

**University of Nairobi, Department of History and Archaeology.**

**‘HIDDEN’ INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEOPLE IN KENYA’S URBAN  
SETTING: THE STUDY OF LODWAR TOWN, 1991- 2012.**

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**C50/78092/2015**

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**MA Research project submitted in partial fulfilment of a master’s degree in Armed  
Conflict and Peace Studies, Department of History, University of Nairobi, 2019.**

## DECLARATION

This is my original work and has not been submitted for an award of a degree either in this University or any other institution.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

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This project is submitted for examination with our approval as University supervisors.

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## **DEDICATION**

This project is dedicated to my late father Jeremiah Wamachio Ngokho, “orio mno papa” May our Almighty Lord rest your soul in eternal peace. To my mothers, Melab Khaukani Akala Ngokho and Beatrice Ngokho for your blessings. To my wife Phelistas Ajoo and my son Victor Masolo for the endless love and patience.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

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## ABSTRACT

Displacement has become a pervasive aspect of our lives. While several studies have been dedicated on the subject<sup>1</sup>, most of them remained silent on 'hidden' IDPs and their coping strategies in urban settings. To fill the existing lacuna, this study focused on the coping mechanisms of 'hidden' Internally Displaced People in Lodwar town. It contributed to the available multidisciplinary literature by arguing that, the 'loitering' IDPs in Lodwar town ingeniously utilized their 'non-camped' status as a mechanism to cope with the challenges facing them. To achieve the above argument, the study focused on three objectives. First, it examined the genesis and the push and pull factors that generated the 'hidden' in Lodwar town. Second, it examined the challenges and coping mechanism of the 'hidden' IDPs and third, the impact of the 'non-camped' status on the IDP livelihood and the host community in Lodwar town.

The research clearly demonstrated that recurrent pastoral, famine and political violence played a major role in displacing the Turkana community from their homes. The situation was exacerbated by resentment by their kith and kith, selective settlement of IDPs by the government and restrictive camp life, therefore creating 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar. Having lost the livelihoods, the IDPs only managed to settle in poor suburbs of California, Kambi Moto, Kanamkemer and Soweto where housing and employment were inadequate. As a result, 'hidden' IDPs adopted various coping strategies such as community networking, hawking, making mats and charcoal selling. In conclusion, the systematic marginalisation of the 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar coupled with lack of steady income compelled these IDPs to engage in activities such as stealing, prostitution and brewing of illegal liquor called *Kada* which pushed them into conflict with law enforcers, this calls for further interrogation.

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<sup>1</sup>For example, Goldsmith, P., Ahmed, H., Babiker, M. H. (Eds.). (2007). *Fighting for inclusion*, Lock, P. (1997). *Armed conflicts and small arms proliferation and* Odegi-Awuondo, C. (1990). Life in the balance: Ecological Sociology of Turkana nomads focused on border, cattle rustling and colonial incursion as a source of conflict displacement among the Turkana. Whereas, Kamungi, P. (2013). *Municipalities and IDPs Outside of Camps*, Brown S. (2001). Authoritarian leaders and multiparty election in Africa focused on politics and negative ethnicity as cause of displacement.

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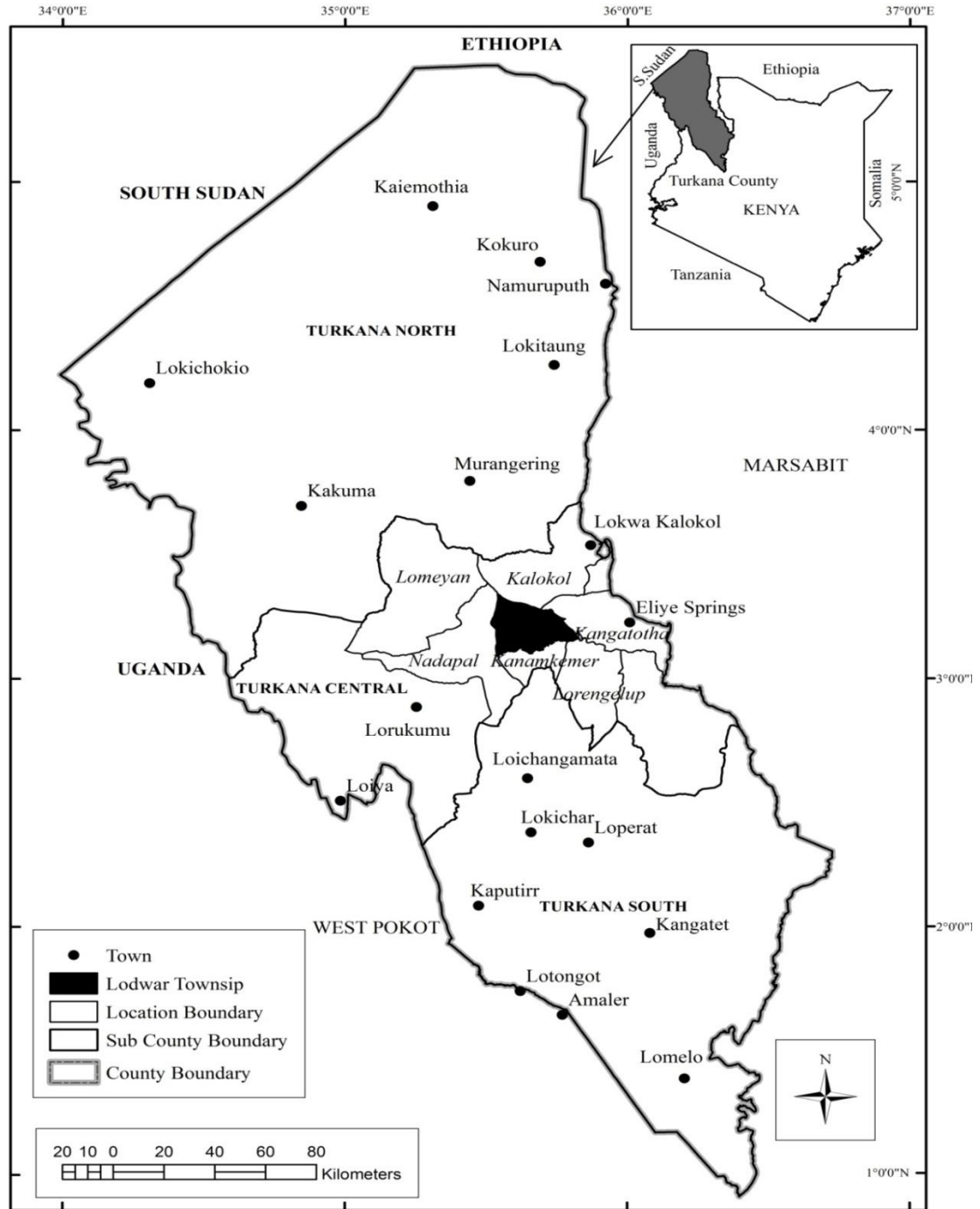
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

DC	District Commissioner
DO	District Officer.
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
JKML	Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library
KNDA	Kenya National Documentation Archives
NAIC	National Accord Implementation Committee
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NMHL	Nation Media House Library
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
NACOSTI	National Commission of Science, Technology and Innovation
KVDA	Kerio Valley Development Authority
ORN	Operation <i>Rudi Nyumbani</i>





**Map showing the area of study (Turkana County) in relation to Kenya.**

Source: Department of Geography, University of Nairobi, 2017.

## WORKING DEFINITIONS

**Internally Displaced Person (IDPs)**– In this study the term Internally displaced persons will refer to people who are forced to move out of their residence either due to war or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, violations of human rights, natural disaster and have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.

**‘Hidden’ IDPs** – In this study ‘hidden’ IDPs will refer to a group of displaced persons who avoided the official camp settings and settled in Lodwar town. It will be used interchangeably with ‘non-camp’, ‘invisible’ and ‘unseen’ IDPS.

**Baraza** – is a Swahili word. It will be used to mean the meetings held between the government officials such as chief, assistant chief, village elders, and the members of the public.

