

**FACTORS INFLUENCING CONFLICTS AMONG PASTORALISTS
COMMUNITIES; A CASE OF THE BORANA AND GABRA COMMUNITIES OF
THE MARSABIT COUNTY; KENYA**

BY

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DECLARATION

The content of this project report is my original work and has not been submitted for an academic award in any other university.

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DEDICATION

This project was dedicated to my loving parents; Tunne Molmolla and Molmolla Galgallo whose tender care and love nurtured me and despite them having never gone to school ensured me attain education up to this level they provided me with financial and other support. My dedication also in a special way goes to my brothers Roba, Ibrae and Isacko, my sisters Arbe, Talasso and Bone Molmolla. Indeed I must appreciate their support throughout my studies. May God give them all an all round love and care.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ASAL	Arid and Semi Arid Lands
AU	African Union
CBF	Constituency Bursary Funds
CDF	Constituency Development Funds
CRF	Constituency Roads Funds
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DC	District Commissioner
DFID	Department for International Development
DO	District Officer
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
GHA	Great Horn of Africa
GOK	Government of Kenya
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
ITDG	Integrated technology Development Group
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
KNUT	Kenya National Union of Teachers
LAFT	Local Authority Fund Trust
LATU	Let All Tribes Unite
MCAs	Members of County Assembly
MPs	Members of Parliament

NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
PACIDA	Pastoralists Community Initiative Development Assistance
PISP	Pastoralists Integrated Support Programme
REGABU	Rendille Gabra Burji
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SRIC	Security Research and Information Centre
UN	United Nation
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for refugees

ABSTRACT

Violent ethnic conflicts have been the cause of distress across many countries in the world, leading to human anguish through loss of lives and properties. Ethnic conflicts are not only common in developing countries, but are also problematic in the developed countries. In Marsabit County, pastoralist's conflict is not something unusual but a perennial issue. The purpose of the study was specifically set to find out causes of conflicts among the pastoralist communities in Marsabit. The study explored how factors like scarce natural resources, proliferation of fire arms, culture and local politics ignite conflicts among pastoral communities of Marsabit; namely between the Gabra and the Borana communities. The research objectives was; to establish the influence of natural resources on conflicts in Marsabit, to determine influence of porous border on conflicts, to establish ways in which culture influence conflicts and to determine how local politics influence conflicts between the Gabra and the Borana communities in Marsabit County. A descriptive survey was adopted to collect information, summarizes, present and interpret for clarification purposes, and this enabled investigation into the subject under study. For the purpose of this study respondents were drawn from two divisions (Gadhamoji and Turbi) with a total population of over 15,000. A location from each was selected through simple strata and random selection since both of the conflicting group, that is the Gabra and Borana live in the selected divisions and locations. Simple strata was helpful as it ensures inclusion in the sample of sub group which otherwise was to be omitted entirely by other sampling methods because of small numbers in the population. A sample size of 384 was considered for the study and random probability procedures were used to select the sample size and sampling procedures. The advantage of this random method was that every member of the population stood an equal chance of being picked, Mugenda & Mugenda (2003). A questionnaire and interview guide was used to get data from herders, politicians and village elders. The researcher used both the qualitative and quantitative data analysis techniques. Quantitative data was analysed using descriptive statistics and presented in form of percentages and frequencies while qualitative data was analysed narratively based on various study themes, the findings were; majority of the respondents indicated that lack of enough resources over which pastoralists compete prompt them to fight. Easy access of legally condemned weapons has also been intensifying pastoralists standoff. Conservative cultural practices where successful warriors are praised and rewarded have been scaling pastoralists conflict. Struggle for political supremacy was identified to have been increasing magnitude of pastoralists conflict. The study concluded that competition over limited natural resources as major cause of pastoralists conflict, where easy flow of weapons through physically porous border, culture praise and reward warriors and struggle for political supremacy also identified as factors that scale up rate of pastoralists' conflict in Marsabit. The study recommends for sharing of available resources, proper manning of country's borders to control arms flow, community elders to own peace initiatives with noble aim to unite different ethnic groups, and politicians to avoid inflammatory remarks. The study suggest for further study to be conducted on other causes of pastoralists conflict

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Globally pastoralists refers to people who live mostly in dry, remote areas and their livelihoods depend on their intimate knowledge of the surrounding ecosystem and on the well-being of their livestock (UNDP, 2003 on pastoralism and mobility in the Dry lands). Pastoralists systems in its global context take many forms and are adapted to particular natural, political and economic environments. The types of livestock kept by pastoralists vary according to climate, environment, water and other natural resources, and geographical area, and may include camels, goats, sheep, horses, llamas, alpacas, reindeer and vicunas.

According to study done by Koocheki and Gliessman (2005) on Pastoral Nomadism, mobility is a key feature qualifying pastoralism. The term nomadic is used when mobility is high and irregular patterns; transhumant when there are regular back-and-forth movements between relatively fixed locations; and sedentary for the rest. As per the study pastoralists inhabit zones where the potential for crop cultivation is limited due to low and highly variable rainfall conditions, steep terrain or extreme temperatures. Within this unpredictable, vulnerable and dynamic environment, they have developed successful mechanisms of adaptation to maintain an ecological balance between themselves and the natural environment. Pastoralism is therefore an economic and social system well adapted to dry land conditions and characterized by a complex set of practices and knowledge that has permitted the maintenance of a sustainable equilibrium among pastures, livestock and people.

Blench (2001) report about Pastoralism in the New Millennium revealed that nearly there are 200 million pastoralists in the world generating income where conventional farming is limited or not possible. The report depicted that, despite of their vital roles in global food security and production on land otherwise unsuitable to agriculture, pastoral

communities around the world are in a persistent state of crisis. Their customary rangelands and migration routes are shrinking due to expanding cultivation and less permeable international borders. Their herds are threatened by drought and disease.

According to the African Union/Interafrican Bureau for Animal Resources (AU/IBAR), (1997) research work regarding livestock development programme, due to potential herds for sustainable and fruitful livelihoods, violent conflict, raiding and clashes over land use continually undermine pastoralists livelihoods and wealth creation. Insecurity causes human suffering and death, provokes spirals of revenge attacks and turns large tracts of grazing lands into 'no-go' areas. Conflict is often the best-known but least understood feature of pastoral communities. It is increasingly common for individuals from urban centres who are linked to the market system to steal from rural areas and quickly sell the animals to middlemen in towns. Violent conflict and raiding hinder the delivery of vital services such as education, human and animal health care. Any developmental gains are soon undone by new outbreaks of violence. Conflict has a particularly significant impact on animal health because raiding increases trans-boundary epizootic disease transmission and impedes the improvement of primary veterinary services and the livelihoods dependent on livestock keeping. To enable much-needed development in pastoral areas, policy makers and development agencies must look for ways of tackling conflict that are based on understanding the root causes of conflict in pastoral areas.

In many countries, pastoralists communities remain among the most marginalized in the society, leaving them susceptible to radicalization and recruitment by insurgent groups. According to Foger and Stuntman (1997) on conflict analysis, conflict between or among pastoral communities has remained part and parcel of many livestock keepers since times immemorial. The term conflict was thus viewed as an interaction of interdependent views of people perceived to have incomparable goals over lands resources and the interference from each other over the use of available resources results to conflict.

Conflict related to livestock raiding is not new phenomena in many pastoral societies in the Horn of Africa. Traditionally, various pastoralists' communities used raiding as a

cultural practice for restocking of herds, especially after periods of drought or outbreaks of diseases. However, in recent years, livestock raiding has become more frequent, violent and destructive, (Mwangi 2006).

Lind (2002) Report on the Ecological Source of Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa found out that, although Kenya is considered to be peaceful unlike her neighbours, a closer scrutiny reveals an unprecedented wave of internal and cross-border conflicts. These conflicts mainly manifest as political, economic, environmental conflicts, conflicts over natural resources, land and tribal clashes and lately terrorism, sending signals that all is not rosy as the outside world has been erroneously made to believe. Likewise on the same breath pastoralists in northern Kenya have borne much of the brunt of internal conflicts and considerable efforts have been directed at addressing their specific conflict environment by a number of stakeholders that include; GOK, CSOs, and religious organizations amongst others. The resource-based conflicts prevalent in ASALs have completely distorted development programmes and eroded civil administration of this vast and rugged countryside. Apart from competition over resources, the regional problem of illicit arms which find their way through porous borders scaled up the severity and frequency of conflicts thus greatly affecting social-economic development in the area, Lind. (2002) study on effect of Small Arms and Light Weapons on pastoral conflict.

According to UN Report (2005) on the pastoralists' conflict study, conflict has been witnessed globally between countries, regional or even at the international level like the case of colonial period between Africa and European countries. The scuffle might have been triggered by competition over resources like oil, mineral markets, power supremacy or rivalry. According to United States Aid baseline report (2005) conducted in Karamajong cluster of Kenya and Uganda, pastoralist conflicts within the Greater Horn of Africa occur mainly in arid and semi-arid areas and are thus principally resource-based revolving around livestock. The study argues that these conflicts involve the use of fire arms making the conflict even more violent and resulting to indiscriminate killing and destruction of properties. Marginalization by post-independence governments has also compounded the pastoralist problem within the Great Horn Africa (GHA). Over the

years, pastoralist conflicts have become more frequent, more unpredictable and exhibit marked escalation in violence and geographical spread.

In an attempt to minimize and regulate conflict, international bodies like United Nation (UN), European Union (EU), And Africa Union (AU) have been formed, but despite of all these bodies, conflict still persist in the world. Conflict for long has become greatest impediment to the development in most countries of the world especially in Africa where there exist divergent interests, values, aspirations and goals. Pastoralists derive their livelihoods mainly from natural resources-pasture, water, livestock, natural vegetation etc, thus any hindrance to access to these fundamental resources escalate into violence that emanate to conflict. On this account, the main issues that stand as factors for conflict in Marsabit County between different communities is competition for scarce resources. For example there is always serious competition over few water points and scarce productive grazing land

Wallman (2005), research study on impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons, noted that the influx of guns through porous border has made traditional raids among pastoralists more deadly. The porous border, poor communication and free rein enjoyed by the Oromo militia who operate from hideout within Moyale, works only to compound the incessant tussles between the Gabbra and Borana as they prod one side of the warring groups (i.e. against the Gabra), Mohamed (2014).

According to Mohamed (2014), in an article titled “Stop the bloodshed” the Gabra and Borana who are related and share cultural ties, will remain bitter enemies for a long, setting a foundation of hostility that outlive its architects if they continue embracing the politics of hate that only serves selfish individuals at the expense of the majority. Part of the article reads that the violence dates back to two decades ago when the meteoric rise of late Dr. Bonaya Godana (the former North-Horr Member of Parliament who is a Gabra) made a name for himself as an intelligent, gifted politician and a prominent leader in his backyard and on the national stage of Kenya. He was the envy of many, but a source of suspicion for the elite from neighbouring communities, who thought he only championed parochial interest at the expense of the common good of the larger constituency. This was the beginning of a long-drawn competition between the Gabbra and Borana that paved

the way for animosity between the two ethnic groups. The political elite are purportedly the biggest conveyors of ethnic hatred for their own benefit, where as unfortunately when trouble brew, it is the grassroots people who suffer dearly. It appeared that the protracted conflicts between the two groups are engineered by overzealous politicians to gain their self centred political mileage.

Traditionally, livestock raiding often involved small-scale manageable violence and theft of the best livestock or replacement of animals lost during periods of droughts or diseases. Loss of human lives was rare, and when this occurred, compensation in the form of livestock was paid to the victims or their families in case of death (Mkutu 2008). However, in recent years, due to the proliferation of modern small arms, commercialisation of livestock raiding, dispute over land tenure rights, banditry and predation, the cultural practice has become a widespread, sophisticated, more violent, and destructive activity among pastoral communities in northern Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Incessant discords that emanate into uncalled for tensions among pastoralists happen not to be something unusual among the pastoralists in Marsabit County (PACIDA report 2012). Ethnic violence and frequent frictions especially in the form of resource competition, cattle rustling, political ‘hunger’ for power and skirmishes has been evident in the area.

Violent conflicts involving pastoralists have become widespread and severe among the nomads in Marsabit district (ITDG report 2003). The violence and warfare especially in the form of resource competition, cattle rustling and skirmishes have never been something new in the area. For example, on the 12th July 2005, there was a massacre in Turbi division where over 84 lives were claimed and a large number of livestock driven away by bandits, a month hardly pass without bloodshed in the district. A part from resource competition and cultural practices of cattle raids, politics have been blamed for conflict; a year before Turbi massacre, for example on the 1st of June 2004 honourable Member of Parliament then for Saku constituency stated in public gathering that “I will only make peace with Dr. Bonaya Godana if his people return all the livestock they have

stolen from my community”. He also uttered in the same Madaraka day occasion “peace needs commitment; it is not “pilau” which has to be cooked and served in a few minutes”. Such inflammatory remarks by politicians, in one way or another escalate into violent conflicts between the Gabra and Borana communities.

Marsabit County in the year 2013 experienced numerous inter-clan pastoralist clashes between Gabra and Borana, the conflict which started in August 2013 and continued until September 2013 in two rounds. There has been routine attacks’ between October and November 2013 reported within Moyale which is one of the Marsabit sub counties. After the August clashes houses that were evacuated from were found looted. The month of October 2013 had series of attacks that left 9 people wounded. During that time of pastoralist clashes, transport from Moyale town to Nairobi was paralyzed in the month of November 2013 as the roads were blocked and some people looted from. Fresh attacks were reported in the month of December where 29 people reportedly injured, 4900 displaced (some fled to Ethiopia, Wajir North (Bute) and others to their relatives in Marsabit town). Different agencies stepped up to offer humanitarian support to the victims, (Marsabit Secondary Data Review on Conflict-KIRA, 2013).

According to the Marsabit County department of communication’s conflict report which was posted in County’s Website in May 2015, between March and May 2015, conflict pitting pastoral communities around Mt. Kulal region of Marsabit was evident whereby to mention a few, on the fateful night of 4th May 2015, six (6) teenagers from Rendille communities were literally slaughtered by the rival-thoughtless Turkana herders where large herds driven away. The retaliation by Rendille left seven (7) Turkana dead and livestock stolen. This study therefore has sought to establish factors that have elicited persistent conflict among pastoralist communities of Marsabit County; namely the Gabra and the Borana communities.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to investigate on factors influencing conflicts among pastoral communities, a case of the Borana and Gabra communities of the Marsabit County, Kenya.

