussions.

Community: The key actors in the conflict (and peace) processes are: the community elders and traditional mediators, youth, State, existing peace organisations and civil society. Women are largely outside current conflict management processes, but could potentially play a role.

The traditional Turkana governance structure (includes mainly men, although a few areas in South and Central Turkana have started to incorporate both women and youth), comprises village elders for each village and includes the Headman for each village/kraal (nomadic settlement) and assistant/fellow headmen with the responsibilities for dispute-settlement, advise on grazing pattern and security of the people. This traditional system remains very strong, and is key to enhancing peacebuilding in Turkana County.

Provincial government: The provincial government structure and hierarchy comprises a County Commissioner to coordinate government business and enhance peaceful co-existence, six district commissioners, each heading and coordinating all government business in specific districts within the county, and officers heading each of the smaller administrative levels (division, location, sub-location).

Civil society: Local CSOs, members of the Church and human rights activists in each district would also constitute non-governmental resources for peace.

### 7.2.2 Government initiatives

District Peace Committees (DPC): In Turkana, six DPCs were set up by UNDP and the Ministry of Special Programmes (Arid Land Resource Management Project - ALRMP, which was phased out 3 years back) and the support has stopped for the last 3 years. The DPCs were aimed to monitor and foster peace, in the corridors or areas affected. The provincial administration, through UNDP programme, had been supported to carry out peace meetings/ dialogues. There is no regular meeting schedule of the DPCs and the reporting structures are not very clear. Village Peace Committees do not report to DPCs. These structures are currently dormant, but become active when an event takes place. Then they visit the area and gather information that help in necessary actions. The structures are supposed to be inclusive, but women are not always present. The government (DCs) were the chairpersons of the DPCs but are reported to have abused their positions by embezzlement of funds. In 2009 the members of the public took over the



chairperson's seat. The concept and structure has potential however, and may be replicated across the entire region.

*Government patrolling:* The government is reported to have intensified security patrols. The government beefs up security by deploying police officers in the affected zones after the incidences of violence, but the officers are not permanently stationed there and thereby fail to react in case fresh conflicts. The road network is very poor, making it difficult to respond to crime or to intercept cattle rustlers. At the same time, the number of security personnel deployed in the region is not adequate.

*Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD):* IGAD in Eastern Africa is present in the region through a representative assigned to each district to monitor peace and also act as peace intelligence at the grassroots. The government of Kenya and the Government of Ethiopia engaged in a diplomatic talk to resolve the border wrangles. A team of surveyors was sent by the two countries to identify and mark the borders; but much to the disappointment of the warring communities, the task was left unfinished.

### 7.2.3 CSO initiatives

Much of the effective role of social protection during conflict is played by non-formal actors. Local civil society actors, alone or with external resourcing, may play the critical role in social protection during conflict. Civil society institutions often play a central role in providing for those who have lost the means to support themselves. Levels and types of vulnerability of the conflict affected population in the aftermath of such situations ('post-conflict', 'transition', 'recovery' phases) depend in large part on the nature and duration of the conflict, its effects on people and structures, and the way in which the conflict has ended. Several International Organisations and CSOs are working in the conflict affected ASAL districts, but much remains to be done.

Contribution of significant CSO actors/donors present in the 6 counties is summarised below.

| <b>Baringo</b>                                    |   |
|---|---|
| Kenyan Red Cross Society                          | Works for resettlement of IDPs, resolution of conflicts   |
| Adventist Development and Relief Agency           | Works towards strengthening community response to disasters   |
| Africa International Relief Friendship Foundation | Promote cooperation with GoK for various economic and social development projects                         |
| Alfa Family Care International                    | Works towards prosperity through promotion of peace and reconciliation, counseling of youth.              |
| Safer World                                       | Works for research on conflict prevention, management and resolution and community education              |
| Rural Women Peace Link                            | Strives to enhance capacity of rural women for effective peace building process and community development |
| Baringo Human Rights Consortium                   | Carries out civic education and advocacy  |
| Centre for Human Rights and Democracy             | Helps protect, promote and advocate for basic human rights  |
| Pastoralist Poverty Reduction Organisation        | Work towards improving quality of life of pastoraists by promoting self reliance and fundamental services |
| Wheel for Community Development                   | Works on food security, technology and safe water for peaceful environment                                |
| World Vision Kenya                                | Works for IDPs and refugees fostering self reliance in the communities                                    |