**Nakokiok** – Is a Turkana word referring to the fund given to IDP orphans for upkeep.

**Nakosko** – Is a Turkana term referring to the government fund for elderly people.

**Lepetun** – Turkana term referring to the government fund set aside for drought and hunger management.

**Loitering** – The term loitering is used in this work to mean the act of ‘hidden’ IDPs moving strategically in different areas of Lodwar town in search for wage labour or looking for something to eat.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Introduction

The Turkana people are Nilotic speaking community found in Northern Kenya. They practise a nomadic pastoralist way of life as their economic activity, keeping camels, cattle, donkeys, goats and sheep. These animals are a source of livelihood as well as of cultural significance. Historically, their pastoral life, militant expansionist posture as well as prevalent ecological distress pushed them into endless conflicts with their neighbours. Over the years, they have had internecine attacks with the Dodoth, Merille, Nyangatom, Pokot, Samburu and Toposa.<sup>2</sup>

Before 1980s, livestock raiding among the Northern Kenya pastoral communities was a cultural activity.<sup>3</sup> It was sanctioned by elders, patriarchs who were repositories of knowledge and defenders of cultural mores. Then, rustling was, primarily, for restocking, reprisals and fulfilment of the cultural demand for show of bravery among men. However, the prevalence of natural calamities such as drought and famine, which diminished pastures and water points, led to complex conflicts revolving around cattle rustling. The raids were augmented by the search for selfish personal gains which turned the previously cultural event into fierce confrontation, bloodshed and mass displacement of people.<sup>4</sup>

Additionally, the fierce confrontation between the Turkana and the British during the Anglo-Turkana wars which began in 1902 when the Turkana resisted the colonial rule in their land further scattered them from the ancestral land. Odegi noted that in an attempt to subdue the non-cooperating Turkana, a series of the armed expedition were mounted against them leading to the destruction of property, displacement of people and confiscation of livestock as well as loss of lives.<sup>5</sup> For example, in 1916 over 100 people

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<sup>2</sup> Hesse, C., MacGregor, J. (2006). *Pastoralism: dry lands' invisible asset?* Dry lands Programme, International Institute for Environment and Development, pp.11-13.

<sup>3</sup> Lock, P. (1997). *Armed conflicts and small arms proliferation*. Refocusing the policy agenda. Policy Sciences, Vol. 30(3), p2, retrieved on 2/7/2015, [Springer http://www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org).

<sup>4</sup> Goldsmith, P., Ahmed, H., Babiker, M. H. (Eds.). (2007). *Fighting for inclusion: conflicts among pastoralists in eastern Africa and the Horn*, p.78.

<sup>5</sup> Odegi-Awuondo, C. (1990). Life in the balance: Ecological Sociology of Turkana nomads. African Centre for Technology Studies.pp.119-122.

were killed, 20,000 heads of cattle taken and over six hundred households displaced from Bochoras, Kaetuko, Lodwar, Nadipal, to the north in the fear more attacks. Furthermore, in 1918, families were displaced from Kalokol, Kotaboi, Lomogol, Katome and Nambolei<sup>6</sup> further to the north and other parts of the country such as Bungoma, Kakamega, Nandi, Trans Nzoia, and Uasin Gishu districts.

For almost eight decades the Turkana together with the Kalenjin, Luhya, Luo and Kikuyu communities worked in European farms such as Kondoo farms in the burnt forest which was numbered I to IX, formally managed by the Central Agricultural board (CAB).<sup>7</sup> However, after independence in 1963 most immigrant communities including the Turkana lost their employment as casual labourers when the European settlers left the country. They therefore, turned to small businesses such as selling brooms, cereals, herbs and mats in the small urban centre whereas there were those privileged to be settled under the aegis of the commissioner for squatters and the Settlement Fund Trustees. This group owned land after the departure of European took over farming from European until the early 1990s during the introduction of multiparty democracy in Kenya.

In the early 1990s, the end of a *de jure* one party politics introduced unusual political dynamic to the pastoralist communities. The competitive politics intensified the already existing divisions among communities along ethnic lines, which eventually led to public unrest and conflict. The immediate impact, therefore, was the eviction of most of the communities who had a different political opinion and ethnically did not speak the same dialect with local communities. For instance, the period between 1991 and 1998, over 1579 Turkana people were displaced from Burnt Forest, Cherengani, Kakamega, Kitale, Nandi and Tindaret to Turkana County.<sup>8</sup> In 2007, Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu were the most affected districts with the armed confrontations. In Trans Nzoia, for instance, the Turkana people living in areas such as Geta farm, Gituamba, Kalaa, Makutano, Timbora Location

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<sup>6</sup> Lamphear (1992). p.103.

<sup>7</sup> Akiwumi, A. M. (1999). *Report of the judicial commission appointed to inquire into tribal clashes in Kenya*. The Commission, pp.111-112.

<sup>8</sup> Kamungi P.M. (2009). The politics of displacement in multiparty Kenya. *Journal of contemporary Afric an Studies*, retrieved on 3/7/2016, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/025890009031667>, pp.345-364.

in Saboti Division and Waumini near Kitale town were most affected. On the other hand, in Uasin Gishu, Burnt Forest, Cheptiret, Eldoret Town, Kiambaa, Langas, Munyaka, Turbo and Wamumbi were the main hotspots. These regions recorded the highest number of displaced people who joined various camps within the region and in Turkana District.

There was, also, another group of IDPs who entirely avoided the IDP camps created for them by the government for various reasons. First, the camp environment was too straining, there were no income-generating activities, and the food ration donated by the government and well-wishers was not enough to satisfy the family needs. Second and the most critical was insecurity. They felt that their lives were in danger since they had actively involved in heated politics that led to their displacement. Their presence also went unnoticed as they mixed with the general urban population. Thus their oblivion made them 'hidden' IDPs. These 'hidden' IDPs are not accounted for, yet displaced. Furthermore, unlike other IDPs who protested for their rights and engaged in various media forums to articulate their plight, this category remained silent creating a group of 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town. This is the focus of my study.

The key argument of this study, therefore, is that the 'loitering' IDPs in Lodwar town, ingeniously utilized their 'non-camped' status as a mechanism to cope with the challenges facing them such as high degree of dependency, deprivation and poverty. It focused on three main objectives. First, the push and pull factors such as Anglo-Turkana wars, conflict over natural resources and political violence that created the 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town. Second, the coping mechanisms of the 'hidden' IDPs while in Lodwar town, how they ingeniously adopted various strategies to eke a living. In conclusion, the study analysed the impacts of various coping strategies on IDP livelihood and right to equal access to basic needs, education, employment, property and security.

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

In the 1990s, IDPs, increasingly, became a common phenomenon in Kenya. This situation was attributable to the episodic multiparty electoral violence, perpetual pastoral conflicts,

unrelenting natural calamities, mainly drought, and officially sanctioned reprisals by either police or military.

In Northern Kenya, the Turkana County had the most of the estimated 164,457 IDPs in the region in 2003. By 2011, the number rose to 400,000 IDPs.<sup>9</sup> The prevalence of natural calamities, drought, floods and the consequent environmental degradation, increased incidents of armed conflicts in the County. As a result of competition over dwindling pasturelands and diminishing water points, people were displaced by resultant inter-community reprisals. Conflicts emerged between the Turkana and Pokot, on one hand, and Samburu and Marakwet, on another, became common. Along the winding porous international border, the Turkana clashed with the Merille and Nyangatom of Ethiopia, Dodoth and Toposa of Sudan, and Karamajong of Uganda.<sup>10</sup>

Therefore, by the turn of the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Turkana land was teeming with IDPs. For example, in Lokichogio division cattle rustling displaced 620 households in 2003; 1,914 in Locher Akaal location; and 191 in Loermiet location. Displacement camps emerged in Canaan, Kanamkemer, Kasedonyang, Lowasengak, Nakwamekwi and Napetet to accommodate the majority of the IDPs, while others integrated with their families and friends.<sup>11</sup>

The challenge which faced the IDPs during the period between 1991 and 2012 is not so much as a result of their spiralling numbers, but the effects of their displacement. It undermined their livelihoods, diminished their resilience to the hostile environment and increased their vulnerability as well as dependence in their places of domicile — settled camps. However, away from the settled IDP camps in the Turkana County, there were the other lot of IDPs who were, largely, unknown and ‘hidden’; they were not accounted for by the government or NGOs; they were not profiled. These were the lot which existed in

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<sup>9</sup> IDMC (2003), pp. 16-23.

<sup>10</sup> Goldsmith (2007), pp.43-47.

<sup>11</sup> Pkalya, R., Adan, M., Masinde, I. (2003). *Conflict in Northern Kenya: A focus on the Internally-Displaced Conflict Victims in Northern Kenya*. ITDG. Of, 251, pp.37-42.