1.4 Objectives of the study

The specific objectives of the study were:

1. To establish the influence of competition over natural resources on conflicts between the Gabra and the Borana communities in Marsabit District.
2. To determine how physical geography influence conflicts between the Gabra and the Borana communities in Marsabit District.
3. To establish the ways in which culture influence conflicts between the Gabra and the Borana communities in Marsabit District.
4. To determine the extent to which local politics influence conflicts between the Gabra and the Borana communities in Marsabit County.

1.5 Research questions

The study was based on the questions as;

1. To what extent does competition over natural resources influence conflict between Gabra and Borana communities of Marsabit District?
2. In what ways does physical geography influence conflicts between the Gabra and the Borana communities in Marsabit District?
3. How does culture influence conflicts between the Gabra and the Borana communities in Marsabit?
4. In what ways does local politics influence conflict between the Gabra and the Borana communities in Marsabit County?

1.6 Significance of the study

The key players in Marsabit pastoralists unrest for decades were made to understand the causes of troubles between or among pastoral communities and device ways of curbing the vice that persisted for years.

Since the County of Marsabit was among those afflicted by insecurity following recurrent ethnic conflicts, the county leadership after understanding the cause can consider solution to the prevailing clashes. The findings of this research has provided a possible lasting solution to the ethnic conflict in Marsabit County so that it is preemptive rather than reactive hence management rather than resolution.

The findings were also important to various stakeholders in the field of conflict and peace studies. The findings mainly assist in conflict intervention as it informs the development of policy framework aimed at achieving a lasting peace in the circumstance of peace deficiency.

Moreover, scholars would use the findings of the study to further their knowledge and carry out more research in ethnic conflict. The findings contribute to the understanding of pastoralist communities and their notion about peace. Recognition of peace and security was thus fundamental to county's development which can only be achieved after conducting situational analysis and then coming up with amicable solution to the perennial pastoralists conflicts.

1.7 Delimitation of the study

The research work was carried out in Marsabit County where the rate of conflict between the Gabra and Borana has been alarming. There were many factors that led to conflict among pastoralists but the researcher dwelled on natural resources, physically porous border, cultural practices and local politics that influence conflicts between the Gabra and Borana of Marsabit. The respondents for the study were herders themselves, local politicians (Members of Parliament and County Assembly) and village elders who can explain why there has been a ceaseless fight between the two ethnic groups over the years.

Though there exist challenges to visit different areas, the researcher was bold enough to approach and engage elders and provincial administration for accessibility and help in explaining the purpose of the researcher's visit hence overcome anticipated challenges.

The public relation skills were applied by the researcher to approach area politicians to have interview with them in reference to research work. The researcher was also clear to the respondents that the study was purposely meant for academic purpose but nothing else and assured them of confidentiality of their identity.

1.8 Limitation of the study

The prevailing tensions between the Gabra and Borana communities hindered the researcher from visiting certain area and as a result information gathering and packaging was a problem.

Ethnic differences between the two conflicting group prevented the respondents to furnish researcher with all the necessary information besides failing to share their real life experiences regarding the research topic.

Since the existing tussles partly emanate from political incitements, interviewing local politicians was a great challenge for the researcher.

1.9 Assumptions of the study

The researcher assumed that the respondents would respond to questions correctly by supplying researcher with honest and truthful information on the topic. Due to the public relation skills to be employed, researcher assumed that local area politicians share information with the researcher or pay attention to interviews.

The researcher also assumed that the selected sample was a true representation of entire population under study. Validity of the data collection instrument was assumed to be upheld as being appropriate, meaningful and useful in reference to data that are collected.

1.10 Definitions of Significant terms

Conflict- The term conflict can be defined as a situation of interaction involving two or more parties in which actions in pursuit of incompatible objectives or interests result in varying degrees of disorder.

Culture - This entail people's way of life. It involves a set of shared attitudes, values, goals and practices such as rituals that characterizes an institution, organization or groups.

Ethnic group- This is a population that has membership which identifies itself and is identified by others as constituting categories of some order based on shared real or perceived myths of collective origin which is believed to come with inherited characteristics.

Influx of illegal arms- This is the infiltration of legally condemned weapons into country or region from outside that can cause harm in the sanity of peace and even havoc to people's lives. The outlawed weapons may include: guns, ammunitions, missiles etc.

Local Politics- Politics is a kind of activities that are usually associated with politicians which involves struggle for power, election campaigns, immense political influences in case of appointment and promotion to government jobs, utterances by politicians, disagreement by local leaders over political boundary, resource allocation (such as CDF/Bursary) through politicians etcetera.

Militia group- This is illegally formed army that composes of ordinary citizens rather than professional soldiers with intent to defend its community or cause mayhem against other community.

Natural Resources- This can be defined as parts or products of the environment considered of use and value to the earth's inhabitants to satisfy the needs of human beings and other living species. They are limited in supply compared to amount desired; examples are land, water, pasture etcetera.

Pastoralists - Refer to people who live mostly in dry, remote areas and their livelihoods depend on their intimate knowledge of the surrounding ecosystem and on the well-being

of their livestock. Pastoralists usually move with their herds in search of water and pasture.

Physically porous geographical border- This is a situation where countries or region's geographical zone or border is not well manned by its personnel such that it makes it liable to aliens' influx. Porous borders allow aliens, illegal drugs and also weapons into a country despite being condemned by government since it increases or adds criminal acts within, between or even among countries.

1.11 Organization of the study

The study is organized in five chapters. Chapter one is introduction to the study focusing on background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, delimitation of the study, limitation of the study, assumptions of the study, and definition of significant terms.

Chapter two reviews related literature regarding previous research in reference to area of investigation. It also touched on theoretical framework which consisted of conflict theories closely related to present study under investigation. The chapter finally covered conceptual framework which explain relationships between the identified dependent and independent variables for the study.

Chapter three is on research methodology, capturing research design, target population, sample/sampling of the study, research instrument, data collection methods, methods of data analysis and research ethics.

Chapter four presents data analysis, presentations and interpretation while chapter five covers summary of findings, discussions, conclusion, recommendations and suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter captured subsections such as; natural resources and conflicts, proliferation of arms through porous geographical border, cultural practices and conflicts, local politics and conflicts. This helped the researcher establish the result of others or related studies that have been conducted which enabled the researcher weigh information from the literature in light of own concerns and situation.

Theories that explained conflicts relating to pastoralists communities were discussed in the chapter. Conceptual framework as an artistic model that represented reality of the relationship between the dependent and independent variables was diagrammatically discussed in the chapter.

2.2 Resource conflict

Conflicts have their origin in human insecurity which is linked to exclusion and lack of access to resources and power among others (International IDEA, 2006). Conflicts and displacements in Kenya have historical context. Colonialists' forcefully evicted Kenyans from the fertile highlands to settle on the land to grow cash crops such as coffee and tea for export for European markets (UNHCR, 2003). Consequently, some tribes in Kenya, especially the Kikuyu were evicted and displaced from their ancestral lands. Despite high expectations, the political independence of Kenya in 1963 did not remedy the situation, nor did it adequately address the problem of communities displaced by the colonial administration. Historically, displacement in Kenya is closely linked to land tenure issues started initially with forced displacement of African people for the purpose of white settlement by the colonial authorities (UNHCR, 2003). The current causes and patterns of conflict in Northern Kenya are complex. Many factors contribute to violent conflict involving pastoralists. Historically, animal raiding between tribes was a common socio-cultural practice, but was sanctioned and controlled by the authority of elders and traditional values yet recently, a new system of predatory exploitation of the pastoral

economic resources has emerged, manifesting itself in the form of banditry and cattle rustling acquiring criminal tendencies.

Generally, most conflicts in Kenya have previously occurred in the Northern regions, which are Arid and Semi Arid areas respectively. The primary livelihood of this region is pastoralism. The population largely consists of Nomads who follow their cattle across the region in search of water and pasture. In these pastoralists regions a large number of households have been displaced from their original settlements due to conflicts arising from cattle rustling and inter-clan disputes. According to all development indices, the districts in these regions are among the Ten poorest in Kenya and the problem of IDPs is a significant issue here (Karimi, 2003).

According to PISP (2008) report on conflict in Marsabit, apart from competition over natural resources; proliferation of small arms and light weapons, cultural practices and political sentiments/incitements have fueled pastoral ethnic standoff.

2.3 Natural resource competition and conflict among pastoralists communities

Every conflict is unique in its own way. Despite a lack of consensus on the underlying relationship between natural resources and conflict, many scholars conclude that the struggle over access to and control over natural resources constitutes considerable grounds for tension and conflict. Sodaro (2001) argues that natural resources are a source of political contention within and between nations. Resources such as crude oil, for instance, are 'capable of stimulating intense political contention ... whether the issue concerns drilling rights in Alaska or the more explosive matter of who controls the Middle East's abundant petroleum reserves, oil has provoked conflicts ranging in severity from legislative wrangling to mortal combat'. Empirical studies also assert that 'countries whose wealth is largely dependent on the exportation of primary commodities which include both agricultural produce and natural resources are highly prone to civil violence'.

Collier (2003), an expert on the economics of civil war, estimates that close to fifty armed conflicts active in 2001 had a strong link to natural resource exploitation, in which

either licit or illicit exploitation helped to trigger, intensify, or sustain violence. In Pakistan and Bolivia, for example, violent protests have broken out over the distribution of water. In the Middle East, disputes over oil fields in Kuwait, among other issues, led to the first Gulf War. In another example, the rebel groups Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (known by its Portuguese acronym UNITA) used revenues derived from diamond mining to fund their rebellions against their respective governments.

Farmers- pastoral tension has deep rooted ancestry, “The conflict between the nomad and the settled farmers goes back to the earliest written records and is mythically symbolized in many cultures” (Blench, 2003). In the 19th century Southern United States, Osowsley (1945) has documented how pastoralists were gradually pushed out from the best pasture lands by “Agriculture settlers- who cleared and fenced the land and brought along their own smaller herds”. This old phenomenon dates back to ancient times, where an agricultural economy has driven the livestock grazers into deserts and the mountains, except in those states where the herdsmen control the government. The nomadic Huns and Mongols invaded weak agricultural states and imposed their economic system. Mountainous countries like Greece and much of Balkans, livestock grazing assumed more importance than Agriculture and was thus able to displace the farmer from agricultural lands.

Conflict between farmers and pastoralists in Mali’s Niger River Delta started to occur when the delta became drier and local farmers began cultivating deep parts of the delta, including stock routes leading to the flood plains, Moorehead (1989). Consequently pastoralists resorted to crop damaging measures that initiated a conflict. According to Breusers et al (1998), the drought of 1970s and 1980s not only led to an increase in competition over natural resources between farmers and pastoralists due to what they called “a saturation of space” but it also resulted in a breakdown of the balance between the two groups. The two production systems have converged with farmers engaging in cattle breeding and pastoral agriculture, thereby leading to the reduction of both ecological and economic complementarities between two groups. Yet, while it is

recognized that the environment and its associated factors- environmental degradation, resources scarcity and climate change may often play an important role in the causation and continuation of conflict, they are rarely the only or even the most important factor (Frerks, 2007).

Most nomadic groups within and outside the Gedaref state (Eastern Sudan) spend during the rainfall months of August and September in the Northern part (Butana) and at such times no serious problems arise between nomadic groups despite them thronging the area. This is due to the fact that Butana is rich in pasture and all that is needed is water (Elhassan, 1981). When the nomads return to the southern parts to their dry season grounds they find nothing because the vicious quick-profit seeking farmers have taken over all their lands. Even the little left is either grazed by farmers' herds or burnt to keep the nomads away from farm lands thus the situation in the south is more critical since the nomads stay there atleast 10 months before they move north again with onset of rainy season. So during the dry spell the southern part of Gedaref state is crowded by nomadic groups from within the state as well from outside. The competitive situation thus created often leads to conflict between as well as among the pastoral groups themselves.

The Borana and Degodia group live in Southern Ethiopia where they share common pastoral resources not only in Ethiopia but also in Kenya, (Mahmud, 2005). The mobility of two groups varies according to their dry season reserves areas along the lower banks of Genalle and Dawa rivers and the areas outside the river basin. During wet season months, both groups migrate to the Eille plain grasslands, east of Diid Liben. This migration brings them into contact with each other and triggers conflict between them. There has been raiding and counter raiding between them since earliest periods of their relationships.

According to Mazrui (2008) access to and control of valuable natural resources has been a critical factor in occurrence of violence in Somalia and Sudan. The structure of natural resources in the regions is unevenly distributed with pockets of abundant natural resources to regions where natural resource scarcity is common. The use and control of resources motivated by greed and grievances related to inequitable distribution of land and natural resources has been an underlying cause of armed conflict (Mulu, 2008). In

Kenya conflicts among neighbouring communities have been witnessed. For instance, the Turkana and Pokot have had sporadic conflicts. Their conflicts arise out of scarcity and competition over pasture and water as well as border disputes.

According to Mwangi (2007), the dynamics of conflicts are mainly as a result of competition between subsistence farmers and nomadic pastoralists in Laikipia. Subsistence farming households from highly productive agriculture zones have purchased land in semi arid areas and resettled there, land that has traditionally been used by pastoralists for grazing. The resettled farmers have introduced subsistence crop production along with keeping a limited number of livestock as a source of milk and meat to augment the family's protein intake. Nomadic pastoralists in Laikipia and neighbouring environs target food crop fields of the farmers to graze their livestock during dry season. They also target the livestock of the farmers for raids to restock their herds, partly to fulfill cultural rites.

Locally, pastoralists conflict have been sensitive issues that need great attention and diplomacy in order to achieve urgent resolution, Human Rights Commission (2000). Mostly pastoralists conflict is ignited by competition over natural resources like land ownership, water point, pasture and forest that act as food reservoir. Just as the case of many countries of the world, for example Rwanda, Somalia, Nigeria, conflict is being witnessed in all corners of Kenya, regions and different zones. In particular pastoralists who are mostly marginalised people in Kenya, often having virtually no say over changes that are impacting on their lives involves in frequent fights, for example, Pokot and Turkana both of Kenya engaged in violent conflict over resources year in year out. As per the views of UN (2005) report, pastoralists derive their livelihoods mainly from natural resources-pasture, water, livestock, natural vegetation etc, thus dwindled or reduced access to these resources escalate into violence leading to conflict.