| <b>Laikipia</b>  |  |
|--|--|
| Cross Currents Indigenous Network                        | Works on outreach, education, social upliftment.   |
| Centre for Youth Empowerment and Economic Sustainability | Works towards empowering the community - economically, socially, politically.                                  |
| World Vision Kenya                                       | Works for IDPs and refugees fostering self reliance in the communities   |
| Norwegian Church Aid                                     | Contributes towards emergency relief, rehabilitation and developmental activities.                             |
| Kivuli Cha Haki Organisation                             | Provides legal advisory services and represents members from poor communities                                  |
| Goldenlife International Foundation                      | Strives to provide access to education and promotes peace building and positive cultural practices             |
| Safer World  | Works for research on conflict prevention, management and resolution and community education                   |
| <b>Marsabit</b>  |  |
| Gaaddisa Lammii Foundation                               | Works towards self sufficiency of IDPs and refugees and reduce their socio-economic woes                       |
| Horn of Africa Pastoralist Policy and Peace Interaction  | Strives to promote harmony and access to rights for the pastoralist communities                                |
| Safer World  | Works for research on conflict prevention, management and resolution and community education                   |
| Women Initiative for Peaceful Environment Programme      | Promotes peace building and conflict resolution  |
| Centre for Nomadic Governance                            | Promotes good governance, seeks to improve access to healthcare and education                                  |
| Somali International minorities of America               | Seeks to educate and empower disadvantaged community members   |
| <b>Samburu</b>   |  |
| Pastoral Heritage Concern                                | Seeks to support pastoral development programmes and improve their QoL   |
| Centre for Youth Empowerment and Economic Sustainability | Works towards empowering the community - economically, socially, politically.                                  |
| Pastoralist Poverty Reduction Organisation               | Work towards improving quality of life of pastoraists by promoting self reliance and fundamental services      |
| Cross Currents Indigenous Network                        | Works on outreach, education, social upliftment.   |
| Norwegian Church Aid                                     | Contributes towards emergency relief, rehabilitation and developmental activities.                             |
| North Rift Women Pastoralist Association                 | Strives towards economic empowerment of women and promotion of peace building.                                 |
| Pokatusa Peace and Development Programme                 | Promotes peace building, reconciliation, conflict resolution among pastoral communities                        |
| <b>Turkana</b>   |  |
| Oxfam International                                      | Works towards addressing food crisis, peace building and economic development                                  |
| World Vision Kenya                                       | Works for IDPs and refugees fostering self reliance in the communities   |
| SAPCONE - Saint Peters Community Network                 | Strives to improve lives of vulnerable Turkana population through advocacy, peace building, education of girls |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| GTCSN - Greater Turkana Civil Society Network            | Umbrella organisation with the aim of giving voice to Turkana people and to encourage good governance   |
| Mercy Corps  | Supports the community in the affected areas and promote dialogues for peace  |
| Karamoja Cluster Peace and Development Organisation      | Carries out Networking for peace in the Karamoja cluster  |
| Mapendo International                                    | Seeks to address HIV/AIDS and provides psychosocial support, ARV treatment, nutritional support   |
| Shalom Centre for Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation | Works for conflict resolution and peace building  |
| Tegla Lorupe Peace Foundation                            | Organises sports events to promote peace building initiatives and supports education of orphans from conflict violence  |
| <b>West Pokot</b>  |   |
| Christian Outreach Relief and Development                | Works for conflict resolution and peace building  |
| Eldoret Initiatives on Conflict Resolution               | Promotes peace and mutual understanding among communities   |
| Goldenlife International Foundation                      | Works towards improving access to healthcare, Education, promotes peace building and positive cultural practices among the youths and vulnerable groups                               |
| North Rift Organization for Peace and Development        | Seeks to promote peace and empower the vulnerable economically in rural areas   |
| Pastoralist Poverty Reduction Organization               | Contributes towards improving quality of life of the pastoralist communities by promoting self reliance and sustainability through provision of fundamental socio - economic services |
| Pokatusa Peace and Development Program                   | Promotes peace building reconciliation and conflict resolution and development for pastoral communities in Kenya  |
| Oxfam GB   | Works towards reducing poverty, distress and suffering in any part of the world.  |
| World Vision Kenya                                       | Fosters the spirit of self-reliance and self confidence in local needy communities, and enable them to transform themselves into productive communities                               |

## 8. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CONFLICT AND NR MANAGEMENT

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Following the research conducted and the consultations, the following suggestions were evolved for the way forward.