Lodwar Township; the lot for which the camp framework became too constraining and restrictive. This is the group which was the focus of this study.

The key argument of this study is that, the ‘loitering’ IDPs in Lodwar town, ingeniously utilized their ‘non-camped’ status as a mechanism to cope with the challenges facing them such as, high degree of dependency, deprivation and poverty. The fundamental questions of the proposed study include:- what mechanisms of survival did the ‘non-camped’ IDPs adopt in the period under study? Why did they not settle down in designated camps? What were the effects of their ‘non-camp’ status on their livelihood and rights? This study informs our understanding of the IDP problems and the uniqueness as well as ingenious ways IDPs themselves adopt in their bid to thrive in an extremely hostile social and natural environment.

### **1.3 Objectives**

The objectives of this study are:

- i. To examine the genesis and the push and pull factors of ‘hidden’ IDPs to Lodwar township.
- ii. To examine the challenges and coping mechanism of the ‘hidden’ IDPs in Lodwar town.
- iii. To assess the impacts of the non-camp status on the IDP livelihood and the host community in Lodwar township.

### **1.4 Justification of the Study**

Although elections in Kenya are not the only reason for the unprecedented number of IDPs in the country, since the introduction of multipartyism, displacement became part of the electoral outcome. During this period, elections were characterised by violent conflicts which led to massive displacement of people. For instance, 1992 and 2007 elections were the most affected where 300,000 and 633,000 people were displaced respectively.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Kamungi, P. (2013). *Municipalities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The Case of Kenya's 'Integrated' Displaced Persons*. Brookings Institution-London School for Economics Project on Internal Displacement, accessed on 03/11/2016, <https://www.brookings.edu>.

According to Brown politicians, aligned to the ruling party Kenya Africa National Union (KANU), used violent methods to win elections. They trained militia groups and paid them to burn houses, cause fear and expel non-autochthonous ethnicities from KANU zones.<sup>13</sup>

Other than displacement of people, property worth billions of money was destroyed and people lost their lives. It was estimated that about 1300 people lost their lives in 2007.<sup>14</sup> Due to this, the government through the national assembly set up committees such as the Mitigation and Settlement Committee and the Parliamentary Committee on IDPs to assist in planning providing on the resettlement of IDPs. The committees, however, focussed mainly on IDPs living in camps leaving the 'hidden' IDPs who for one reason or another, avoided camp life and settled in Lodwar Township.<sup>15</sup> This cluster remained silent, 'hidden' and devised their brave ways of survival in the urban set-up.

Furthermore, there is no extensive research done on urban IDPs in Lodwar. This justifies the need for an urgent and comprehensive study on this 'unseen' cluster of displaced people in the said study field so as to provide a springboard for future research and policy making. The study sought to fill in that gap by focusing on this 'hidden' group of IDPs, their attraction to Lodwar and mechanisms they used to cope with their situation.

### **1.5 Theoretical Framework**

This study applied two theories, the push and pull theory by Everett Spurgeon Lee and Coping competencies theory by Erica Frydenberg. The two theories will complement each other. The push and pull theory puts into perspective the reasons for the Turkana displacement from their habitual homes and what pulled them to settle in Lodwar town whereas Coping competencies explains the strategies employed by the 'hidden' IDPs to deal with the challenges they faced in Lodwar after displacement. The push and pull theory was developed by an American sociologist, Everett Spurgeon Lee, in his work A Theory

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<sup>13</sup> Brown S. (2001). Authoritarian leaders and multiparty election in Africa: how foreign donors help to keep Kenya's Daniel Arap Moi in power. *Third world quarterly*, Vol. 22, retrieved on 6/3/2018, [www.pdfdrive.net](http://www.pdfdrive.net).

<sup>14</sup> Kamungi, P. (2013), pp.12-14.

<sup>15</sup> National Accord Implementation Committee (NAIC), 2008, *National Reconciliation and Emergency Social and Economic Recovery Strategy*. Government printer.



of Migration. Lee defined migration as a permanent or semi-permanent shift in residence. He argued that the decision to migrate is determined by three major factors: First, factors associated with the area of origin, the area of destination, the intervening obstacles as well as personal factors. The theory states that migration is selective concerning the individual characteristics of migrants because people respond uniquely to "plus" and "minus" factors at their place of origin and destination. Second, it is based on different abilities to cope with the intervening variables and finally, the ability to respond to primarily positive factors at the place of destination.<sup>16</sup>

The authors defined push factors as reasons that compelled people to leave their original habitat to other places. They include; conflicts, depletion of natural resources, insecurity, lack of opportunities for advancement, low productivity, natural calamities, poor economic conditions, unemployment and underdevelopment. The pull factors, on the other hand, were factors that attracted people to new places. These are employment better working conditions, security and social amenities in their destination. He noted that in cases where the push factors overwhelmed the pull factors for them to remain in their place of domicile, they moved to the new places.

Proponents of Everett Spurgeon Lee include Jayaraj D in his article Family migration in India, the Push or Pull or both, who argues that family migration from their location of origin is induced by push factors in the place of origin and pull in their destination. He noted that the push factors included family conflicts, poor remuneration and stagnation in agriculture whereas pull reasons were well-paid jobs, peaceful working conditions and higher productivity.<sup>17</sup>

McDowell and De Haan, however, argued that the push and pull factors put forward by Lee, are but the different sides of the same coin which provide the perception of different sides of the same coin and therefore limited heuristic value. Lee ignored the element of individual aspirations as a push for migration. Furthermore, the theory unrealistically viewed migration as a cost-benefit summation by individuals, without paying attention to

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<sup>16</sup> Lee, E. (1966). *A Theory of Migration*. Demography, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 47-57.

<sup>17</sup> Jayaraj D (2013), Family migration in India: Push or Pull or both or What? [www.google scholar.org](http://www.google scholar.org), 02/11/2019.

structural constraints, which imply that people typically had unequal access to resources. The theory not only failed to take into account how migrants perceive their worlds and their relation to their kith and kin but also did not analyse how migration altered the structural contexts of both the destination and origin.

The push and pull theory is relevant in my study because it gives a general perspective and understanding why migration takes place, therefore, it is key in conceptualising why the Turkana migrated to different regions of the country at the beginning of the 20th century. Furthermore, it explains why education, high chances for employment, social amenities, security and better living conditions in Lodwar town made Turkana IDPs circumvent the official IDP camps. Lastly, how insecurity, commercial cattle rustling, natural calamities, border conflicts and political violence pushed the Turkana out of the place of domicile.

However, the theory lacks the aspect of IDP coping mechanism which was important in explaining how the 'hidden' IDPs survived in Lodwar town after their displacement. This meagreness will be filled by Coping competencies theory by Erica Frydenberg. Frydenberg in his theory Coping competencies, what to teach and when defines coping mechanism as a function of the situational determinants and the individual's characteristics, perception of the situation, and coping intentions. The author argues that in times of crisis, individuals bring a host of biological, dispositional, personal, and family characteristics to the encounter; working at a problem while remaining optimistic, fit, relaxed, and socially connected. Then the outcome of the response is reviewed or reappraised, and another response may follow depending on whether the outcome was fruitful. The author notes that there is a circular mechanism, or feedback loop, which determines whether the strategies employed are likely to be tried again or rejected for future use. Coping intentions and beliefs about the self are important elements in the coping process therefore, effective coping is likely to enhance beliefs about the self and one's own capacity to cope with difficult situations at all times.<sup>18</sup> Frydenberg's theory is key explaining how 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar responded on their displacement situation by employing various coping

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<sup>18</sup> Frydenberg, E. (2004). Coping competencies: What to teach and when. *Theory into practice*, Vol. 43, No. 1, Conflict Resolution and Peer Mediation, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3701560>, Accessed: 22-11-2019.

mechanisms such as community social networking, commercial sex work, engaging in petty businesses, jua kali and splitting, clustering and pooling of resources to survive.