Resource scarcity is paramount in areas inhabited by pastoralists. Considering Northern Kenya for example, there is not much water resource or pasture land for these communities as the area is dry. In several East African countries pastoralists are relatively few in number and occupy what is considered by their governments to be marginal land

with little economic potential. This can be attested by the fact that the marginalization of pastoralists communities may have been contributed by colonial distribution of land. For instance in Kenya, the pastoralist communities were allocated to live away from the heart of the town and live in the periphery. The former Northern Frontier Districts (upper Eastern and North Eastern) is an example of a marginalized place where most pastoralists in Kenya lived and thus conflict over resource and boarder areas has become a common occurrence. For example, during the 2005/6 drought, an incident in Turkana in Kenya reportedly left 40 people dead in a clash between Turkana and neighboring Ethiopian pastoralist. Grazing land is a challenge because most areas are dry. While in search of water and pasture resource, bordering communities from nearby countries fight with the communities in Northern Kenya over competition of scarce resources, (KHRC, 2000).

Locally, there has been always serious competition over few water points and scarce productive grazing land. For instance, particularly since (1980) Gabra and Borana communities accuses each other for the monopolization of boreholes while neglecting the other side. Also the delineation of tribal boundaries has resulted into mistrust among the ethnic boundaries of the groups in their areas hence frequent conflicts over existing scarce resources which are on high demand and under pressures (PACIDA, 2012).

2.4 Physically porous geographical border and conflict among pastoralists communities

Physically porous geographical borders refer to borders without clear security procedures which make it easy for arms to move to and from one country to another. The arms issue is a cross-border problem and arms acquisition become both a cause and consequence of insecurity and conflict in the pastoralists communities in the world and Horn of Africa (Markakis, 1987).

The “porous borders” between Malaysian Sabah and the Southern Philippine islands are a regular feature of conflicts at the borders of other Southeast Asian nations, (Clement, 2013). Short distances between islands and difficult to police waterways make it easy to travel the maritime Southeast Asia archipelago by sea undetected. These conditions have

facilitated the proliferation of illegal migration, smuggling, and piracy in border regions. However, the free movement of people and goods between Southeast Asian islands and has happened for centuries, before present-day borders and states existed. What the armed conflict in Sabah reveals, is the problematic discrepancy of Westphalian-style sovereignty with the region's inherent transnationalism. These porous borders present an everyday problem to the sovereignty and security of maritime Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines. The continued exchange of people and goods that went on for centuries was considered illegal and has contributed to the impoverishment of people who depended on the seaways.

Firearms trafficked across the sub-region are eventually used by rebel combatants and criminal gangs for either fighting civil wars, as in the case of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Voire among others, or used for armed robbery including vehicle theft and trafficking, and for committing highway robberies of passengers moving from one ECOWAS state to the other, (Addo, 2006). The weapons are recycled between Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone and among belligerents in other conflict zones such as the Casamance province and the rest of southern Senegal, Northern Ghana, Nigeria and Guinea Bissau. In the cases of Senegal, Gambia and Guinea Bissau, typical cross border destabilising activities stem from the circulation of small arms and movement of refugees, partly facilitated by Liberian and Sierra Leone civil wars.

The Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa are both severely affected by the scourge of small arms and light weapons (SALW). Yet, until recently, little has been done to address the issue. Current initiatives are prompted by the growing realization that the proliferation of small arms lies at the heart of many of the problems facing the two sub-regions, (Mkutu, 2001). The conflicts in Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo (D.R.C.), Northern Uganda, Southern Sudan, and Somalia are all fuelled by these weapons, as is the increasingly violent practice of cattle rustling in border districts such as Wajir (Kenya) and Karamoja (Uganda). Small arms are also contributing to high levels of crime, violence, and insecurity in cities like Kigali, Nairobi, and Mogadishu. Porous borders and conflict dynamics mean that the security and stability of the Great Lakes and

Horn sub-regions are closely intertwined; for example, the conflict in the D.R.C. fuels the illicit trafficking of weapons in and through the Horn. The proliferation and illicit trafficking of small arms and light weapons does not directly cause conflicts. Rather, it is a major factor that fuels and sustains conflicts, increases their lethality, and makes reconciliation more difficult, (ICG, 2000).

Many pastoralists who live near the borders of Kenya-Uganda, Kenya Somalia, Kenya Sudan, Uganda Sudan, have found themselves victims of cattle rustling (Mkutu, 2000). Traditionally, the pastoralists practiced cattle rustling using spears and bows, but now the weapon of choice used is the AK-47. The relative ease of acquisition and low cost of these illegal guns enable the pastoral communities to guarantee a sustained market hence continued tension within pastoralists communities setups.

Proliferation of illegal weapons among Pokot and Marakwet had increased the severity of cattle rustling. Before 1990s, Marakwet relied primarily on their traditional weapons (clubs, bows, poisoned arrows and swords) whereas Pokot used sticks, spears, bows and arrows (Kipkorir and Welbourn, 1973). The causes of conflicts are blamed on Pokot aggressors who invaded Marakwet pasture/grazing lands along Kerio River. As Pokot raids intensified, Marakwet people were forced to purchase firearms to counter attack their neighbouring Pokot. Interesting to note is the fact that the gun suppliers to Marakwet are the very Pokot, they intended to contain. It is estimated that there are 1,000 illicit arms in the hands of Marakwet warriors and about 3000 in the hands of Pokot.

Weiss (2004) pointed out that, the widespread availability of modern weaponry from across the borders and within other Kenyan districts has made automatic rifles and other small arms and light weapons an integral part of culture of masculinity in Marsabit district. These brought a lot of concern, many people lost lives, properties destroyed and insecurity being frustrating in the area. Also possessions of small firearms in which porous borders where these communities live become an avenue of perpetuating conflict. Some herdsmen attack people and conduct highway robberies with sophisticated weapons. The flow of small firearms into the Marsabit pastoralists region makes it easy

for them to use those arms during disputes, and the process of disarmament by the government has not successfully worked in the pastoralists regions and local communities where they use them as defense mechanisms from their real and perceived enemies.

2.5 Culture and conflict among pastoralists communities

Conflicts related to livestock raiding are not new phenomena in many pastoral societies in the world and Horn of Africa. Traditionally, various pastoral communities use raiding as a cultural practice for restocking of herds, especially after periods of drought or outbreaks of diseases. However, in recent years, livestock raiding has become more frequent, violent and destructive (Behnke, 2008). In essence culture involves the symbols, language, norms, values, and artifacts that characterize any society and that shape the thoughts, behaviors, and attitudes of the members of the society.

Cultures are embedded in every conflict because conflicts arise in human relationships. Culture is always a factor in conflict, whether it plays a central role or influences it subtly and gently, (Mayer, 2000). For any conflict that touches people where it matters, where people make meaning and hold their identities, there is always a cultural component. Mayer noted that intractable conflicts like the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the India-Pakistan conflict over Kashmir are not just about territorial, boundary, and sovereignty issues-they are also about acknowledgement, representation, and legitimization of different identities and ways of living, being, and making meaning. Mayer postulates that culture is inextricable from conflict, though it does not cause it. When differences surface in families, organizations, or communities, culture is always present, shaping perceptions, attitudes, behaviors, and outcomes.

Culture is an essential part of conflict and conflict resolution. Cultures are like underground rivers that run through peoples' lives and relationships, giving people messages that shape their perceptions, attributions, judgments, and ideas of self and other (Michelle, 2003). Though cultures are powerful, they are often unconscious, influencing conflict and attempts to resolve conflict in imperceptible ways. Cultures are more than language, dress, and food customs. Cultural groups may share race, ethnicity, or

nationality, but they also arise from cleavages of generation, socioeconomic class, sexual orientation, ability and disability, political and religious affiliation, language, and gender- to name only a few.

The loss of animals during droughts provides a justification for carrying out raids against other communities and depleting their resources so as to offset their own losses to restock the herds resulting to violence (Ocan, 1994). This is aggressive confrontation and is an essential component of the pastoralists' strategies to restore depleted herds is accepted practices among the pastoralists groups (Markakis 1993:1). To some extent, therefore, cattle's raiding is both a response to disasters such as drought, and an attempt to increase the yields of their livestock by increasing their numbers in good season as an insurance against bad seasons.

Conservative culture indeed contributed to escalation of violent and destructive activities that hampers social-economic and political development in the pastoralist communities (ITDG, 2003). Traditionally, it was accepted practice for certain tribes to raid each other's livestock because it was considered to be prestigious and an honour to do so. This is because in primitive culture man proves his manhood by fighting and bringing property home and thus this perception stand high chance for conflict to occur between or among pastoralist communities of Kenya. The challenge of cattle rusting happens in the pastoralists communities. Communities such as Pokot, Karamoja of Uganda, Nuer in Sudan, Samburu and Rendille in Northern Kenya have cultures that encourage cattle rustling. In most pastoralists' ethnic communities, dowries are paid in the form of cattle, goats, sheep and camels. Considering the amount of poverty rate and low economic livelihoods, a group of warriors from the pastoralists' clan rustle the cows as a means of transition into the rite of passage to marriage.

2.6 Local politics and conflict among pastoralists communities

Though pastoralist groups live throughout the world, they share a common difficulty interacting with the wider societal frame. This includes their relationships with the State and its structures, neighbouring land users, market forces and with the international development community. Such interactions make up their geo-political system. With the

exception of few countries (Somalia, Mongolia, Mauritania and Chad, among others), pastoralists typically represent a minority within national populations, with political borders often drawn through their traditional territories. Inhabiting such frontier lands (Galaty et al, 1994), pastoral groups have become prone to: - remoteness from the 'center' of a state/nation; - segmentation and minoritization within national borders; and - the jurisdictional and inter-state problems deriving from land partition.

Herding groups are usually adversely affected by the demarcation of national borders (for examples, the case of Saharawi people in the Western Sahara Desert and the Bedouin communities of the Near East). Inter-state conflicts can involve pastoral lands and people due to their frontier location, while high rates of unemployed pastoral youth add to the threat through their susceptibility to militia recruitment. As an exemplary case, it was reported that in the latest confrontation between the Ethiopian army and its militia, approximately 70% of the Eritrean national herd had been raided, at the expense of bordering pastoral groups (DFID, 2000). Problems may also derive from conflict-related refugee movements, which often pass through, locate upon and make intense use of fragile and contested rangelands.

Similarly stemming from their marginalisation, pastoralists experience great difficulty articulating or representing their interests in national political contexts and governance structures. State authorities have often clashed with the interests and the practices of pastoral groups, clashes which have at times flared into open conflict. Major areas of dispute range from land use to agriculture policy, from the arrangement of international borders to fiscal measures, from state control to social organization. There is also a problem of political unity and representation within pastoral groups themselves. "When a herder is elected to represent his community, he stops being a herder", states Younis Daoud, Peul representative at the PCI Global Pastoralists Gathering of 2005.

The tension between imported concepts and local tradition has frequently resulted in the degradation of the ecological and socio-economic fabric for many pastoral communities, while friction between local and central governance levels have often led to longstanding

conflictive relationships between pastoral communities and state structures. Because they were thought inefficient, authorities have systematically ignored pastoralists' customary resource management practices. Basic development initiatives such as land tenure reform, the hardening of national boundaries, and the implementation of water development schemes have often been the cause of increased disputes in pastoral areas as imported concepts and techniques have clashed with traditional pastoral practices (PACIDA, 2012).

On nature and conflict dynamics in Marsabit, for a long period of time, the Borana community has been dominating the political discourse in Marsabit County (SRIC conflict report, 2014). Before Kenya became independent, there was only one senior Gabra official by the name Dabaso Wabera (From Gabra tribe) whom the British had appointed as DC for Isiolo. Immediately after independence, Galgalo Godana, a Gabra became a Member of Parliament for Marsabit, taking a notch higher in national politics despite of their population compared to the dominant Borana community. On the other hand, in the recent history of the contestation in Marsabit County could be traced to the attempts by the smaller ethnic groups particularly the Gabra, Rendille and Burji that formed REGABU (Rendille, Gabra and Burji) alliance to challenge/neutralize the Borana dominance politically. This alliance started gaining prominence during local Marsabit branch Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) elections in the 2000s where candidate from REGABU communities won majority seats. In addition, the 1997 General election campaigns in Marsabit's Saku constituency were very sweltering. The former MP then, Jillo Fallana, is alleged to have not done enough to bridge the widening wedge between Borana and REGABU communities. His opponent, the late Abdi Tari Sasura, contested on a reconciliatory platform under a slogan LATU (Let All Tribes Unite) and handed his arch-rival a devastating defeat.

The politicization of the killing of two prominent personalities in Marsabit played a key role in driving the conflict. In 1999 a Borana, Qalla Waqo Bero- an influential businessman was murdered in Marsabit town and it was alleged the Gabra were somewhat involved in the killing. This was followed three months later by the

assassination of a Gabra- medical officer, Sora Qere whose killing was seen as the act of Borana to avenge Qalla Waqo's murder. The murder theory immediately changed to political theory that ethnic hatred was being stirred up and that it was the strategy by the Borana to forcefully remove Gabra from the Marsabit Mountain (PISP, 2008).

The empowerment of political leaders through the Constituency Development Funds (CDF), Constituency Roads Funds (CRF), Constituency Bursary Funds (CBF) and Local Authority Transfer Funds (LATF) has served to increase interest in controlling political processes in the district. There are serious concerns for example that politicians initiate projects only in areas where their communities are located. Sharing these projects with communities therefore becomes a source of silent discontent and potential conflict. The popular belief among the communities in this area is that CDF funds come from the MPs which are not the case. Politicians therefore ensure that their presence in initiating various projects is consistently maintained so that they can fish compliments from the people for political gains. In subsequent elections, politicians have in store a list of 'their projects' which they use for political mileage. This has served to create discriminatory political institutions that perpetuated conflict (ITDG, 2003).

According to KIRA report (2013) on Marsabit conflict, the outcome of the march 2013 elections confirmed Boranas fear that REGABU was determined to isolate them from the affairs of the Marsabit County, a county they considered their home in Kenya. In addition to sweeping all the "Countywide" positions of Governor, Senator and Women Member of National Assembly, REGABU dominated the County Assembly. Out of the total 33 Members of County Assembly (MCAs) - 20 elected and 13 nominated, REGABU alliance took 22 seats, representing 67% of the total membership meaning they have absolute control and can pass any legislation or approve any appointment including allocation of County resources with ease. In addition the Deputy Governor, Speaker of the County Assembly, Deputy Speaker, County Secretary and County Chief of Staff are all from REGABU camp meaning that REGABU is in control of both the County Executive and County Assembly though all the 14 tribes living in Marsabit have been considered in county leadership positions. The 2013 Moyale conflict pitting the Borana against the Gabra were seen as part of the machinations by the Borana community to

“rebel” on the outcome of the election with Borana leaders accusing Gabra “Administration” in Marsabit of encouraging their kins from Ethiopia to settle permanently on Borana settlements as a wider scheme to change demographic patterns in readiness of future elections. This depicts that politicization of ethnic and clan identities still pose significant threats to peace and security in Marsabit County.