### 8.1 Pointers for Interventions

The key learnings/evidence brought out by the research process are:

*i. Centrality of resource stress and climate change:* The research revealed that climate change and resulting resource scarcity is one of the driving forces behind the escalation of inter-ethnic violence in these regions. This escalates during periods of drought when availability of water and forage from pasturelands shrinks, leading to extreme competition and stress for the same. This is compounded by the fact that livelihoods in the region are wholly dependent on these resources and there are no alternative livelihoods available. Improved management of natural resources and adaptation to climate change, along with creation of alternative, non-farm livelihoods, would ameliorate conflict conditions. Particular attention would need to be paid to times of drought and conflict management/diffusing processes at such times.

*ii. Role and potential of young people:* Young people are key actors in the conflict, but also wish for a better life with improved economic avenues. They could be leveraged for conflict-transformative processes, if enabled with attitudinal change, improved welfare services, and livelihood avenues & skills. Inter-generational interactions, currently used for perpetuating the conflict, may also be used for transforming it.

*iii. Need to ensure human security and rights:* The conflicts result in loss of life and property, mass displacement, gross violation of human rights. This in turn, perpetuates the conflict, feeding the anger and trauma on a continual basis. It is imperative therefore, to address human security and human rights concerns, in order to create an environment for effective peacebuilding.

*iv. Need to address welfare & development:* Essential needs of communities - food security, education, health and water/sanitation - are in a deplorable state, and there is State intervention to address these needs are highly inadequate. This too is fuel for conflict, as evident discrimination and inequity, on the one hand, and contributing to a lack of hope and perception of violence as the only solution to the problem of neglect. Improved welfare services and State attention and opportunities to dialogue with the State would reduce such feelings.

*v. Need to focus on most vulnerable & affected:* Children, women and young people are affected the most by the conflict, in terms of human rights violations, and deprivation of the essential building blocks for a better life. While children and women are primarily victims, young people drawn into the conflict are as much victims as actors (albeit manipulated by the broader context). Children have no access to education and suffer severe malnutrition, violence against women is rampant, and young people are conscripted early into armed conflict. Dealing with their wounds, enabling them with skills & resources for a better life, and engaging them in conflict-transformation processes, would likely yield manifold results. Socio-legal support and empowerment and participation of children and young people in the management/delivery of basic welfare services, would help raise them from victims to change-agents. Young people have high potential to be involved in multiple constructive, peacebuilding processes, and enabled as change-agents through non-violent means.

## 8.2 Recommended approach

- i. *A dual approach:* Development of pastoral communities in Kenya's ASALs, among the least developed, poorest and most deprived of all communities, is closely tied to building and maintaining peace in the region. No development would be possible, nor successful without this. At the same time, it is important to ensure that efforts are directed towards development and welfare services, alongside peacebuilding as well, for ensuring sustainable peace.
- ii. *Transform conflicts:* For years and generations, conflicts have been resolved, peace brokered and at best conflicts have been prevented and damage controlled. Sustainable peace would necessitate going beyond such an approach – and strive for conflict transformation. This would involve dialogues and discourses for changing the structures and processes that sustain conflict.
- iii. *Climate Compatible Development:* The study findings have brought out the critical role of natural resources and associated stress, and its drivers including climate change and natural resource degradation, in the canvas of conflict in pastoral Kenya. Hence, it would be important to deliver peacebuilding measures integrated with suitable interventions aimed at sustainable NRM and adaptation to climate change. Advocating/shaping the community's resilience to climate change, and facilitating young people for adopting climate-compatible livelihoods, as well as improved management of scarce water and grazing resources, would reduce the pressure of resource scarcity and economic deprivation that is fueling the conflicts.
- iv. *Inter-generation and stakeholder-based approach:* The changing value-system and social structures call for involving all age-groups and use of inter-generational processes for conflict-management and development. It highlights the key role of the youth, and particularly in view of the history of marginalization and exclusion, the need for a stakeholder-driven process, in any sustainable peace initiative. Victims of conflict, particularly children, young people, are key to fostering peace, when armed with necessary awareness and tools & mechanisms for peace. Local capacity, in the form of skills/processes addressing conflict dynamics/triggers, anchored with key actors and engaging all stakeholders, will enable long-term conflict transformation, when accompanied by attitudinal change.
- v. *Comprehensive conflict management:* Conflict management must be supported at multiple levels:
  - a) peacebuilding and awareness and capacity development,
  - b) protection of vulnerable groups and prevention of conflict,
  - c) relief and redressal for victims of conflict,
  - d) measures to address the breakdown of welfare due to conflict, and
  - e) long-term measures to address conflict via adaptation to climate change, improved NR and alternate livelihoods, and necessary community structures and processes.
- vi. *Access to institutions and supports:* The critical gaps in institutions and infrastructure need to be bridged. These would include establishment of essential infrastructure such as roads, telecommunications, access to markets and credit, as well as development of critical institutions such as the security agencies and legal system, of the State, as well as civil society and non-formal, community-based supports. This would help mainstream the marginalized population and promote inclusion.
- vii. *Policies and state action:* Lacunae and injustices stemming from in state action/inaction must be addressed. Advocacy, dialogue, would help sensitise to past injustices, current marginalization and critical needs of pastoral communities. Suitable policies and state action need to be