### **1.6 Scope and Limitation**

This study focused on the 'hidden' IDPs living in Lodwar Town, 1991 - 2012. In 1991, section 2A of the Kenyan constitution was repealed by the parliament to allow many parties to compete for political positions. These political competitions were characterised by ethnic profiling and heightened conflicts which eventually led to displacement of many people in Turkana and other parts of the country.<sup>19</sup> The study ends in 2012. This was the year given by the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Resettlement of the IDPs in Kenya to the government as a timeline to have completed resettling IDPs in the country. It is also the year when the number of IDPs in Turkana and the neighbouring districts increased due to escalation of conflicts over boundaries, cattle rustling and pasture. Furthermore, in 2012, the military operation in Baragoi division led to displacement of both Turkana and Pokot families from their homes.<sup>20</sup>

This research was carried out in Lodwar, which is the largest town in Turkana district. It focused on the pastoral IDPs who settled in Canaan, California Comboni, Kambi moto Nabulon, Nakwamikwi, Kanakemer, Nawoitrong, Napetet and Nepter. However, the study was limited by the language barrier which was overcome by employing a research assistant from the area who assisted in translation during the interviews. It was also difficult to trace genuine 'hidden' IDPs, but through reliable referrals, I was able to get them.

### **1.7 Literature Review**

Many scholars have researched on the displacement in Kenya particularly the Turkana people from their place of residence. Various studies reviewed on the Turkana people argued that colonialism and its legacies among the Turkana people politically destabilised them causing displacement. Similarly, the introduction and use of modern and

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<sup>19</sup> Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (2008). *On the brink of the precipice: a human rights account of Kenya's post-2007 election violence: final report*. Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, pp.18-19.

<sup>20</sup> Kamungi (2009), p11.

sophisticated weapons among the pastoral communities intensified armed conflict, insecurity and rivalry in the region. Others asserted that conflicts over boundaries, habitual cattle rustling as well as diminishing natural resources triggered endless non-sequential displacement between the Turkana and Pokot people. In addition, persistent natural calamities such as animal diseases, drought and famine exposed the Turkana people to extreme poverty and hunger. Moreover, it is the competitive politics, ethnic conflicts as well as human rights violation which also resulted in animosity and displacement in various parts of the country. However, there is no intensive study done on the coping strategies of 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town. With this in mind, the review investigates the root cause of the present day "unseen" IDPs in Lodwar town. Is their presence in the urban centre a result of a persistent instability in Turkana District that has over time pushed them from their land and way of livelihood?

Odegi argues that the first displacement among the Turkana happened during the Anglo-Turkana wars. The fierce confrontation began in 1902 when the Turkana resisted the colonial rule in their land. In an attempt to subdue the non-cooperating Turkana, a series of the armed expedition were mounted against them leading to the destruction of property, displacement of people and confiscation of livestock as well as loss of lives. It is this war that led to the first ever permanent displacement and a new group of people called IDPs among the Turkana community.<sup>21</sup>

In support of Odegi, Lamphear accounts for the desperate scattering of the Turkana people from their land during the colonial period. He emphasises on punitive attacks on the Turkana. Lamphear Noted that in 1916 over 100 people were killed, 20,000 heads of cattle taken and massive exodus people from Bochoras, Kaetuko, Lodwar, Nadipal, to the north in the fear more attacks. Furthermore, in 1918, families were displaced from Kalokol, Kotaboi, Lomogol, Katome and Nambolei further to the north.<sup>22</sup> Drawing the two reviews, we realize that above physical displacement from their land, confiscation of animal tilted

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<sup>21</sup> Odegi-Awuondo, C. (1990). Life in the balance: Ecological Sociology of Turkana nomads. African Centre for Technology Studies.pp.119-122.

<sup>22</sup> Lamphear J (1992).

the stability of most families, therefore, causing them to lose grip on their source of livelihood.<sup>23</sup> The two authors inform this study on the causes of early displacement of the Turkana community from their ancestral homes and forces that pushed them from pastoral way of life. However, the authors' stops at the point of their displacement, they do not interrogate further to find the life their life after displacement and how they coped with challenges that come with displacement. That is the contribution of my study.

Nonetheless, punitive colonial policies imposed on the Turkana community affected their way of life in different ways. For instance, the introduction of hut tax forced some members to work for Europe to raise the tax or pay using their animals. Nonetheless, the collective punishment on the Turkana people led to massive loss of cattle whereas containment policy affected the traditional pastoral flexibility which enhanced the survival of their hard, especially during extreme environmental conditions. In addition, forced resettlement of the loyal Pokot on the Turkana land intensified ethnic animosity and rivalry which culminated to further displacement of the Turkana community.<sup>24</sup>

Additionally, in 1919, the British started disarming the Turkana people, therefore, exposing them to more human and ecological risks. The policy had catastrophic impacts on the community. First, it diminished their military prowess in the region, therefore, leaving them defenceless in the hands of warring local and cross-border enemies. Their animals and women became a target by the Dassanetch of Ethiopia on one hand and the Pokot of Kenya on the other. This pushed most of the households even further to areas like Kapenguria, Kitale, Lodwar and Maralal.<sup>25</sup> Some fled to as far as Burnt Forest, Trans Nzoia and Turbo for fear of their lives. The study explains how many members of the Turkana community spread to other parts of the country where they were later affected by election related violence. This study further interrogates the push and pull factors that led to the return of the Turkana to their ancestral land and why some of them decided to become 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town.

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<sup>24</sup> Odegi (1990).

<sup>25</sup> Goldsmith (2007), P.33.

Also, Eaton tries to explain how the complexity and frequency of the pastoral border conflicts between the Turkana and Pokot influenced endless displacement. He notes that the frequency of conflict over time changed from competition over scarce resources, ethnic animosity and inadequately met human needs to conflict entrepreneurs who profit from wars, and poor governance in the region. A typical example being the peace entrepreneurs who ran NGOs which claimed to bring peace yet they fanned and sustained conflict for their commercial benefits. Their peace interventions lacked cohesion, coordination, and networking, due to competition for funding among the different agencies.<sup>26</sup> This explains why immediately after every peace meeting held between the Turkana and Pokot, conflicts became worse and families were pushed to look for alternative habitat and survival strategies.

Furthermore, at the realization of full political independence in Kenya, another dynamic came into play. The Turkana land was struck by cyclic drought and famine which almost wiped out all their livestock. Odegi described the famine as a causal agent of and maintainer of destitution and poverty among the pastoral communities. He argued that loss of livestock through drought impoverished many pastoral households forcing them into relief camps for government assistance. He points out that between 1960 and 1990 drought killed two third of the total livestock, therefore, leaving Turkana nomads in destitute. This partly explains why by 1980 there over 2,000 poor Turkana living in Kipsongo slum in Kitale Town.<sup>27</sup> The review was so relevant, as it assisted in tracing the movement of Turkana from their original habitat to other regions where they settled.

At the peak of the catastrophic famine in the late 1970s, the pastoral communities (both in Kenya and the neighbouring states) started acquiring modern weapons. The modern and sophisticated weapons infiltrated along the long winding and porous border of Kenya leading to a mini arms race. The weapons came from various sources including Moroto barracks after the overthrow of President Iddi Amin of Uganda in 1979, the Kenya police

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<sup>26</sup> Eaton, D. (2008). Violence, revenge and the history of cattle raiding along Kenya-Uganda border. Halifax Dalhousie University.

<sup>27</sup> Odegi (1990), p 105.

Reservists (KPR) and the warring groups in Sudan during the civil war.<sup>28</sup> According to Lock, these weapons were used for criminal activities which caused death, displacement of people and general insecurity in the region.<sup>29</sup> This academic work helped the study to know the role played by weapons in causing of displacement of people but failed to interrogate why they moved to Lodwar town and not anywhere else.

The acquisition of sophisticated weapons led to rivalry over political and military dominance in the region, intensified the war for expansion, control of diminishing valuable resources and formation of new raiding alliances.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, arms turned the cultural small-scale raids into bloody inter-ethnic encounters which deteriorated the symbiotic and reciprocal relationship among the pastoral communities, increased insecurity and forced a section of the pastoral community to abandon their homes and seek refuge in urban areas.<sup>31</sup> The article is important as it explains how weapons played a central role in the politics of displacement, power and wealth.

Similarly, the highly charged and competitive politics of the 1990s was loaded with ethnic symbolism and animosity. The state normalized crime and violence. The KANU regime remained stubbornly authoritarian, limited civil rights, manipulated economic policies for political expediency, entrenched ethnic and factional suspicions and hatred in some communities which fanned conflicts that led to the displacement of people. In Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu for instance, immigrant communities were referred to as ‘madoadoa’, ‘makwekwe’ and less frequently ‘sangara.’<sup>32</sup> Divisive politics, incitement and use of symbolic language intensified rifts among the people which eventually, culminated to

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<sup>28</sup> Mkutu, K. A. (2007). *Small arms and light weapons among pastoral groups in the Kenya–Uganda border area*. African Affairs, pp.6-8. Retrieved on 16/2/2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4496415>.