2.7 Theoretical framework

Singleton (1980) notes that all empirical studies should be based on theory. The study of pastoralists’ conflicts in Northern Kenya will be informed by conflict, modernization and resource scarcity theories.

2.7.1 Conflict theory

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was seen to take a general form of assuming that conflict is inevitable, ubiquitous and an inexorable force in social system and is activated under certain specified conditions. These conditions according to Darendof allow for the transformation of latent class interest into manifest class interest, which additional conditions lead to the polarization of society into class joined in conflict. Classes are determined on the basis of the individual’s relations to the means of production. The distribution of properties determines the extent of conflict between the dominant and subordinates in society, (Abraham, 1982).

This, Marx postulate suggests that those highly ranked and who owns the means of production control the other relations and forms that constitute social life. The bourgeoisie are powerful due to the capitalistic nature of the economy and the proletariat question the legitimacy of this distribution of power. The amount of alienation they feel as a result of the situation will determine the intensity of the conflict. Society breaks into two antagonistic classes, bourgeoisie and proletariat. The disruption of the social situation of the deprived, the amount of alienation, capacity of the members to communicate with one another and the ability to develop a unifying ideology that codifies their true interest determines the resultant nature of a revolution against the bourgeoisie, (Ritzer, 1999).

According to Marx, conflict theory, economic class is the major source of inequality in life. The theory argues that individuals and groups (social class) within a society have differing amount of material resources (such as the wealthy verses poor) and that the more powerful groups (ruling class) hence scuffle between the two in demand for change.

Conflict in society is thus said to be an engine of change in society. It does not focus on conflict within individual mind, or on pure individual reaction to conflict. Rather it focuses on the social conflict which is conflict between or among individuals or groups. As per the theory, social conflict can be conceptualized as the opposition between individuals and groups on the basis of competing interests, differing identities and/ or attitudes. Social conflict in this conception is not limited to the more violent or confrontational forms of opposition, violence may or may not be involved though violence is certainly one of the subjects of special interest.

The theory informs that conflict in a society can bring a positive social, political and economic change for better life standards. The theory also postulates that where there is no friction in the society, there can be stagnation in the society. In the early centuries there was minimal conflict and the level of development in the society was very low in terms of humanity enhancement. But in the 19th century several conflicts erupted in various nations, between continents and with different regions; manifestations of these are French revolution, World War I, and World War II and colonization. All these later led to industrialization and advancement in technology. Karl Marx social conflict theory explains that conflict can occur between haves and have not in the process of searching for fairness for equitable resource allocations and distributions. The struggle between the two classes thus brings change in society. According to Karl Marx (1844), the bourgeoisies and proletariat became two opposing sides then. The worker (proletariat) and owners of production (the bourgeoisies) were in rivalry where the lower class is against the oppression by the upper class (the bourgeoisies) where the state favours the owners of production because they pay a lot of tax to them and in turn being protected, and thus this tends towards social change in society. Some sociologists and political scientists had different thoughts about social conflict where they often thought of a broad point of view which emphasis on the struggle between groups as giving social and

political institutions their present shape. Some of them see themselves as part of these struggles, while others are not personally involved in this way. In either case scholar like Karl Marx viewed social conflict as the primary instrument of social change.

Weber also opens up yet another area of resources in these struggles for control, what might be called the “means of emotional production”. It is these that underlie the power of religion and make it an important ally of the state; that transform classes into status groups, and do the same to territorial communities under particular circumstances (ethnicity), and that make “legitimacy” a crucial focus for efforts at domination. Here Weber comes to an insight parallel to those of Durkheim, Freud, and Nietzsche: not only that man is an animal with strong emotional desires and susceptibilities, but the particular forms of social interaction designed to arouse emotions operate to create strong held beliefs and a sense of solidarity within the community constituted by participation in these rituals (Collins, 1974).

The theory of conflict that this study assumes is that conflict involves a perceived clash of interests, which can be pursued either violently and destructively or constructively. Violent conflicts in Marsabit can be thought of as emerging from various combinations of sources. These include the balance of opportunities (such as lack of access to governmental services, the existence of exclusive societies-including the marginalization of certain identity groups, be it ethnic, youth, women, social- professional or religious groups or even uneven regional development) and in adequate distribution and allocation of scarce resources and uneven distribution of income and wealth. This probably leads to conflict over the management, distribution or even allocation of land, wood for fuel, water etc. In his work on genocide in Rwanda, (Uvin 1998) has stressed the importance of hunger, poverty, inequality and exclusion in explaining violence.

2.7.2 Modernization theory

Smelser (1988) defines modernization as a complex set of changes that take place in almost every part of society as a society attempts to industrialize. Modernization theorists divide the world into two kinds of societies “Modern” and “Traditional”. This theory of modernization prevailing in the 1950’s and 1960’s held that the ‘backwards or

undeveloped countries had radically change their traditional institutions and values in conformance with modern western models in order to achieve economic wellbeing. This inevitably implied urbanization, industrialization, extension of market relationships and bureaucracy as well as the establishment of a unified school system and a workable public administration, the development of a national language etc.

The prevalence of individual modernity in society was determined by such factors as education and factory experience and that individual modernity contributed to the modernization of society (Inkeles and Smith, 1974). The duo argued that Europe and North America became modern societies by breaking down the barriers of tradition which held back progress and that if third world societies are to experience economic development and higher standards of living, they must follow this example: this means that the main obstacle to third world development lies in the traditional character of their own societies. This theory was taken up enthusiastically by African elites as government shaped their policies in the name of progress, development and nationalism. Traditionally lifestyles and modes of production were rejected and unified systems were proposed. In the livestock sector, the theme of modernization must be seen in the context of the more general efforts of most governments to change the behaviour of pastoralists and modify the nature of their system of production in order to bring them more in line with those of majority of populations and render them more useful for the national economy. Pastoralism was thus seen as traditional, irrational and self destructive system of production.

The present precarious position of the East African pastoralists should not be viewed simply as that, societies that have lagged behind in the field of development or that have rejected change. In the early nineteenth century the pastoralists were the dominant force in East African but today these societies are dominated underprivileged and impoverished (Van & King, 1975).

In Kenya the material bases of the pastoralists' economy have been disrupted and they can no longer subsist from their herds. Social relationships can no longer be maintained through the traditional morality that has collapsed following a rupture in the structure of social relationship on which people's lives were hinged (Markakis, 1993).

2.7.3 Theory of resource scarcity

The basic premise of conflict theory is that individuals and groups in society struggle to maximize their share of the limited resources that exist and are desired by humans. Given that there are limited resources, the struggle inevitably leads to competition and hence conflict (Barnett and Morse, 1970). The struggles over limited resources can thus lead to changes in institutions and societies as different groups come into power. They observed that resource scarcity is an important factor to consider in both conflict prevention warning and response. In terms of warning, resource scarcity can be used as an indicator, that when combined with other indicators, might help to predict the occurrence of violent conflict. In terms of response, for those conflicts where resource scarcity is a potential cause of violence, responses which address this cause of the conflict may help to avert the outbreak of violent conflict.

Resource scarcity can play a role in both types of conflict prevention situations. Resource scarcity can exacerbate a conflict thus increasing the likelihood that it might become violent. For example, it has been found that natural resources play role in at 40 percent of all violent intrastate conflicts (United Nations Environment Program [UNEP], 2009). This fact creates important implications for both conflict prevention warning and response.

Resource scarcity may serve as an important warning indicator that violent conflict may erupt from a nonviolent conflict. There are limitations, however, with using this as an indicator. Le Billon, for example, notes that, “the term of resource war often implies an exclusive analytical focus on resources, and asserts a direct link between conflicts and resources. Such narrow engagement overlooks the multidimensionality of conflicts and resources,” (Bercovitch et al., 2009). “The mere presence of resources should also not be simply understood for the current or future stakes that they represent. Rather, the influence of a resource in conflicts needs to be understood in historical terms” (Bercovitch et al, 2009). Hence, it can be concluded that any conflict prevention warning system that uses resources as an indicator should place a strong emphasis on the analysis

of what such indicator means in the context of a particular conflict at particular time as well as provide longitudinal data to track historical changes of resource use.

There are several situations in which an abundance of resources is likely to trigger violent conflict. Much of the violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, especially the Kivu's, can be attributed to the perceived need to control Kivu's resources. The conflicts in Sierra Leone and Angola were prolonged as many of the parties to the conflicts vied for control over diamond mines. The violence in Nigeria is in part attributable to the abundance of petroleum reserves and the competition between groups for access to oil rents. The separatist conflict in Katanga, Republic of Congo can also be partly attributed to the discovery of significant copper, gold and uranium deposits. It must also be taken into consideration that the type of abundant resource can have an impact on the method of fighting. An easily lootable resource, such as diamonds, tends to create situations in which warlords emerge to oppose government forces. Warlords are most likely to arise to power in regions with easily lootable resources and that are away from the centre or seat of government power (Tschirgi, 2004). Resources which require extensive extraction and transportation practices tend to spark separatist conflicts.

Conversely, in situations in which there is resource scarcity, the trigger to violent conflict is not necessarily the scarcity of the resource rather the lack of social capital to use that resource more wisely and effectively. Tamas, 2001-2003 argues that researchers and early warning systems must distinguish between the causes of the scarcity and whether it is a perceived scarcity, or an actual scarcity of a resource.

2.8 Conceptual framework

Orodho (2009) defines a conceptual framework as a model of presentation where a researcher represents the relationship between variables in the study and shows the relationships diagrammatically. In the study under investigation, the hypothesized model identifies the dependent and independent variables, showing their relationships. In the model, factors that influence conflict such as scarce natural resources, proliferation of arms, cultural practices and politics are independent variables whereas conflict is the dependent variable. This was presented diagrammatically in figure 1

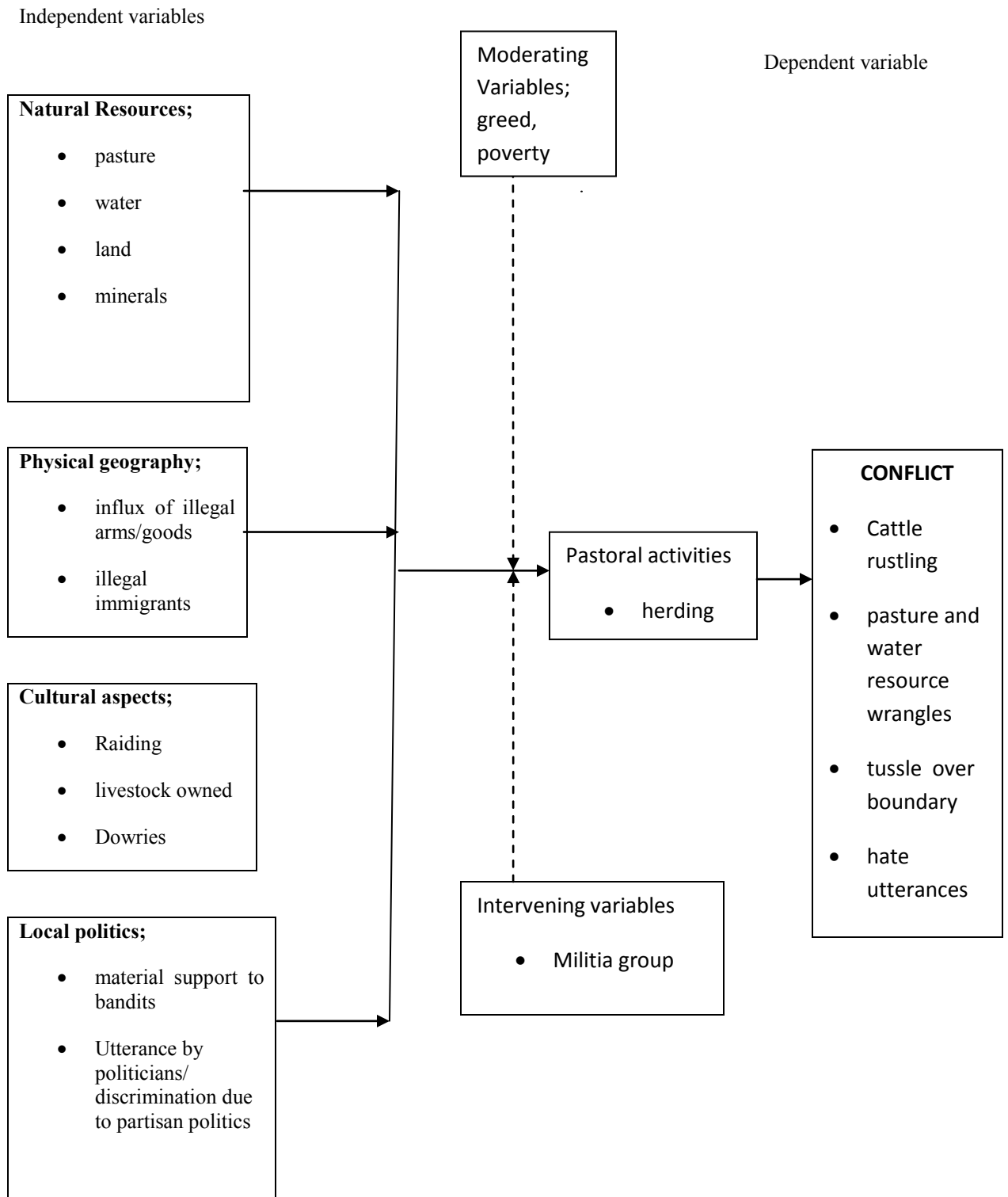


Figure 1: Conceptual framework on interaction of independent variables and dependent variable

The independent variables which include natural resource, proliferation of arms, cultural practices and politics had influence on pastoral activities among communities in Marsabit which in turn led to the conflicts which was the dependent variable. Moderating variable include; pastoralists activities like herding and intervening variables such as militia group also impact on pastoralists activities in Marsabit County but were not investigated in the study.