propelled particularly in issues such as land allocation, development projects and sharing of benefits, investments in infrastructure and welfare, etc. Attitude change may be wrought amongst members of the pastoral communities when they feel part of the greater national fabric and their specific livelihood concerns are adequately addressed by the government and other development agencies.

### 8.3 Needs and Measures with potential

- Community policing including regular surveillance of grazing lands and watering holes should be facilitated in order to avoid any conflict. Local Peace Committees may be set up in each district and village, and strengthened for effective surveillance.
- There are a few cases of peace pacts between communities that have largely been hinged on availability of pasture and water and creating a win-win/sharing arrangements. Similarly a few groups have been able to broker 'resource sharing arrangements' for times of drought when conflicts peak, and thereby reduced its occurrence.
- There is need for services for economic empowerment and facilitating alternate livelihoods through addressing the entire value chain for niche-sector livelihoods with potential in the region. Constructing small scale industries i.e meat and honey processing plants.
- Since conflict is closely associated with drought and famine, drought contingency management is critical. This should include early warning of conflicts and ways of generating 'sustainable reconciliation'. Conflict needs to be fully incorporated into the 'drought early warning stages' system in arid districts to trigger rapid intervention. Instituting water harvesting and irrigation facilities should be considered for improving natural resource condition, for poverty reduction and to prevent outmigration. Useful forms of infrastructure include drought water supplies.
- Conflict affected families need to be supported through compensation of lost livestock (remedial restocking). Displaced groups must be rehabilitated and reoriented into mainstream society by aiding them with alternate livelihoods. Rehabilitation/ rescue centres may be constructed for victims of raid, HIV/ AIDS victims where the affected are counseled in the new life they are yet to undertake. Emergency relief and trauma-healing sessions must be provided to displaced people.
- Development projects to improve welfare status must be undertaken, and destroyed social amenities rehabilitated. Improve basic infrastructure, eg., roads towards improving security and response. Health services need to be given priority since medical facilities are far apart and not well equipped. Provision of education for the children and adult/alternative education for youth.
- Creating a green zone along the border between warring communities, i.e common churches and schools-primary, secondary, tertiary colleges and a university. Common market places for trading goods. Running inter-community schools can help in forming higher tolerance among the children and may in turn reduce the number of conflicts. Organising inter-community sports for solidarity and peace.
- Gender and age mainstreaming to be ensured in all peace initiatives. Women should be introduced in PCs since they have been effective in the past as crusaders of peace and as source of reliable information.

- Communities to be assisted in advocacy and influencing policies and state services to secure rights, justice and welfare; public discourses must be facilitated. This is especially necessary for land disputes and those relating to development projects.
- Support to civil society and communities to access legal services would deter perpetrators. Timely intervention by the government could help in recovery of stolen animals and discourage revenge attacks. Traditional conflict resolution mechanisms must be strengthened and linked to formal police, court and govt. agencies. Small claims courts should be popularized to solve petty offences.
- While in the long and medium term, there must be an attempts to solve each cause of conflict is as much necessary, in the shorter term, it would be necessary to develop mediation and conflict prevention capacities in the communities involved. Need to educate and develop constructive leaders for pastoral groups, and train them in problem-solving and conflict transformation skills.
- Inter-community dialogues, peace meetings, etc., must be facilitated. Conduct regular public meetings between warring communities and involve warring communities in policy making and benefit sharing.
- Develop early warning systems. Use of communication gadgets and solar-powered community radio for early warning for conflicts.
- Investments should be made in awareness raising on peace and training for indigenous peace-building processes, and sensitization to conflict and illicit arms. Introduce peace education in schools for early age attitude change.
- The most hopeful way forward is the 'peace and development' model, based on active involvement of all key actors on both sides of the conflict, including customary leaders, religious leaders, civil society groups, the local administration, police and army, and local members of parliament. In case on inter-district conflicts, there is a wide range of players from both districts. In case of conflicts across international borders, there is an existing mechanism by which the local administrators on either side of the border can meet, but the full range of civil society representatives must also be involved in such meetings. Development interventions must be coordinated between neighbouring districts.

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