<sup>29</sup> Lock, P. (1997). *Armed conflicts and small arms proliferation*. Refocusing the policy agenda. Policy Sciences, Vol. 30(3), p2, retrieved on 2/7/2015, Springer <http://www.jstor.org>.

<sup>30</sup> Mburu N. (2001). Firearms and Political Power: The Military Decline of the Turkana of Kenya 1900–2000. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 10(2), pp. 148-152.

<sup>31</sup> Odegi-Awuondo, C. (1990). *Life in the balance: ecological sociology of Turkana nomads*. African Centre for Technology Studies. Pp.105-107.

<sup>32</sup> Madoadoa, makwekwe and sangara are Swahili words referring to various types of weeds among plants. In this case, they symbolize the immigrants' communities living among the Kalenjin community in Rift Valley.

conflict and displacement in 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007. This work explains the origin of the IDPs in the country.

Oluwafemi, on the other hand, noted that multiparty politics of the 1990s rekindled the age-old animosity and violence among communities. The pattern of violence was complex and unique in different parts of the country, sporadic and sometimes unprovoked. For instance, in 2007, “non-residents” in the Rift Valley, Nyanza, Western, Nairobi slums, and Mombasa were attacked along ethnic lines. More specifically, organized ethnic attacks were unleashed on the inhabitants of Rift Valley by the Kalenjin warriors and Kikuyu led by the Mungiki.<sup>33</sup> The tension claimed over 1,000 lives and displaced over 600,000 people. The Turkana were among the people who were displaced in Rift Valley region and parts of the Western province.

In addition, Murunga and Kamungi argue that apart from displacement and deaths, the political violence of 2007 also destroyed property worth upwards of ksh.100 billion. Businesses, industries as well as residents were burned down and infrastructure destroyed.<sup>34</sup> About 300,000 people were displaced in 1992, 150,000 people in 1997, 20,000 in 2000 and 663, 921 in 2007. The violence was more prevalent after the creation of new constituencies and districts which described ethnic boundaries.<sup>35</sup> Politicians in the newly created constituencies used homemade militias to force people out of their land and dispose of their property.

The argument was echoed by Lang & Sakapolrak who noted in Eldoret and Molo, women and children were burned in their homes and churches. In Naivasha members of Luo, Luhya and Kalenjin were forcefully evicted or killed by radical young Kikuyu men.<sup>36</sup> This

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<sup>33</sup> Oluwafemi A. (2011). Post-Election Crisis in Kenya and Internally Displaced Persons: A Critical Appraisal. *Journal of Politics and Law*, Vol. 4, No. 2, retrieved on 23/4/2015, [www.ccsnet.org/jpl](http://www.ccsnet.org/jpl).

<sup>34</sup> Murunga, G. R. (2011). Spontaneous or Premeditated?: Post-election Violence in Kenya. *Nordiska Afrika institute*, Uppsala. P13, retrieved on 2/6/2017, <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid>.

<sup>35</sup> Kamungi, P. M. (2009). The politics of displacement in multiparty Kenya. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 27(3), P. 345, retrieved on 5/5/2015, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10>.

<sup>36</sup> Lang, B., Sakapolrak, P. (2015). *Violent place-making: How Kenya's post-election violence transforms a workers' settlement at Lake Naivasha*. *Political Geography*, PP.67-69, retrieved on 19/2/2016, <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629814000869>.



work explains how displacement caused people in Naivasha and other parts of the country to lose their homes, jobs and life and end up in camps. The research did not factor the plight of Turkana people who were also displaced and decided to settle in Lodwar town instead of going into IDP camps. The focus of Oluwafem, Murunga and Lang was majorly on causes of displacements, numerical statistics of the displaced and the general impacts of displacement. This study looks beyond displacement to analyse the coping mechanism of the 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town.

Broeck keenly observes the displacement of other communities to their ancestral land in Uasin Gishu through the lens of ethnicity and regional inclination. He notes that the district has a mixed population of the Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya, Kisii and Luo while Trans-Nzoia has a majority Luhya population, with others being Kalenjin, Turkana, Kikuyu and Kisii. The districts were the epicentre of violent confrontations. In Uasin Gishu the most affected areas were Burnt Forest, Cheptiret, Eldoret Town, Turbo, Kiambaa, Langas, Munyaka and Yamumbi. In Trans-Nzoia the most affected areas were Geta farm, Gituamb, Kalaa, Makutano, Timbora Location in Saboti Division and Waumini near Kitale town.<sup>37</sup> Trans-Nzoia further struggled with security problems up to 2010 mainly due to armed confrontations among Pokot, Turkana and Toposa. The author does not explain why various community went back to their ancestral homeland. More especially he remains quiet why the Turkana IDPs decided to settle in Lodwar town as 'hidden' IDPs.

Similarly, Schrepfer argues that displacement in Turkana was caused by intertwined and intricate factors which include; - resource competition, cattle rustling, the proliferation of small arms, inadequate policing, ethnocentrism and political incitement. He notes that out of 164,457 people displaced in the northern region, 41,097 IDPs were in various camps in Turkana while others in urban centres. The IDPs who moved to Lodwar Township lived in impoverishment and state of need with their rights to basic needs such as food, water, health

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<sup>37</sup> Broeck J. V (2009). *Conflict Motives in Kenya's North Rift Region*. IPIS, pp 5-7, retrieved on 23/3/2016, <https://lirias.kuleuven.be/bitstream/jstor>.

and education at risk.<sup>38</sup> The literature gives a panoramic view of the challenges faced by urban IDPs in Lodwar town.

In the same way, Kamungi points out the overwhelming support and cooperation portrayed by local population, kith and kin of the displaced. Despite their low income most of the Turkana people accommodated their fellow tribesmen.<sup>39</sup> Many of the IDPs therefore, settled among their friends and relatives who assisted them to fully integrate into society. The author remains silent on the 'unseen' IDPs in Lodwar town. The literature reviewed gives a general view of the presence of displaced people in Turkana and the causes of displacement. However, there is no specific research done on the 'unseen' urban IDPs found in Lodwar town. The study, therefore, filled the gap by looking at the coping mechanisms of these loitering IDPs in Lodwar town.

### **1.8 Research Hypothesis**

The study was based on the following hypothesis:

- i. The genesis and settlement of the 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar Township was a result of various push and pull factors.
- ii. The 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar Township had various mechanisms of survival that enabled them to deal with their challenges and also meet their basic needs.
- iii. The non-camp IDP status had multiple impacts on both their livelihood and that of the host community in Lodwar Township.

### **1.9 Methodology**

The study was qualitative. It used both secondary and primary sources. Secondary sources included books, journals and articles found in Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library (JKML) University of Nairobi, MacMillan Library, British Institute in East Africa (BEIA) and the

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<sup>38</sup> Schrepfer, M.C, (2004). *On the Margin: Kenya's pastoralists*. From displacement to the solution, a conceptual study on the Internally Displacement. Internally Displacement Monitoring Centre, Norwegian Refugee Council. Pp.16-23.

<sup>39</sup> Kamungi P (2013). *Municipalities and IDPs outside of camps: The case of Kenya's integrated displaced persons*. The Brookings Institution- London school of Economics. Project on Internally displacement. P. 12, retrieved on 2/8/2016, <https://www.brookings.edu>.

United Nations Library at Gigiri. The sources were important in studying the political, social and economic history of the Turkana community. For example Odegi and Lamphear informed this study how Anglo-Turkana wars led their displacement. On economic aspects of Turkana history, Mkutu informed this study how cattle rustling, land and resource conflicts led to Turkana displacement.

On the other hand, the study utilized archival materials and oral interviews. The archival materials from Kenya National Archives (KNA) included both colonial and post-colonial provincial reports, letters and minutes of *barazas* held between the government, the Turkana community and their neighbours. For instance, the Akiwumi enriched my study on how the post-election violence of 1992 and 1997 led to displacement of people especially in Nyanza, Rift Valley and Western provinces. Similarly the Parliamentary reports on 2007/2008 displacement was key in explaining the role of the government in the resettlement of IDPs. The reports also assisted in understanding the conflict between the Turkana and other communities, how colonial government contributed in the displacement of the Turkana community and the role drought, famine towards the displacement of the Turkana.