2.9 Summary of the Literature

The chapter was in a nutshell reviewed from global, regional, country (Kenya) and county (Marsabit) perspective, pastoralists conflict and its causes, explaining the relationship between dependent and independent variables regarding the research work. Theories which explained pastoralists' conflicts were also discussed in the chapter. Conceptual framework, as a model that diagrammatically showed relationship between variables in the study was discussed.

2.10 Research Gap

Many scholars such as; Sodaro (2001), Collier (2003), and Mwangi (2007) among others have studied that the struggle over access to and control over natural resources constituted considerable grounds for pastoral tensions and conflicts. Researchers also identified that physically porous geographical borders make it easy for arms to move to and from one country to another. The arms acquisition becomes both the cause and consequences of insecurity and conflicts in the pastoral communities in the world and Horn of Africa (Weiss, 2004). Scholars also learnt raiding as a cultural practice for restocking of herds, especially after period of droughts. Loss of animals during drought provided justification for carrying out raids against other communities and depleting their resources so as to offset their own losses to restock their herds resulting to violence (ITDG, 2003). Basic development initiatives that include land tenure reform, the hardening of national boundaries compounded with pastoralists' political development have more often than not been the cause of increased disputes in pastoralists areas as imported concepts and techniques clashed with the traditional pastoralists' practices (SRIC, 2014). Past researchers, other than natural resources, cultural practices, physically

porous geographical borders and local politics did not explore more study on other factors such as poverty, greed, negative ethnicity among others that inflict pastoralists conflicts and thus further study on the causes of conflicts were observed paramount.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The chapter covered the research design, target population, sample size and procedures, research instruments, data collection procedures, data analysis techniques, ethical considerations and operationalization of variables.

3.2 Research Design

Research design is a logical and valuable way of looking at the world (Borg and Gall, 1996). A descriptive survey was adopted, and it enabled investigation into the subject under study. Gay (1987) suggested that descriptive design is normally used on preliminary and exploratory studies to enable the researcher collect information, summarize present and interpret for clarification purposes. The design aimed to study existing relationships, prevailing practices, beliefs and attitude held, process and effects of developing trends.

According to Singleton (1988) the research design is the arrangements of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure. It discusses the site selection, sources of data and the study unit of analysis. A discussion in sampling procedure that was used to draw respondents and the most appropriate techniques of data collection and analysis were covered.

In essence as per the research design any researcher who is about to test hypothesis, faces some fundamental problems that must be solved before the study can be started. Who to study? What shall be observed? When were the observation made? How the data be collected? Research design was thus the blue print that enabled the investigator to come up with solutions to these problems and guided him or her in the various stages of research. Research design has four major components as; comparison as one of the

component helps in establishing that the independent and dependent variables are casually related. Comparison allows researcher demonstrate co-variation. Manipulation as another component of research design that helps in establishing the time order of events and control also as a component enables one to determine that the observed co-variation is non-spurious. Generalization as the final component concerns the extent to which the research findings can be applied to larger population and different settings.

3.3 The target population

Target population in statistics is the specific population about which information is desired. A population is a well defined set of people, services, elements and events, groups of things or households that is being investigated, (Ngechu, 2004).

According to Kothari (2004), a target population is the total number of respondents in the total environment of interest to the researcher. Population is the entire group of individuals, events or objects having common observable characteristics, (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999).

For the purpose of this study the respondents were drawn from two divisions (Gadhamoji and Turbi) with a total population of over 15, 000. A location from each was selected randomly where simple strata was considered to obtain sub groups and finally random sampling chosen to have representative sample size since both of the conflicting group i.e. the Gabra and Borana live in the selected divisions and locations.

3.4 The sample size and sampling procedures

Patton (1999) defined a sample as a group in a research study on which information is obtained while population is the group to which the results of the study are intended to apply, and sampling as the process of selecting a group to be used in research.

Since the population studied was large and determination of required sample size was a problem, the researcher considered the thumb rule formula to obtain as big a sample as possible, Mugenda & Mugenda (2003) as:

$$n = \frac{Z^2 PQ}{d(d)}$$

Where: n = the desired sample size (if the target population is greater than 10, 000)

Z = the standard normal deviate at the required confidence level

P = the proportion in the target population estimated to have characteristics to be measured

$Q = 1 - P$

d = the level of standard significance set

If there is no estimate available of the proportion in the target population assumed to have the characteristics of interest, 50% should be used as recommended for sample consideration, (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003).

Thus if the proportion of a target population with a certain characteristics is 0.50 and Z statistics is 1.96 and desire accuracy at 0.50 level, Then sample size is:

$$1.96 (1.96)[0.50(0.50)] / [0.50(0.50)] = 384$$

Probability sampling procedures was used to select the sample size and sampling procedures. As one of the probability procedure, simple stratified sampling was first considered as it ensured inclusion in the sample of the sub groups in the larger population of the study which otherwise were to be omitted entirely by other methods because of their small numbers in the population. Then random sampling was considered for the study, in order to give equal chances of participation to everyone from the selected divisions/locations. This method of sampling involved giving a number every subject or member of the accessible population, placing the number in a container and then picking any number at random. The subjects corresponding to the numbers picked were included in the sample. The advantage of this method was that every member of the population stood an equal chance of being picked, Mugenda & Mugenda (2003).

Based on probability procedures respondents selected for the study comprised of 12 local politicians, 186 literate herders in total from the ethnic group, 166 illiterate herders and 20 village elders from the ethnic groups in equal proportion.

The researcher was informed that due competition over scarce natural resources, herders engaged in ethnic conflict and collecting data from herders themselves was of great help to the researcher. To gain political mileage, politicians had been inciting locals against each other, and the researcher having interview with them was beneficial in the research work. In most African societies, elders were believed to have been blessing warriors who are on a mission to raid other community, and conducting interview/discussion with them helped the researcher learn a lot on the research work.

3.5 Methods of data collection

Bryman (2008) noted that questionnaire enables the researcher gather information from respondents simultaneously thereby saving time and cost of data gathering. Questionnaire can either be the open-ended and closed-ended questionnaires.

For the purpose of the study under investigation, questionnaires were used for those who were literate. Here both structured (closed- ended) and unstructured (open-ended) questionnaires were used. In the case of structured questionnaires respondents were given questions accompanied by a list of all possible alternatives from which literate respondents selected answers that described their situations. On the other hand in the case of unstructured questionnaires respondents were provided with open- ended questions which gave respondents complete freedom of response. The free response questions permitted respondents to respond in his/her own words whereby he/she discloses his/her views, feelings, experiences and thoughts about questions asked without any prohibition. The questionnaires were of good quality paper and were attractive which were inviting to the respondents. The questions were easy to complete.

For the case of illiterate respondents, interview guide were used whereby the researcher was to encounter the respondents with face to face interview and the purpose was to obtain accurate information to meet specific objectives of the study. To obtain maximum co-operation from respondents, the research established a friendly relationship with respondents prior to conducting the interview as this provided in-depth data. The research standardized interview guide whereby same questions were asked in similar manner.

The researcher developed similar questionnaire for literate herders and local politicians, and interview guide for illiterate herders and village elders as these helped the researcher understand better conflicts in Marsabit and how best to address the same.

The options for questions structure range from open (free choice of words) to closed (specified alternatives). Free responses range from those in which the respondents express themselves extensively to those in which their latitude is restricted to choosing one word in a “fill-in” question. On the other hand, closed responses typically were categorized as dichotomous or multiple choice.

Unstructured interview guide the researcher used involved asking respondents questions or making comments intended to lead the respondents towards giving data to meet the study objectives. Because of open nature, probing was commonly used to get deeper information.

3.6 Piloting of the instruments

Piloting of a research instrument refers to the administration of the questionnaire to a small representative sample but not including the group one was going to survey (Orodho, 2005). This was aimed at ensuring validity and reliability. Piloting was conducted in a pastoralist location of Gathamoji and Turbi divisions of Marsabit County. The researcher administered questionnaire to 5 literate herders from each of the division and one local politician from each ethnic group. An interview guide was used for 8 village elders in total and 10 illiterate herders from the two divisions. The same questions and interview was repeated after two weeks to examine the consistency of the responses between the two tests to ensure that the relevant variables are tested. Certain changes on the questions and interview were made depending on the outcome of the piloting.

3.7 Validity of instruments

Validity indicated the degree to which an instrument measures what it is supposed to measure, Mugenda & Mugenda (2003). The questionnaires were well structured to ensure that the questions remain focused, accurate and consistent. This was assured through the

University supervisor giving proper guidelines. Peer proof reading was considered to ensure both face and content of the instruments.

The researcher considered Content-related validity which touched on the content and format of the instrument. Content validity refers to the extent to which the elements within a measurement procedure are relevant and representative of the construct that were used to measure (Haynes et al., 1995). To ensure that the content of a measurement procedure was relevant, there was need to have a close fit between the elements included in the researcher's measurement procedure and the specific construct that researcher was trying to study. Representativeness of the content reflected the extent to which researcher's measurement procedure over-represents under-represents or excluded the elements required to measure the construct researcher was interested in.

The main questions the researcher asked were: How appropriate the content of the instrument to the purpose of the study was, how comprehensive the content in measuring all the constructs of the variable to be measured was, whether the content logically gets at the intended variable, how adequate the sample of items or questions represent the content to be measured, and whether the instrument format was appropriate. The researcher thus needed to provide answers to the above questions before using the instrument to collect data.

3.8 Reliability of instruments

Reliability is a measure of the degree a research instrument yields consistent results after repeated trials (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). In this study, the reliability of the research instrument was ensured through the use of Split half method where the researcher administered the entire instrument to a sample of respondents during the piloting and calculated the total score for each randomly divided half i.e. odd and even numbered items of the questionnaire. The reliability coefficient between the two equal scores was calculated using the Spearman-Brown prophecy tool. According to Fraenkel & Walken (2000), if the results produce a reliability coefficient greater or equal to 0.7, the instrument will be considered reliable. The formula used: $Re = 2r / (1+r)$ where: Re-Reliability

2r - Correlation Coefficient of the first half

1+r - Correlation Coefficient of the second half

The researcher by using split half method obtained a value of 0.697 and thus the computed data (if rounded to one decimal place= 0.7), with this high Split- half reliability is considered to be of a high correlation coefficient hence the instrument used is reliable. If the results produced a reliability coefficient greater or equal to 0.7, the instrument was considered reliable (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2000).

3.9 Data analysis techniques

According to Creswell (2003), the process of data analysis involves making sense out of the gathered data. It was about preparing data for analysis, moving deeper into understanding of data, presenting the data and making interpretation of the larger meaning of data collected.

Analysis of data collected helped the researcher interpret data, draw conclusions and make decisions. In descriptive statistic, researcher presented the research findings in a concise manner, but in inferential statistics the researcher developed generalizations from the sample to the population.

The researcher used both the qualitative and quantitative data analysis techniques. Data collected using these methods of analysis were coded and converted either into percentages and frequencies. The aim was to demonstrate the relationships between the dependent variable which was conflict and the independent variables which included competition over natural resources, porous geographical border, cultural practices and political incitements. On receiving the questionnaires, responses were computed and its adequacy established.

Quantitative data were obtained through closed ended items in the questionnaires and this was quantitatively analysed in order to identify general trends in selected population (Gall and Borg, 2006). On the other hand, qualitative data were derived from interviews conducted on sampled respondents through open ended items on questionnaires and the gathered materials were analysed systematically in an organized manner.

For analysis, the questionnaires were cross examined to ascertain their accuracy, completeness and uniformity. Data was first cleaned by ensuring completeness of information at the point of collection. Data was coded and organized into different categories for proper analysis. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive and presented inform of tables, percentages and frequencies. This helped researcher draw inferences over factors that influenced the dependent variable. Qualitative data from interview guide were analysed narratively based on the themes of the study.

3.10 Operational definition of Variables

This shows the objectives of the study, the independent variables, the indicators to these variables, the measurement scales to be used and the method to be used for data analysis. This is as shown in Table 3.1

Objectives	Type of variable	Indicators	Measure of indicators	Level of scale	Data analysis
To establish the influence of natural resources on conflicts between the Gabra and the Borana communities in Marsabit District.	Natural resource (independent variable)	-Fights over scarce resource e.g. water, Pasture, land	-Frequency of fights -Actual effects of fights -Number of people affected	Ordinal	Descriptive
To determine influence of porous border on conflicts between the Gabra and the Borana communities in Marsabit District.	Porous border (independent variable)	-infiltrations of illegal aliens -- proliferation of weapons	-Number of aliens coming in -Rate at which weapons get in	Ratio	Descriptive
To establish ways in which cultural practices influences conflicts between the Gabra and the Borana communities in Marsabit District.	Cultural practices (independent variable)	-Livestock raiding -Livestock owned -Livestock for dowries	-Frequency of raids -Number of stock owned for prestige - Number of livestock for dowries	Ratio	Qualitative
To determine how politics influences conflicts between the Gabra and the Borana communities in Marsabit County	Politics (independent variable)	-Political support for bandits - Discrimination in resource allocation	-Rate at which politicians support bandits -level of disparity in resource allocation	Ratio Ordinal	Qualitative Descriptive

3.11 Ethical consideration

Ethics in research is an integral part of the research planning and implementation process, not viewed as an afterthought or a burden. Ethics increases consciousness of the need for strict ethical guidelines for researchers. It provides procedure or perspective for deciding how to act and analyze complex research problems and issues. Ethics in research thus display standards of discipline of the conducts of the researcher and respondents for the research work.

To facilitate access to data from the public (research work respondents), the researcher applied and secured research authorization permit which he does through the office of Marsabit County Commissioner.

To protect the rights of research participants the researcher considered some principles as follows: The principle of voluntary participation which required that people (participants) not be coerced into participating in research. Closely related to the notion of voluntary participation was the requirement of informed consent. Essentially, this meant that prospective research participants must be fully informed about the procedures and risks involved in research and must give their consent to participate.

Ethical standards also required that researchers do not put participants in a situation where they might be at risk of harm as a result of their participation. Harm can be defined as both physical and psychological. There are two standards that are applied in order to help protect the privacy of research participants. The researcher guaranteed the participants confidentiality in that they are assured that identified information we're not be made available to anyone who is not directly involved in the study. The stricter standard was the principle of anonymity which essentially meant that the participant remained anonymous throughout the study, even to the researchers themselves. Increasingly, researchers have had to deal with the ethical issue of a person's right to service.

The researcher treated people with respect and courtesy. Researcher ensured justice prevailed in that those who bear risk in research were those who benefit from it. The researcher also applied for research authorization to conduct the study to study to the area County Commissioner.

3.12 Summary of the Chapter

The research methodology laid out the methods and techniques of research that were used in the study. It defined the research problems, design how it was researched, analyzed the approach, outline and detail the sample of respondents and ethics in research too discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data analysis, presentation and interpretation. The concern of the researcher here was to subject the data gathered to searching meaning of pattern in them. The chapter in essence demonstrates the degree to which there is correspondence between data that were obtained from the field on one hand and the hypothesized (Research questions) on the other hand. The chapter is divided into sections whereby the first section describes demographic data of the respondents while the other sections discuss factors that influence conflict among pastoralist communities in Marsabit.

4.2 Questionnaire return rate

The questionnaire return rate for the study respondents was 68% (262 out of 384). According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) 50% return rate is adequate for analyzing and reporting. A response of 60% return rate is good and a response rate of 70% and over is very good.

4.3 Demographic data of the respondents

The study aimed to gather information on clarification of response concerning the gender, age, respondents level of education and their division/location. Data gathered is presented on the subsequent sections as;

4.3.1 Gender of the respondents

To obtain unbiased responses in reference to the initial research sample, either gender were apportioned equal interviews on the ratio of 1:1 whereby 192 persons from either gender were considered, and this is as indicated in the Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Gender of the Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentages
Male	192	50%
Female	192	50%
TOTAL	384	100%

For the study under investigation equal gender issue was considered paramount since both sexes participate in raids in one way or the other. As per the study under investigation, the researcher was informed that according to the two conflicting ethnic groups (the Gabra and Borana communities) just like in any other African communities, men especially above the age of 18 years are charged with responsibilities of defending their communities from enemies. On the other hand women of similar ages too play roles in facilitating conflict, for instance by singing war songs that praises successful warriors while ridiculing those considered as under performers in the cattle raids. Warriors who have killed enemy forces are spoon-fed by young women and given special beads, bronze and bracelets (arbor in local dialect). Successful warriors too were given camels (Sarma) by their uncles as reward for their jobs done splendidly. Most respondents informed the researcher that rewards and incitements by women could lead to escalation of conflict between the Gabra and Borana communities of Marsabit.

From the 68% of the questionnaire return rate, both men and women above the age of 18 years were confirmed to have been engaging in intensifying the rate of pastoralists conflict between the Gabra and Borana of Marsabit County, and the feedback from both the men and women is as shown in the Table 4.2

Table 4.2: Either gender respondents feedback

Respondents feedback in terms of age	Frequency	Percentages
Men	149	57%
Women	113	43%
TOTAL	262	100%

Majority (57 %) of the men and 43% of the women of the sampled research respondents confirmed that both men and women do engage in pastoralists conflict in a way or the other. Men were said to have been involving in actual conflict while women catalyses the same by singing war songs and praising warriors besides ridiculing those considered as cowards. Such practices were said to have been recipe for conflict escalations.

The researcher further established that from the interviews conducted, that recognizable number of both men and women do play greater role in escalation of ethnic rivalry between the Gabra and Borana of Marsabit whereby men play the role of guarding the community and also raiding other communities while women play catalytic role that motivate men to raid and bring home livestock from the perceived enemy force.

4.3.2 Age of the respondents

Concerning the age, the respondents were classified into 5 age brackets to get the general perception that is safe of age bias. As per the gathered data from the returned questionnaire, the feedback is as in the Table 4.3

Table 4.3: Respondents classified age

Age Bracket	Frequency	Percentage
18-25	34	13%
26-33	126	48%
34-41	50	19%
42-49	29	11%
50+	23	9%
TOTAL	262	100%

The study found that 48% of the respondents as per the data gathered fall between (26-33yrs) age bracket. It was evidently observed that people of this age bracket are indeed grown-ups and mature enough in that can exploit their experiences and thus initiate acts of raids if compared to, for example those whose age bracket falls between (18-25yrs). The collected and analysed data confirmed that people of the age bracket discussed here above can greatly initiate conflict since elders mostly handover their responsibilities after retiring through their approval to the energetic community warriors. Interviews which researcher conducted during the study data collection exercise also confirmed the fact that grown-ups of age bracket between 26-33 years are the most active group that have been engaging in the Marsabit pastoralists conflict and also catalyzing the same conflict (for the case of women).

4.3.3 Respondents level of education

The researcher, without biasness of the respondents' education level, administered questionnaire randomly besides conducting interviews. Respondents selected comprised of those with very little formal education, primary education, secondary education, colleges/university level education. Research respondents gave their opinions regarding the subject under study in their own contextual setting and this is as indicated in the Table 4.4

Table 4.4: Respondents education level

Education level	Frequency	Percentages
Very little formal education	176	67%
Primary education	55	21%
Secondary education	26	10%
Colleges/university	5	2%
TOTAL	262	100%

Majority of the randomly sampled respondents (67%) had very little education level and this population indicated that pastoralists do have little regard for formal education. They informed the researcher that herding is more valued than advancing with formal education to higher levels in that they only join schools for basic learning so as to know how to read and write in both English and Swahili hence dropping before even completing primary level. They noted that since their life is more attached to livestock keeping, the culture of cattle raid is indeed inevitable to this semi literate group. Only 21% and 10% of the research respondents acquired primary and secondary level education respectively, and this population is also noted to have been not free from engaging in pastoralists conflict. 2% of the study respondents had college/university

education, and the researcher was informed that those who acquired college/University education always form the political class which normally as they struggle over elective political position incites pastoralists against each other at the expense of their own selfish political gain.

4.3.4 Respondents division and location of residence

The respondents for the study were drawn from two divisions of Marsabit County namely; Gadhamoji and Turbi division where the Gabra and Borana live. A location from each (Nagayo and Turbi respectively) was chosen for the research study and the result achieved was generalized to the larger population where the two conflicting pastoralists groups live.

4.4 Conflict Between Gabra and Borana of Marsabit

Most respondents informed the researcher that for over two decades, the Gabra and Borana have been engaging in inter-ethnic clashes which resulted to loss of properties and lives. They said that, the prevailing inter-clan rivalry has created fear within both the Gabra and Borana community in that either group have been denied free movement in areas where a given group dominantly live. The conflict between the Gabra and Borana of Marsabit is as presented in Table 4.5

Table 4.5: whether there exist conflict between the Gabra and Borana of Marsabit

Is there conflict between Gabra and Borana	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	238	91%
No	24	9%
TOTAL	262	100%

Majority of the respondents (91%) noted that, for many years the Gabra and Borana have been engaging in inter ethnic rivalry and this negatively affected the livelihood of either group. The ceaseless wrangle dates back to the early 1990s with infiltration of OLF from Southern Ethiopia in support of Borana community and over these long period several lives have been claimed, and also there has been mass destruction of properties.

4.5 Indicators of conflict in Marsabit among pastoralists communities

The study mostly showed the following as indicators of pastoralists conflict in Marsabit; fight over scarce water and pasture resources was the highest indicator, and other indicators include; cattle rustling, infiltrations of arms/aliens from across the county and inflammatory remarks by local politicians.

4.6 Natural resources that pastoralists use and value

Respondents were requested to indicate whether natural resources are enough in the pastoralists areas of Marsabit. These responses are as presented in the Table 4.6

Table 4.6: adequacy of natural resources in pastoralists areas of Marsabit

Are natural resources in pastoralists areas enough?	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	191	73%
No	71	27%
TOTAL	262	100%

The study (73% of the respondents) indicated that, since natural resources such as water and pasture are indeed not adequate, competition over these limited resources for their livestock prompt to occurrence of pastoralists conflict.

Through the interviews conducted, majority of the respondents said that resource scarcity forces pastoralists communities to compete over the use, control and access of such resources. Therefore, due to lack of enough resources, the competition for such scarce

resources like pastures and water, dwindling grazing land are perhaps said to be the main causes of conflict between the Gabra and the Borana communities of Marsabit County. During the dry spells, respondents noted that both communities travel long distances in search of pastures and water, where they encounter one another hence fighting erupts. The study found out that the most serious resources over which conflict arise was pasture and water. They said that most nomadic pastoralists depend on livestock for livelihood and these livestock depend on water and pasture. Lack of enough water and pasture for their livestock was thus found to be a curtailing factor on their living standards and to find better pasture and water; these communities have to move from one place to another. In the process of such movement they encounter each other especially during the period of this resource scarcity and the result was open conflict. The researcher was also informed that pastoralists customary range lands and migratory routes have been shrinking due to expanding cultivation and less permeable international borders hence compelling pastoralists compete over reduced water sources and pasture, and the result was ceaseless fights as their herds were threatened by the prevailing drought and livestock diseases.

The researcher further sought to understand the ranking of highly valued pastoralists resources in terms of how they create conflict, and the findings is as presented in the Table 4.7

Table 4.7: ranking of pastoralists highly valued resources in terms of how they create pastoralists conflict

Pastoralists resource ranking in terms of how they create pastoralists conflict	Frequency	Percentages
1. Water	102	39%
2. Pasture	97	37%
3. Land	41	16%
4. Livestock	22	8%
TOTAL	262	100%

39% of the respondents indicated that the most contentious resource over which pastoralists fight is water. They said that, the few existing water points are not enough for pastoralists use and the desire by every ethnic group to gain ownership or control/manage available water sources with intent to lock out the other can lead to escalation of inter-tribal conflict among pastoralists. 37% of the respondents said that, due to frequent drought, climate change and little rainfall in the area, pasture availability is minimal and competition over what is there normally leads to pastoralists conflict. The researcher was also informed that, due to overstocking and overgrazing, available pastures get depleted very fast and as result they are compelled to move with their livestock in search of pasture where they at times encounter other ethnic group hence open conflict over this resource. The study (16% of the respondents) indicated that pastoralists also fight over land for grazing purpose or settlement. Respondents indicated that due to expansion in cultivation, pastoralists grazing land is shrinking and this was observed as big threat to the herders hence forcing them engage in conflict in a bid to secure more grazing land. 8% of the respondent stated that they fight because of livestock resource that some community have in large numbers, and since it's also culturally acceptable, pastoralists do engage in cattle raids.

After identifying, that competition over inadequate natural resources as one of the major cause of pastoralists conflict, research respondents suggested that:

- i. The government should reduce conflict over limited water points by digging more boreholes so as to increase availability of water.
- ii. The government should conduct civic education on the collective sharing of pasture resources while also embracing peaceful co-existence among pastoralists communities.
- iii. Pastoralists community elders should take the key role in peace keeping as nomads share available resources within their reach and beyond.

4.7 Physically porous geographical border and conflict among pastoralists

Research respondents were asked whether borders where pastoralists communities live are manned well by security apparatus. The responses provided are as presented in the Table 4.8

Table 4.8: Whether borders where pastoralists live are well manned

Are borders where pastoralists live well manned?	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	155	59%
No	107	41%
TOTAL	262	100.0%

Majority of the research informants (59%) indicated that, borders where pastoralists communities live are not well manned by the security teams and this has made it easy for pastoralists ethnic groups access and acquire arms. Most respondents cited that highly un-manned nature of borders where pastoralists live has contributed to widespread availability of modern weaponry from across the borders hence becoming an opportune avenue of perpetuating pastoralists unrest.

Through interviews conducted, the study found out that there has been access to and ownership of arms through country's physically porous geographical borders, and this has led to the onset of arms acquisition such as AK 47 rifles, hand grenades and different kinds of ammunitions hence intensifying pastoralists rate of conflict. The acquisition and use of illegally condemned weapons which find their way through physically porous geography has become a reality, scaling up ethnic rivalry along the border regions. Most respondents further said that, any pastoralists who live near the border of Kenya and other countries have found themselves victims of ethnic clashes whereby in the past, traditionally pastoralists practice cattle rustling using spears and bows but with the onset

of arms acquisition, like AK 47 rifles, hand grenades and different kinds of ammunition that easily find their way through physically porous geographical borders, pastoralists rate of conflict has greatly been intensified. Also the relative ease of acquisition and low cost of these illegal arms through unsealed borders were said to have enabled the pastoralists communities a sustained market hence continued tension within pastoralists setups.

The study also established that Marsabit county’s proximity to Ethiopia, Sudan’s and Somalia borders made gun merchants to supply the arms making them easily accessed and the profiling small arms and light weapons increases the chances of conflicts. Due to the porosity of the country’s borders and bordering communities gain access to legally condemned arms which they use to supply to their ethnic groups that fight with rival community, the magnitude of inter-ethnic clashes between the Gabra and Borana of Marsabit has increased and the sources of arms are as indicated in the Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Sources of arms for the conflicting ethnic groups

Source of arms	Frequency	Percentages
Bordering Communities	131	50%
Bordering Countries	102	39%
Arms traders	29	11%
TOTAL	262	100%

50% of the respondents said that, legally condemned weapons mostly find their way into the region through bordering communities and this intensifies the occurrence of pastoralists conflict. 39% of the respondents cited that, infiltration of legally unacceptable weapons compounded with porous neighbouring countries borders like Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia was also greatly blamed for unlawful access of arms by pastoralists communities living along the borders hence fueling pastoralists inter-ethnic conflict. 11%

of the respondents indicated that pastoralists also acquire them from arms traders. These respondents also indicated that easy flow of small firearms and light weapons have made the use of arms rampant especially during disputes and the disarmament process by the government has never been successful in the pastoralists regions since they use them to raid or use for self defense from their real or perceived enemies. From interviews conducted, the researcher was informed that possessions of small firearms through physically porous geographical borders where conflicting groups live have become an avenue of perpetuating inter-ethnic unrest.

Further the study sought to establish the cost of arms. The findings is as presented in the Table 4.10

Table 4.10: Cost of Arms

Cost of Arms (Between)	Frequency	Percentages
1000-6000	76	29%
7000-12000	29	11%
13000-18000	50	19%
19000 and above	107	41%
TOTAL	262	100%

The researcher from the data gathered found out that though acquisition of the firearms in terms of cost was not easy as indicated by percentages in the table 4.10, 41% of the respondents indicated that the prices for mostly expensive arms ranges from ksh.19000 and above, but regardless of this skyrocketing price, pastoralists still purchase them frequently. These arms intensify the community tendencies of resolving disputes through armed conflict and give rise in casualties due to the sophisticated weapons involved.