I acquired a permit from the National Commission of Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) to enable me to carry out the research. While in the field, I got assistance from county administration officers, county education officers, health officers (mostly from Catholic owned clinics and dispensaries), church leaders, IDP camp administrators, and administration police officers who helped in dealing with suspicion. I further utilized the oral histories and interviews with an open-ended questionnaire which guided me in asking relevant questions. The questions also gave room for detailed explanations on various issues. Few respondents were confident in recording their voices during interviews due to fear. I, therefore, resorted to taking notes.

I engaged Mr John Ekimormor Lomorukai a fourth-year student from Kenyatta University from the Turkana community as a research assistant. John helped me in translation during the interviews. A friend from Lodwar town introduced me to Lodwar high school teachers

who I interviewed. The teachers linked me to some of the ‘non-camp’ IDPs they knew in Lodwar town. Similarly, Prof Simiyu (from the Department of History and Archaeology) referred me to the managing director of the Turkwel Lodge Hotel in Lodwar town who was of great help. The director introduced me to camp administrators, businessmen and a village elder who assisted us in identifying more urban IDPs.

I interviewed a total of thirty respondents. I considered the pattern of settlement of the IDPs in Lodwar town. Geographically IDPs occupied five suburbs surrounding Lodwar town which include; California, Napetet, Nepta, Soweto and Kambi (made up of Kambi moto and Kambi Mawe) from which I sampled my respondents. I equally considered the objectives of the study and the regions in which the IDPs were displaced. Therefore basing on the above reasons, thirty was a good representation of key respondents that my study required. The interviews took a total of nine days (not two as indicated earlier by my external supervisor). It started on 5<sup>th</sup> and ended on 13<sup>th</sup>.

I targeted twenty ‘non-camp’ IDPs in Lodwar town. Among them were eleven women, six men and two high school boys and a girl. Three of the eleven women were above sixty years. They experienced the colonial rule and the early displacement of the Turkana. Their rich cultural knowledge and experience helped in building the narrative of displacement. The other eight, I took into account the age, marital status, areas of their displacement and where they were currently living. That enabled me to have a balanced response to causes of displacement and various coping strategies. Men were between age twenty-five and sixty. They willingly informed the researcher why most men left their families after displacement, their survival mechanisms and challenges. Last in this category were the students from Lodwar high and Kanamkemer primary schools. They gave the researcher insight on how challenging staying in class was and various ways their parents used to access bursaries for school fees.

The other ten were government officials, religious leaders, teachers, IDP coordinators and business community in Lodwar town. For instance, I interviewed two education officers (both were men), Kanamkemer area village elder, two businessmen and two church leaders

(1 from Catholic Diocese of Lodwar and the other one from Reformed Church of East Africa). They were instrumental in giving the information about the cooperation between IDPs and the local population and how they shared resources and facilities in Lodwar town.

## CHAPTER TWO

### HISTORY OF DISPLACEMENT IN TURKANA COUNTY

#### 2.1 Introduction

Until 1991, members of the Turkana community were living peacefully in different parts of the country mainly in Bungoma, Kakamega, Nandi, Trans Nzoia, and Uasin Gishu districts. Some of them owned parcels of land in these regions whereas others worked as herdsmen, security guards and farm attendants. For those who resided in urban centres engaged in small businesses such as selling brooms, cereals, herbs and mats.

Those who engaged in small businesses, as indicated above, came from Lodwar, Nadapal, Nambolei and Turkwel locations of the Turkana District and those who came from the Bochoras, Kalokol, Kataboi, Katome and Lomogol locations were employed as herdsmen in various European farms. According to Hogg, these were the Turkana who were displaced in the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century following the armed confrontation between the Turkana community and the British, drought and famine which claimed almost two-thirds of the total livestock leaving Turkana families paupers and destitute.<sup>40</sup>In addition, the competitive and divisive multiparty politics of 1990s which was characterized by ethnic clashes, civil unrest led to the displacement of the Turkana from the Rift Valley, Nyanza and western provinces. It is in this context that the chapter argues that despite the militaristic nature of the Turkana, they experienced recurrent displacement in and out of their habitual land.

#### 2.2 The scattering period: Displacement of Turkana people up to 1991

Traditionally, the Turkana are viewed as the most united and militarily powerful community in the North-West part of Kenya, organized around a generation-set system. Their dexterity with firearms, victories against all their neighbours and culture portrayed a strong military tradition. They had flexible, mobile and spinning warriors organized in

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<sup>40</sup> Hogg, R (1982). Destitution and Development: The Turkana of Nuntu West Kenya. *Disasters*, 78(2), pp.156-157, 23/02/2016. [www.wiley.com/doi](http://www.wiley.com/doi).

age-sets that resembled a military unit.<sup>41</sup> Their military prowess gave them both local and regional political dominance over their competitors. For instance, locally, they conquered the Marakwet, Samburu and Pokot, whereas, across the border, the Dessenatch, Dodoth, Nyangatom and Toposa feared them.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Turkana community found themselves in possession of a vast territory of over 24,000 square miles which corresponds closely to the present day Turkana District. With the vastness of the land, they developed a complex system of transhumant pastoralism in the region except in rugged Karamojong escarpment in the south-west where they (the Karamoja) had effectively checked the Turkana continued expansion. This was also the season where the Turkana military prowess was intensely affected by their loose territorial organisation led by diviners, prophets or fire-makers such as Angirokol, Apatepes and Lokorio. Although they had a memorable success in leading the Turkana warriors in territorial expansions, they were not able to manage the Turkana success amid emerging challenges such as ecological pressure, widespread of rinderpest disease and routine British military expeditions which not only confiscated cattle but also caused death and displacement.<sup>42</sup>

Some Turkana sought to come to terms with the situation by trying to establish better relations with both the British. For instance, in 1902, the southern Ngibellai section under their leader Aijigwa voluntarily put themselves under British protection at Baringo. Their main motivation was to mitigate the raging drought by obtaining fresh grazing in the Baringo area, which they received. By 1905, other southern Turkana sections including those of Ebei's Ngiseto clan agreed to pay hut tax in the form of livestock. Hut taxes were paid regularly and several Government chiefs were appointed. Collaborators were mainly Turkana clans who did not own cattle whereas their counterpart who owned large herds of cattle resisted safeguarding their political and economic interests. The collaborators were appointed as chiefs and imposed over the resisting communities. Their main work was to

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<sup>41</sup> Mkutu A. K 1` (2014). 'Ungoverned Space' and the Oil Find in Turkana. The Round Table Commonwealth. *Journal of International Affairs*, 21/5/2018, <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ctr20>.

<sup>42</sup> Lamphear J (1976), Aspects of Turkana leadership during the era of primary resistance. *Journal of African History*, xvii, 2. <https://aboutjstore.org/terms>. 8/11/2019.

supervise work, collect taxes, maintain order, and spy on the resisting communities. They also joined the colonial forces where they were assigned to serve in various parts of the country away from their clansmen where they settled after independence.<sup>43</sup>

Consequently, there were some Turkana who moved from their land in search for economic benefits. They were after employment opportunities in European farms, road construction sites and as porters. Odegi noted that by 1905 Turkana clans living around Lake Turkana were attracted by European jobs since fishing was not doing well and they did not have animals to supplement their diet. They, therefore, preferred working in white highlands in Bungoma, Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu. Some took advantage of their good working relationship with the Europeans and established small business along roads during construction while others were privileged to be settled under the aegis of the Commissioner for Squatters and the Settlement Fund Trustees. They worked on what is now referred to as Kondoo farms in burnt forest numbered I to IX, formally managed by the Central Agricultural board (CAB).<sup>44</sup>

The colonial interest in Turkana District was also met with one of the longest resistance in Kenya. The Turkana warriors led by Ebei mounted a fierce attack on British expansion into Turkana territory due to the following reasons. First, the British restricted their transhumance migration, therefore, inhibiting them from accessing the much needed fresh pasture land and water for their animals. They also restricted the Turkana from frequent raids to replenish their stock. Second, they imposed on the Turkana alien systems of solving disputes which interfered with the authority previously vested with the community elders.<sup>45</sup> However, the worst of all was the forceful resettlement of the Pokot who were displaced from feet of Mt Elgon and Trans-Nzoia District to Turkana land. This was to

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<sup>43</sup> Terrorised citizens (2003). pp.32-33.