Communities living in pastoralists settings of Marsabit irrespective of the high cost find it necessary to arm themselves from enemies especially those living along the borders. The researcher was informed that the use of the arms has moved from arming for protection to arming for prestige. Research informants said that, the implications of the prevailing conflict is lose-lose situation in that both the Gabra and Borana are negatively impacted by the breakdown of their social networks and distorted resource use pattern hence increased vulnerability of their pastoralists livelihoods. These communities were said to have been valuing possession of arms like guns as means of protecting from their enemies as well as for prestige besides being used to conduct highway robberies at times.

From the interviews conducted, majority of the respondents said that the proliferation of small arms is mostly attributed to the failure of the state to protect pastoralist communities from invasion by Ethiopian militia (OLF) and constant inter- community raids. They said that at the beginning, the acquisition of fire arms was for self defense from the perennial attacks which leaves people dead and animals stolen, dragging people into poverty. The use of fire arms have lately been abused as people use these illegal weapons for highway robbery and raids. Respondents also cited that, more disturbing is the engagement of police reservists in such activities of raids under the disguise that all wrongdoers use illegal firearms. The researcher was also informed that unstable regional powers have made it easy for the people to acquire arms from Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia and these arms have impacted negatively on the lives, livelihoods, trade and education of the communities. The porous and expansive borders and a high demand for the arms have therefore been cited as a great source of insecurity in the pastoralists border regions.

Majority of the respondents said that arms supply through porous physical geography can be controlled, and this was said to be achieved by establishing tight security along borders with frequent border patrols by existing security agencies with the noble intent of cutting on the flow of arms through the regions borders. Regarding the influx of aliens that fuel conflict within the county, most of the respondents suggested that security agencies should remain vigilant and deal with any emerging threats of alien's infiltration,

adding that any illegal immigrants found should be repatriated back to the country of origin.

To address the issues of illegal arms acquisition and use, research respondents made the following suggestions:

- i. Government should deploy enough security personnel in the regions where pastoralists rate of conflict is alarming. However the law enforcement agents should not use a lot of force on the innocent people in the name of flashing out the criminals, thus doing more harm than good.
- ii. Disarm all conflicting communities and this should be done simultaneously in the regions. In such conditions, the government should prove that they are able to provide security in these regions if the disarming exercises are to succeed.
- iii. Government should ensure that all the arms should be licensed and thorough check be ensured.
- iv. Ejections of foreign militias out of country like OLF, by so doing security within the country can be easily maintained.

4.8 Culture and conflict among pastoralists communities

Respondents were asked whether there exist any social-cultural relationship that the Gabra and Borana share. Responses given are as represented in the Table 4.11

Table 4.11: whether the Gabra and Borana share any socio-cultural relationship

Do Gabra and Borana share any Socio-cultural relationships	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	173	66%
No	89	34%
TOTAL	262	100%

Majority of the respondents (66%) said that the Gabra and Borana share cultural relationship whereby both are part of the Oromo community and speak the same language. The study indicated that the two communities relate to each other in myriads of ways, which include; marital, cultural ties, military alliances as well as persistent enmity and warfare. Many respondents said that the Gabra and Borana socio-cultural relationship considered include the cultural pilgrimage performed by the Gabra to the Borana area of Ethiopia (Melbana) which was seen as important symbol at various levels of socio organization. The researcher was also informed that in the early period of Gabra and Borana relationship, when no formal state existed, there existed core relationship between the Gabra and Borana community in that traditional political order maintained peace by investing in avoiding conflict through building ethnic alliances and ritual exchanges like 'karso' or 'arirro'. The Gabra and Borana were closer than other allies due to their inter-clan affiliations which had mutual benefits. Majority of sampled respondents informed the researcher that in those days there has been a strong sharing of cultural traits/practices by the Gabra and Borana communities.

The study further found out that, over the years with the establishment of the formal state, the traditional order that maintained peace changed due to the disruption where authority shifted to the government officials like D.C, D.O, and Chiefs among others, who were viewed as government representatives. Further they (respondents) said that with the

distortion of the traditional order, the state failed to put in place a functional system for keeping peace and was remotely involved in the conflict prevention and resolution hence creating a vacuum.

Through the interviews conducted, majority of the respondents noted that, despite of the changes in the relationship, raiding activities were still acceptable and valued practices among the Gabra and Borana communities just like any other pastoralists communities to replenish their herds depleted by may be severe drought, diseases, raids, heavy rain among others. Respondents also noted that poverty tempts a community to raid other community so as to keep on living and lead better life. Many of the respondents also said that having many livestock is considered to be a matter of prestige, honour, determinant of wealth and means of acquiring social status besides gaining respect in the community. They (respondents) said that, desire for wealth creation compels pastoralists engage in cattle raids. Raiding was observed as an attempt by a community to increase their herd size to ensure their survival at the expense of invaded pastoralists ethnic group.

Most respondents also noted that conservative cultural practices acted as catalyst for conflict among pastoralist. They said that successful warriors during raids are rewarded especially by young ladies from community whereby they sing war songs that praises them, being spoon-fed and also giving of special beads, bronze or bracelets (arbor). Rewards were said also to come from uncles of successful warriors where they were given camels (Sarma) for the efforts they showed besides regarding them as heroes who can defend the community. On the other hand, majority of the respondents said that those considered under performers were ridiculed and regarded as cowards/low groups of people within the community (inferior) hence such practices really prompt warriors engage in cattle raids or other cultural activities that triggers conflicts. Most respondents thus indicated that pastoralists communities maintain to stick to the culture of their ancestors like raids since people cannot graduate to certain rights of passage without first engaging in cattle raids and bring back home livestock from other ethnic group.

The researcher was also informed that elders normally play role of blessing warriors who were set to raid different ethnic group. Respondents said that the practice of the traditional culture of cattle rustling compounded with elders blessing motivates warriors

to raid other community in a bid to restock livestock after severe droughts or diseases hence persistent conflict among pastoralists. Respondents further added that, people are no longer raiding to replenish their stock, but are raiding to kill, maim and enrich themselves as commercialization of cattle raids also takes toll in the region.

Further most respondents said that, just like the way they play role in causing conflict by blessing warriors set for raids, pastoralists community elders have great role in containing conflict whereby traditional councils leaders namely; Yaa (for the Gabra) and Gda (for the Borana) can meet to discuss ways of preventing conflict or solving problem of conflict and declaring cessation of hostilities. They further indicated that repetition of elders meetings and concentration of community agreements, including opening up of grazing borders, and also engaging in exchange of the ritual materials/requirements “Karso” to complete healing process in case of conflict besides passing bylaws to punish wrong doers who go against agreement that elders had put in place. They said elders can also organize exchange forums where communities interact with each other so as to stay peacefully, and also encourage intermarriages between the pastoralists communities to achieve lasting peace.

To contain, the prevailing culture of cattle raids and pastoralists conflict, research respondents gave some suggestions as follows;

- i. Elders should play very critical roles of peace keeping in their communities. The council of elders should mediate between the warring communities, imposes penalties on the offenders but not on community and offers amicably designed lasting solution.
- ii. Pastoralists communities should acknowledge and appreciate the relevance, role and credibility of traditional conflicts resolution mechanism. They should build on the existing traditional structures in dealing with conflicts, for instance Madogashe declaration.
- iii. Pastoralists’ communities should ensure that traditional elders’ council (Yaa) and Gda leaders from conflicting parties meet to discuss and come into lasting peace consensus.

- iv. Respondents also suggested that pastoralists communities at large should educate their children on ethical issues, in that moranism be considered as things of the past and never be thought of or cherished again.
- v. Pastoralists communities should ensure that resources are shared with mutual understanding for collective benefit to many but not selected few.

4.9 Local politics conflict among and pastoralists

The researcher asked respondents whether struggle over elective positions by politicians contribute pastoralists conflict and responses given are as indicated the Table 4.12

Table 4.12: whether political struggle over elective positions contribute to pastoralists conflict

Do struggle over elective positions contribute to conflict among pastoralists	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	183	70%
No	79	30%
TOTAL	262	100%

Majority of research respondents (70%) informed the researcher that struggle for political supremacy have been playing a great role in causing and increasing magnitude of conflict between the Gabra and Borana communities. The study found out that the competition over elective positions drove the Gabra and Borana relationship from that of mutual alliances to that of hatred and conflict. The effect of such power struggle was said to have introduced ethnic voting which led to ethnic division hence conflict along ethnic line. The researcher was informed that inflammatory remarks by local seasoned and aspiring

politicians over competitive political positions have been known to have been causing conflict between the two communities. Further through the interviews conducted, many of the research respondents said that politics as activities associated with political elites has usually been creating the notion that portrayed the Gabra-Borana communities as having been enemies and thus politics was greatly blamed for ethnic hatred. They (researchers) said, the aim of politicians was to create the belief which raises ethnic consciousness that were used to exploit ethnic identities as political weapons for extending their selfish political mileage. Apart from the struggle for political supremacy, the study informed the researcher that local politics do have influence on employment and promotion to jobs and thus there exist political showdown among politicians. This is so because appointment to government jobs and promotions could be carried only with influence from politicians, with each Member of Parliament/County Executive/ Assembly lobbying to ensure their candidates recruited for limited job vacancies. This mostly happen during military recruitment such as; administration police, general police and Kenya army, which were conducted at the district level where each and every elected member and others stand up in order to ensure that his ethnic community takes up lions share with regard to such employment opportunities claiming the rest to be non-indigenous. Therefore influence of local politics on employment and promotion to jobs in Marsabit is represented as in Table 4.13

Table 4.13: Influence of local politics on employment and job promotion

Local Politics	Frequency	Percentages
Influence of local politics on		
Employment and job promotion	165	63%
Lack of political influence on		
Employment and job promotion	97	37%
TOTAL	262	100%

Majority of the respondents (63%) said that politicians mostly have great influence in securing employment for their people besides playing the role of job promotion which they do at the advantage of their own ethnic group while disadvantaging the other. The study indicated that most employment appointments and promotion to jobs are done in favour of people well connected to politicians, and the disadvantaged group for the same opportunity result to conflict in their bid to tilt the political power in their favour.

Further, most respondents noted that misunderstanding among area politicians over boundaries (territory) has scaled the rate of conflict among pastoralists. They (research respondents) informed the researcher that pastoralists highly value a lot grazing land and any attempt by other ethnic group leading to encroachment that result into reduction in their free movement with their stock over the land they believe their ancestral land, normally contribute to tension among pastoralists. Many of the respondents further informed the researcher that, local politicians in their quest to clinch elective political positions expresses to electorates their bid to expand their pastoralist's grazing lands (territory) or secure it from any invading ethnic group(s). Respondents said that, such misguided expression by self interest driven politicians over existing boundaries leads to pastoralists tensions hence conflict escalation. Also such politicians, in case of defeat in an election incite pastoralists against each other on the claim that their grazing land is shrinking or movement with their stock being threatened hence occurrence of conflict among pastoralists.

Most respondents also through interviews argued that available resources were allocated inequitably. For example MPs are in charge of Constituency Development Fund, Constituency Bursary Fund and Constituency Roads Fund, besides their hefty salaries which made them economic forces among the impoverished populations they represent, and these local politicians were also said to get linked up with the business alliances from their ethnic groups at the disadvantage of their opponent group. Also the respondents informed the researcher that allocation of bursaries was inequitably done for students, thus only students from certain ethnic group benefit most from such public funds. Respondents said that, the fact that resource allocation is done on line of favourism can ignite conflict to occur or re-cure among different ethnic groups. The researcher was thus

informed that local politics can be a factor that initiated the ethos of “us” and “them” among the Gabra-Borana population in Marsabit.

Through interviews conducted, the researcher was also informed that the advent of county politics has worsened the already delicate situation. Lately, the fight has moved to a political ground, where the two have put up a hostile fight in trying to capture the county elective position without the support of the other. The study noted that during the campaign period, none of the candidates from the two opposing sides has toured an area which is predominantly occupied by the opponent unless under the disguise of presidential candidates when they traverse the County in search of votes. Many respondents said that rival ethnic populace was made to believe that failure to have one of their own in the County leadership means marginalization by the elected opponents from the other community. Such hatred and mistrust gave rise to a more complex ethnic rivalry.

Respondents suggested that, in a bid to address pastoralist’s conflict, local politicians should;

- i. Ensure that fairness and transparency in their duties of serving the public hence true representation.
- ii. Politicians should educate local communities to interact positively and freely without fear. The system of legal owning of land as Kenyans’ should be embraced accordingly.
- iii. Politicians should encourage the use of bottom up approach to conflict management and resolution as majority of local people themselves involved.
- iv. Resources allocation and distribution should be equitably done in a fair manner.
- v. Politicians themselves should meet and discuss issues that might ignite conflict so as to ensure peaceful co-existence. Politicians should never dare inflammatory remarks that at later date cause conflict.

- vi. Politicians should ensure that appointment and promotion to government jobs must be based on merits but not political patronage where professional qualification was a dream.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines a summary of the key outcomes from the study focusing explicitly on the study objectives. The chapter presents study summary, discussions, conclusion and provide recommendations/suggestions for the study.

5.2 Summary of findings

The research work was carried in Gadhamoji and Turbi division both of Marsabit County where the two conflicting groups-the Gabra and Borana live. Nagayo and Turbi locations in respect to divisions selected were considered for the study. The fights between the two have been traditional aspect that turned to be harmful and destructive as it involved loss of life, property, lack of interactions and hindrance to development in one way or the other. The study therefore sought to find out the causes of pastoralists conflict between the Gabra and Borana communities and offer suggestions on reducing conflicts and eventually for lasting solution to be found.

5.2.1 Natural resource competition and conflict among pastoralists

Pastoralists livelihood majorly depend on the livestock they keep, and for their stocks to survive there is need for pasture and water resource availability. Competition over the use, control and access to scarce available resources compels herders (pastoralists) engage in pastoralist's clashes.

5.2.2 Physically geographical porous border and conflict among pastoralists

The flow of legally condemned arms through physical porous border scales up the intensity of pastoralists conflicts. Illegal arms majorly find their way through bordering communities and also through un-well manned borders.

5.2.3 Culture and conflict among pastoralists

In the 21st century, pastoralist's communities still value and embrace the culture of livestock raids either to replenish lost stocks as a result of drought and diseases or prove heroism. In the recent times, commercialization of cattle raids has taken toll among herders in the Northern Kenya pastoralists.

5.2.4 Local politics and conflict among pastoralists

Under the purview of political activities, the rate of pastoralist's conflict has increased in the current modern society among the herders of Northern Kenya. Reckless remarks by self interest driven politicians has created animosity among pastoralist's communities hence escalation to unprecedented conflict.