<sup>44</sup> Akiwumi, A. M. (1999). *Report of the judicial commission appointed to inquire into tribal clashes in Kenya*. The Commission, pp.111-112.

<sup>45</sup> Mburu N (2001). Firearms and political power: The military decline of the Turkana of Kenya 1900-2000. University of London, United Kingdom, Nordic journal of Africa. 22/05/2018, [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org).



create more land for European settlers.<sup>46</sup> The rivals were to share the grazing land, water points as well as poly-tribal council of elders previously imposed on the Turkana people.<sup>47</sup>

As a result, several military bases were established strategically in various parts of Turkana District. In 1908, Kenyan African Rifle (KAR) detachment was established at Kerio Valley River and by 1912 the region around L. Rudolf, Kakuma, Kapedo, Kolosia, Lodwar, Murissi and Turkwel had many operational bases. Fear befell the region, tension skyrocketed as Ebei threatened to destroy all communication lines between Marsabit and Loirangoloni as well as attacking the white settlers if the colonial government continued erecting military bases and interfering with their traditional way of life. Due to the prevailing tension, many Turkana families fled in fear to safer zones.<sup>48</sup> The white settlers were equally engulfed with fear and scaled down their farming activities in the region.

This led to Anglo-Turkana war that started in late 1912 when the British organized several punitive attacks against the Turkana. Their animals were confiscated, people killed and others displaced. For instance, the British patrol attacked Turkana settlements, killing thirty people and confiscating over 16,000 livestock. In 1915 the expedition left over 417 Turkana men dead, 100 families displaced and 19,000 cattle, 215 camels, 1400 donkeys, and 17000 goats and sheep were confiscated.<sup>49</sup> In 1916, Ebei organised a counterattack against the collaborating Turkana displacing over 1000 families into European farms in Mt Elgon and Uasin Gishu disrupting the farming activities. As a result, the British commanding officer on the ground called for reinforcement from Uganda, Juba land and Nairobi. He also organised over 27 local tribes and conquered the Turkana people.<sup>50</sup>

This marked the final laborious conquest against the Turkana in 1918 when the world was celebrating the armistice. In this conquest, over 13,000 herds of cattle were confiscated, homes and

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<sup>46</sup> Musotso B. M (2010). The East Pokot on the Precipice: Conflict and Social Change in pastoralist Community. The Degree of Philosophy, University of Nairobi, pp. 62-64.

<sup>47</sup> Lamphear (1992), p 78.

<sup>48</sup> Odegi (1990). Pp.52-56.

<sup>49</sup> Lamphear (1992). p.103.

<sup>50</sup> Lamphear (1992). pp.179-183.

cultural sites totally destroyed and over 120 families displaced.<sup>51</sup> Families living in Turkwel, Nadipal, Lodwar, Kaetuko and Bochoros were displaced northwards following the shores of Lake Turkana. Some were pushed as far as Kataboi and Todonyang before moving further in the north to Lorione and Narubolel.<sup>52</sup> Other families helplessly crossed over to Sudan, Uganda and Ethiopia as refugees.

This was closely followed by harsh disarmament policy on the Turkana community. Unlike other groups of people, a gun was an important weapon to the Turkana community. It is inextricably linked to their survival and livelihood in the region in many ways. First, guns are required for defending their herd, families and mounting raids to replenish the stock.<sup>53</sup> Second, they are needed in search for pasture land especially those close to the enemy zone. Third, guns are requisite for territorial defence and the defence of Turkana regional political legacy. Therefore, the disarmament policy not only caused humiliation and disrespect but also laid a foundation for a long-term displacement due to disruption of their pastoralism as a source of livelihood.

The policy further exposed the Turkana to attacks by their territorial enemies the Pokot, Dankiru, Karamojong, Merille and the Dessenatch. For instance, in 1924, the Merille and Dankiru heavily attacked the Turkana, killed the herders, confiscated their herd and displaced Turkana families as far as 4 degrees and 20 miles South to Lokichogio.<sup>54</sup> This was closely followed by the 1931 attack of the Turkana at Todenyang and Namaraputh where people were massacred by the Merille forcing the colonial government to establish the border courts in 1932. The instability continued in 1936 when the Turkana and their animals were held captive by the Merille. Whereas in 1939 165 Turkana lost their lives in the hands of Merrille and the Dessenatch.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Kenya National Archives and Documentation Services (1957). Military garrisons in Turkana, MF/ACW/25/68.

<sup>52</sup> Odegi (1990).p.187.

<sup>53</sup> Akall G (2014). Changing landscape and Livelihoods in Turkana, Kenya. The University of Cambridge. <http://www.tcd.i/tidi>.

<sup>54</sup> Kenya National Archives and Documentation Services (1951). *Colony and Protectorate of Kenya*, File No. DC/LOK/5/3.

<sup>55</sup> Rowlands J.S (1992). An outline of the Northern Turkana History from records in Lokitang. Kenya national Documentation Archives, DC/LOK/5/3.

The frequently armed assault against the Turkana by their neighbours worsened the existing economic instability and amplified fear and displacement in many ways. First, the Turkana lost their grazing fields and water points, therefore, affecting the pastoral industry. As a result, families struggled to get animals for ritual ceremonies and enough food for their families. Therefore, some decided to move to other parts of the country in search of job opportunities and survival. A large population of the Turkana people followed their kith and kin who had previously settled in Bungoma, Cherengani, Eldoret, Kitale, Kondoo farms in Uasin Gishu and Maralal districts.

Away from frequent aggression by the neighbouring communities, extreme drought and famine which equally destabilised the Turkana community. Previously, Turkana and Sub-Saharan African region in general, went through numerous climatic changes that caused drought but was not as extreme as that of the early 1960s going forward. Turkana District experienced more than eight major cyclic endemic droughts in some regions such as Kaeris, Kakuma, Lorus, and Todenyang. This led to catastrophic effects not only on people and animals but also on the cultural being of the society.<sup>56</sup>

Just as Thomas puts it, poor developing and conflict-prone regions are always at a higher risk of effects of drought because of violent conflicts exacerbate natural hazard, therefore, reducing people's adaptive capacity.<sup>57</sup> For instance, cattle rustling with the drought in Turkana land in the 1960s claimed over 37% of the total number of their livestock threatening the existence of the Turkana community since they entirely depended on livestock in all transactions.<sup>58</sup> Livestock had both cultural and economic significance among the Turkana people. Economically they entirely depended on livestock keeping as a source of livelihood, insurance against all risks, political power, and a measure of wealth. Culturally, livestock was used for compensation and purification for a crime done, as gifts, initiation, rituals and mystical affairs and paying pride prize.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Oral Interview, Mzee Adapal Lomoru, Lodwar Town 6<sup>th</sup> May, 2017.

<sup>57</sup> Thomas A (2014). Protecting People Displaced by Weather-Related Distress and Climate Change: Experience from the field. Vermont Law School. 19/7/2018, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/vermjenvilaw>, pp. 803-815.

<sup>58</sup> MacCabe (1987). Pp. 6-8.

<sup>59</sup> Soper R.C (edt) (1985). Socio-Cultural profile of the Turkana District. Institute of African Studies

By 1963, when Kenya got independence almost all existing relief camps created by Europeans within Turkana were full of IDPs. It was estimated that more than 10,000 Turkana IDPs were in famine relief camps.<sup>60</sup> For example, Lodwar town relief camp admitted IDPs around Lodwar plains, Furguson's gulf camp accommodated IDPs displaced along the shores of L. Rudolf whereas Kalin Camp took care of those displaced from Todonyang. Other relief camps included Lokon near Kangetet on River Kano banks, Logogo and Lorogum.<sup>61</sup> There were those households who sold off their livestock and migrated to urban centres and towns to seek for employment opportunities.<sup>62</sup> Whereas others moved to Trans-Nzoia, Western and Rift Valley provinces where they worked as herders and farm attendants.<sup>63</sup> Majority settled at Kipsongo slum in Kitale as they worked in ADC farms.