5.3 Discussions of the study

Pastoralists conflict in Marsabit has its origin in human insecurity which is not limited to specific factor but occurs due several contributing causes. Struggle over access to and control over natural resources as a factor constitute to considerable ground for pastoralists tension and conflict. Pastoralists especially during drought, compounded by range degradation may lose huge number of their animals and in such a scenario, conflicts are interlinked by complex inter-reinforcing mechanisms that makes them destructive to both resources and pastoralists well-being. Limited water points and degradation of pasture resources reduces viability of pastoralism, contributing to increased vulnerability of pastoralists household to food security. Range degradation has indirect potential effects of prompting to ethnic tension over water and pasture shared resources in the absence of local institutions and inter-community resource sharing arrangements. In parts Northern Kenya, like Marsabit that is inhabited by several pastoralists

communities that share available scarce resources, the unique and complex tenure presents great potential for persistent violent conflict in the absence of functional resource governance institution. Especially during dry season when key resources such as pasture and water are scarce, pastoralists do encounter each other as they move with their stock in search of these meager resources. The use and control of resources motivated by greed and grievances related to inequitable distribution of land and natural resources has been an underlying cause of armed conflict (Mulu, 2008). In Kenya conflicts among neighbouring communities have been witnessed. For instance, the Turkana and Pokot have had sporadic conflicts. Their conflicts arise out of scarcity and competition over pasture and water as well as border disputes. Access to and control of valuable natural resources has been a critical factor in occurrence of violence in Somalia and Sudan. The structure of natural resources in the regions is unevenly distributed with pockets of abundant natural resources to regions where natural resource scarcity is common (Mazrui, 2008).

The easy flow of legally condemned arms through physically unchecked borders enabled the pastoralists groups to arm themselves and engage in inter-tribal conflict. Proliferation of these illegal arms in Marsabit intensify the clashes between or among ethnic groups resulting to killings, maiming, animal theft, commercialization of cattle raids among others. The widespread availability of illegal arms from across the borders made automatic and other small arms and light weapons an integral culture of masculinity in most pastoralists regions especially in Northern Kenya (Weiss, 2004). The availability of the free flowing arms/weapons has brought a lot of concern, many people losing lives, properties destroyed and insecurity being frustrating in pastoralists areas in that physically porous geographical borders have become an avenue of perpetuating pastoralists conflict.

Culture has also been an essential part of conflict whereby just like underground rivers that run through peoples' lives and relationships, giving people messages that shape their perceptions and attributions. For any conflict that touches people where it matters, where people make meaning and hold identities, there is always a cultural component. For the

case of Marsabit pastoralists, culture plays a great role in igniting conflict in that community elders usually bless warriors who were set for cattle raids, and also rewarding successful warriors with camels. Ladies catalyses conflict by singing war songs that encourages men go out to raid and bring back home animals from perceived ethnic enemy group, and as result recognized as heroes besides being spoon fed by young women who also wore them bronze or bracelet while ridiculing coward/unsuccessful warriors. To replenish lost stocks due to drought, diseases, heavy rain among others culture motivates young men and other warriors get involved in cattle raids, but in the recent times commercialization of cattle raids have taken toll in pastoralists regions especially of Northern Kenya. Considering amount of poverty within pastoralists communities, for transition into the rite of passage to marriage, warriors conduct cattle raids to accomplish the mission. Conservative culture indeed contributed to escalation of violent and destructive activities that hampers social-economic and political development in the pastoralist communities in Marsabit (ITDG, 2003). Traditionally, it was accepted practice for certain tribes to raid each other's livestock because it was considered to be prestigious and an honour to do so. This is because in primitive culture man proves his manhood by fighting and bringing property home and thus this perception stand high chance for conflict to occur between or among pastoralist communities of Kenya.

Misunderstandings between politicians as they struggle for political supremacy always translate as misunderstanding between communities. Political contests in elective political positions to dominate certain area in a bid to expand political territorial boundary where in the process they incite communities against each other to only gain their political mileage. Indiscriminate distribution/allocation of resources by politicians in favour of their ethnic group calls for conflict, whereby politicians aim was to create notions to raise ethnic consciousness so as to exploit ethnic identities as political weapon to clinch competitive elective political positions. According to Mohamed (2014), in an article titled "Stop the bloodshed" the Gabra and Borana who are related and share cultural ties, will remain bitter enemies for a long, setting a foundation of hostility that outlive its architects if they continue embracing the politics of hate that only serves selfish individuals at the expense of the majority. The political elite are purportedly the biggest conveyors of ethnic hatred for their own benefit in Marsabit, where as

unfortunately when trouble brew, it is the grassroots people who suffer dearly. It appeared that the protracted conflicts between the two groups are engineered by overzealous politicians to gain their self centred political mileage.

5.4 Conclusion of the study

In conclusion the study found out that competition over scarce water, pasture and dwindling grazing land as result of expanding agricultural land are perhaps the main causes of conflict between the Gabra and Borana communities. These communities practice nomadism, which involve movement from one area to another in search of water and pasture for their stocks. In the process of their movement they are likely to encounter each other as they search for the same resources for their livestock especially in times of dry seasons when there is scarcity of resources like water and pasture. Unequal distribution and sharing of such resources opens a room for pastoralists conflict. Easy access of arms, cultural practices and local politics also scales up the rate of pastoralists conflict.

5.5 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations were made:

- i.** Laws governing natural resource use should be enacted by both the national and county government to facilitate amicable use of resources and in times of scarcity the county government should put in place mechanisms for proper sharing of resources notwithstanding the location where the resources are. Also engage local communities and their institutions in making them an integral part in search for lasting pastoralists peace.
- ii.** There should be regional approach to the reflection and strategy for addressing the root causes of the cross border conflict where borders are sealed by security agencies to control arms infiltration, for instance by both the Kenyan and Ethiopian government where they share experiences and strategies to this end.

- iii. Strict measures should be put in place to curb cattle rustling whereby council of elders should own the critical role of peace keeping in the communities, acting as mediators between warring ethnic groups.
- iv. Local politicians should avoid inflammatory remarks besides ensuring fair distribution of available resources under their control.
- v. There is also the need for the relevant government authorities like NCIC, KHRC among others to watch hate speeches circulated through social media such as face book, whatsapp social pages and punish perpetrators accordingly.

5.6 Suggestions for further study

The study aimed at establishing the influence of natural resources, determining the influence of physical geography, effect of culture and influence of local politics on conflict among pastoralists in Marsabit.

The study gives the following suggestions:

- i. A similar study needs to be carried out in other parts of the county so as to understand better the cause of conflict among pastoralists.
- ii. More studies should be done to establish other factors such as poverty, prestige, militia groups among others that could be influencing conflict among pastoralists in Marsabit.

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APPENDIX 1

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL OF INSTRUMENTS

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

EMBU SUB-CENTRE

P.O BOX 30197,

NAIROBI.

18th April 2016

THE MARSABIT COUNTY COMMISSIONER,

P.O. BOX 1-60500,

MARSABIT

Dear. Sir,

RE: RESEARCH ON FACTORS INFLUENCING CONFLICTS AMONG PASTORAL COMMUNITIES; A CASE OF THE BORANA AND GABRA COMMUNITIES OF THE MARSABIT COUNTY, KENYA

I am a Post graduate student at the University of Nairobi pursuing a Master of Arts degree in Project Planning and Management. I am undertaking a research on the above mentioned subject in Marsabit County. Two divisions, namely Gadhamoji and Turbi division will be chosen and data collection instruments will be used on the selected respondents.

The information given will be used for the purpose of this study and the respondents' identity will be treated with utmost confidentiality. The research is part of the fulfilment of my postgraduate (Masters) course.

Yours faithfully,

Boru Molmolla Galgallo

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE: For literate herders and local politicians

INSTRUCTIONS

-The questionnaire will utmost take 30 minutes of your time to fill. Please answer these questions as honestly as possible. I will appreciate your kind response to my questionnaires.

-Please put a tick in the bracket against the most appropriate option or use the space provided for comments.

- Please don't write your name on the questionnaire.

- It is indeed a promise that all information you give will be kept strictly confidential.

SECTION A

PERSONAL DETAILS ABOUT RESPONDENT

1. Indicate your Gender: Male () Female ()
2. Age a) 18-25 () b) 26-33 () c) 34-41 () d) 42-49 () e) 50 and Above ()
3. Indicate your educational level.....
4. a) Indicate your Division.....
 b) Indicate your Location.....

SECTION B

CONFLICT

1. Is there conflict between the Gabra and Borana pastoralists communities in Marsabit?
2. What are the indicators of conflicts in Marsabit among pastoralists communities?

.....

Natural resources competition and conflict among pastoralists

3. What are some of the natural resources that pastoralists use and value?

.....
.....
4. Are these natural resources enough in pastoralists areas?

Yes () No ()

Explain your answer.....
.....
.....

5. In your opinion, do you think sharing of these natural resources create conflict among pastoralists communities in Marsabit?

If Yes, Please explain how.....
.....

No (), Please Explain.....
.....

6. If Q5 above is yes, please rank these resources in terms of how they create conflict from the most valuable resource to the least one;

1.....

2.....

3.....

4.....

7. In your opinion if there is conflict due to resource sharing what would be your suggestions to address pastoralists resource conflict?
.....
.....

Physically porous geographical border and conflict among pastoralists

8 Are borders nearer to where pastoralists communities live controlled well?

Yes () No ()

If No, how porous is it? Kindly explain.....

.....

9. If Q 8 is No, do pastoralists access arms through porous border?

Yes () No ()

(b) If yes, what type of arms do pastoralists get through porous border?

.....
.....

(c) Do they (pastoralist) acquire these arms legally?

Yes ()

No ()

10. If Q9 (c) is No, where do these arms come from?

Bordering communities ()

Bordering Countries ()

Others (specify).....

11. What are the prices of these arms? (Approximately in Ksh.)

.....
.....

12. Would you agree that these arms intensify ethnic tension in Marsabit?

.....
.....

13. In your opinion can;

a) Arms supply through porous border controlled?

Yes ()

No ()

If yes, how will arms control be realized?

.....
.....

If No, what are some of the hindering factors?

.....
.....

14. In case of alien influx into the county that fuel conflict, suggest ways of dealing with them

.....
.....

15. In your opinion suggest ways of improving security along the borders

.....
.....
.....

Culture and conflict among pastoralists

16. a) Do Borana and Gabra have/share any social-cultural relationship?.....

Explain please.....

b) Do Borana and Gabra pastoralists of Marsabit still value the culture of livestock raiding?

c) Is it justified to say that livestock raids occur as result of the following?

(a) Drought ()

(b) Diseases ()

(c) Others, Please list them.....

17. Is it for prestige that Borana and Gabra honour raiding?

18. Can desire for wealth creation, be a cause of livestock raiding between Borana and Gabbra pastoralists of Marsabit?

Please explain your answer.....

19. Would you say that conservative culture could have been a cause of conflict between Borana and Gabra communities of Marsabit?

Kindly explain.....

.....

20. Are there roles played by the elders in igniting conflict between pastoralists communities in Marsabit?

Please explain.....

.....

21. Do elders have roles to play in containing pastoral conflict in Marsabit? If yes, how do they help in taming pastoralists conflict?.....

.....

22. In your opinion suggest what should be done in case of pastoralists conflict that arises as result of conservative cultural practices?

.....

.....

Local politics and conflict among pastoralists

23. Do you think struggle for political supremacy among politicians has contributed to conflict between/among pastoralist in Marsabit?

Please explain your answer.....

.....

24. Is the appointment and promotion to Government jobs politically manipulated?.....

If yes, has it contributed to the conflict and how?

25. In your opinion do you think misunderstandings among political leaders over boundaries could have been a cause of conflict?

If yes, what has caused these disconnect between or among political leaders?

.....

.....

26. Would you agree that public resource allocation under the purview of the politicians has been triggering pastoralists conflict?

- a) No
- b) Yes

b) If yes, please explain.....
.....
.....

27. In your opinion suggest ways of ensuring that pastoralists conflicts are not politically instigated?

.....
.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR WORTHY CO-OPERATION!!

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW GUIDE: For illiterate herders and village elders

1. Is there conflict between the Gabra and Borana pastoralist's communities in Marsabit?
2. What are indicators of conflicts in Marsabit among pastoralist's communities?
3. (a) Are natural resources enough in pastoralists areas?

(b) In your opinion, how does sharing of these natural resources create conflict among pastoralists communities in Marsabit?
4. In your opinion if there is conflict due to resource sharing, what would be your recommendation to address pastoralist's resource conflict?
5. (a) Are borders nearer to where pastoralists communities live controlled well?

(b) What type of arms do pastoralists get through porous border?

(c) Do these arms supply intensify pastoralist's conflicts?

(d) In opinion, how can these arms infiltration be controlled?
6. (a) Do Borana and Gabra pastoralists of Marsabit still value the culture of livestock raiding ?
7. In your opinion what roles do elders play in containing pastoral conflict resulting from cultural practices in Marsabit?
8. Do you think struggle for political supremacy among politicians has contributed to conflict between/among pastoralist in Marsabit?
9. Would you say that public discriminate resource allocation under the purview of the politicians has been triggering pastoralist's conflict?
10. In your opinion suggest ways of ensuring that conflicts are not politically instigated?

Appendix 4 Research Authorization Permit

THE PRESIDENCY
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telegrams: "DISTRICTER", Marsabit.
Telephone: 2001 - 069
Fax: 069-2102136
Email: cmarsabit@yahoo.com



THE COUNTY COMMISSIONER,
MARSABIT COUNTY,
P.O. Box 1 - 60500,
MARSABIT.

When replying please quote.

CC/MC/EDU/1/VOL. 1/56


19th April, 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION – BORU MOLMOLLA GALGALLO

This is to bring to the attention of all persons/institutions, Marsabit County that Boru Molmolla Galgallo ID.No. 23521573 a post graduate student at University of Nairobi intends to undertake research on "factors influencing conflict among pastoralist communities in Marsabit County".

Please extend to the above referred researcher any necessary assistance to the end that he completes his project for submission to the learning institution.


O.J.T Nyakwara
For: county commissioner
Marsabit County.

COUNTY COMMISSIONER
MARSABIT COUNTY
P.O. Box: 1-60500
MARSABIT

CC

County Director of Education

NB: Application reference letter dated 18th April, 2016.

APPENDIX 5: Photograph on tension over water resource at Lalesa, Marsabit County