Other than displacement, drought further led to the accumulation of fire arms. Mkutu noted that pastoral communities acquired the most recent and sophisticated guns to secure their remaining herd and enable them to access enemy zones for pasture and raids. Arms also gave them courage to claim the land they lost to their neighbours during the colonial period. Throughout 1970s arms were used as a tool of engagement as well as an important trade commodity. Communities that had access to those weapons took a shorter period to restock their livestock.<sup>64</sup>

These weapons came from multiple sources, but the most important one was through long porous border between Kenya and its neighbours.<sup>65</sup> Over 200,000 illegal arms were

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University of Nairobi & the ministry of ican Studies University of Nairobi & the ministry of Finance & planning. Kenya National Archives.

<sup>60</sup> Juma R.O (2015). *Turkana people's resilience to drought and famine in Kenya: A study of social network as an insurance system*. International journal of science and research (IJSR). PhD. P.23 accessed on 12/11/2016, [www.jstor](http://www.jstor).

<sup>61</sup> Mann, M. J. (1962). Report on a fisheries survey of Lake Rudolf, Kenya. *East African Freshwater Fisheries Research Organization. Annual Report, 63*, 53-55, accessed on 16/2/2017, <http://aquaticcommons.org>.

<sup>62</sup> Grive A.T (1986). The states of Africa in the 1980s. *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 152, No. 2 pp.193-203 accessed on 12/10/2017. [www.googledrive.net](http://www.googledrive.net).

<sup>63</sup> Lamphear (1992), p179.

<sup>64</sup> Mkutu A.G (2007), Small Arms and Light Weapons Among Pastoral Groups in the Kenya–Uganda Border Area, *African Affairs*, Volume 106, Issue 422, <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adl002>.

<sup>65</sup> Goldmith (2007). P.23.

estimated to be in the hands Karamojong of Uganda and 50,000 in the hands of Turkana. In Chesogon, Kainuk and Kolbwar centres along the north-western borders, the price for a gun was as low as a goat.<sup>66</sup> The circulation of illicit arms was given fillip by the coup of 1979 in Uganda when Mathendu Karamojong broke into Moroto Barracks and looted guns. Additionally, Obote's militia groups set up to protect the Iteso from the cruel Karamojong sold arms to Turkana. Occasionally, militia groups also waylaid Anti Stock Theft Units Police (ASTPU), police reservist killing them to acquire guns and ammunition. Nevertheless, these weapons fuelled conflicts and posed threat to the sustainable development of Turkana and the region at large. Raiding changed from a cultural activity to a commercial scheme. This left families terrified, economic activities disrupted, schools closed and people displaced.<sup>67</sup> By 1990s the Turkana District was harbouring many IDPs some of which opted to start a new life in Lodwar town as 'hidden' IDPs.

Members of the Turkana community who had settled in the Rift valley and the neighbouring provinces such as Western and Nyanza were also leaving in fear. Their stay in other parts of the country was affected by the 1990s, ethnic violence, land conflicts and power struggles. For instance, the politicization of land rights in the farming districts of Rift Valley Province played out as struggles to capture or retain state power making the national public in Rift Valley a prime theatre of violent conflict and displacement. Approximately three hundred thousand, one hundred and fifty thousands and six hundred thousand displaced in 1992, 1997 and 2007 respectively.<sup>68</sup> Deaths, displacements and loss of livelihood and property marked the second exodus of the Turkana community from Bungoma, Nandi, Nakuru, Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu back to Turkana District creating a new cluster of displaced people in Lodwar town called 'hidden' IDPs.

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<sup>66</sup> Oral Interview, Felix Okunei, 6/5/2017, Turkwel GSU camp, West Pokot.

<sup>67</sup> Musotso B.M (2010). *The East Pokot on the Precipice: Conflict and Social Change in pastoralist Community. A PhD Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Nairobi, Kenya.*

<sup>68</sup> Catherine B (2012), Land Conflict and Distributive Politics in Kenya. *African Studies Review*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (APRIL 2012), Cambridge University Press Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41804129> Accessed: 22-11-2019.

### 2.3 The Pluralism and Turkana Displacement back to Turkana District, 1991-2012

The introduction of political pluralism in the 1990s caused fear to many people but not as it did to the Turkana people living in the larger Rift Valley and Western Province. Despite the cordial relations and the cooperation with the indigenous communities, who were the Kalenjin and the Luhya, the unresolved land-related conflicts erupted again. KANU leaders used propaganda, inciting of groups along ethnic lines and arming militia groups to attack their political opponents.<sup>69</sup> Tension built up among the communities as leaders boldly threatened the non-indigenous groups to vacate.

By mid-1991, the inter-ethnic conflicts erupted in various parts of the country.<sup>70</sup> In Rift Valley Province, prominent politicians, clergymen and elders inclined to KANU incited their supporters to attack the non-Kalenjin communities who did not support KANU in the region forcing them out of their homes.<sup>71</sup> The clashes started in Meteitei farm in Tinderet where armed Kalenjin warriors attacked the Kikuyu, Kisii, Luyia, Luo and Turkana. Leaflets were distributed in the area instructing the non- Kalenjin to leave. As a result, many people lost lives, others were maimed while others were displaced to various IDP camps. IDPs camps in these regions were only used as transit points as they prepared to move to Lodwar town in Turkana district where silently settled as 'hidden' IDPs.

Churches too, took sides in the raging political and ethnic cleansing in the region. For example, reverend Elijah Kiprotich Yego of the Church of Province of Kenya (CPK) issued a twenty-six day ultimatum to the non-Kalenjin groups living in Nandi District to vacate the area if they were not going to vote for president Moi.<sup>72</sup> This resulted to death of eight people, homes burnt down and over 10,000 non-indigenous communities displaced from Eldoret south and Uasin Gishu district.<sup>73</sup> Reverend Yego's words were countered by

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<sup>69</sup> Biketi, K. (1992, December 16). Bishops blame state over fresh fighting. *Daily nation*, p1.

<sup>70</sup> Kimenyi, M. S., & Ndung'u, N. S. (2005). Why Has Kenya Not Experienced a Full-Blown Civil War?. *Understanding civil war: Evidence and analysis*, 1, 123-156, pp.123-156, <https://elibrary.worldbank.org>.

<sup>71</sup> Roessler, Phillip G (2005). Donor-induced democratization and the privatization of state violence in Kenya and Rwanda. *Comparative Politics* 37(2): 207-209, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20072883>.

<sup>72</sup> Matoke T and Kanini E. (1992, December 3). Clashes: Lawyer told to sue Nation reporters. *Daily nation*, p.32.

<sup>73</sup> Kiprotich, A. (1992, December 15). Fresh clashes in Eldoret leave eight dead. *Daily nation*, pp.2-3.

Eldoret Catholic Bishop Cornelius Korir, Anglican counterpart bishop Stephen Kewases, Raphael Ndingi Mwana'a Nzeki, warned the perpetrators and cautioned the government against being apathetic towards the killers.<sup>74</sup>

Approximately over 300,000 people were displaced due to the inter-ethnic conflicts by 1993, 150,000 in 1997 and 20,000 in 2002. Consequently, thousands were killed and property worth billions destroyed in many parts of the country.<sup>75</sup> Over eight thousand five hundred IDPs were ferried to Turkana district.<sup>76</sup> Others who were not lucky to get transport, hopped from one transit camp to another as they waited for the situation to normalize for them to move to Turkana. Displacement rendered them desperate, poverty-stricken and destitute, subjecting them to indignity and humiliation.

According to the Parliamentary Select Committee records, over 1579 IDPs were displaced from Kitale, Cherangani Burnt forest, Timboroa, Kakamega, Tindaret and Nandi to Turkana South constituency adding to the earlier total of 15,000 IDPs who were displaced to Lodwar, Lokichar and Lokoli.<sup>77</sup> The report was summative and narrow. The real numbers on the ground as identified <sup>later</sup> were much high than estimated by the committee. Failure to consider all categories of IDPs, disadvantaged many IDPs especially those who circumvented the camp setting. Among them, the 'hidden' IDPs who continued to trickle into various, towns and urban centres including Lodwar town.<sup>78</sup>

Lodwar town, for instance, was a repost for IDPs and their activities. Many camps such as Nakwamaki with 212 households, Kanamker camp with 2,987 IDPs, Napetet camp with

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<sup>74</sup> Biketi, K. (1992, December 16). Bishops blame state over fresh fighting. *Daily nation*, p.2.

<sup>75</sup>Kamungi, P. (2013). *Municipalities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The Case of Kenya's integrated/Displaced Persons*. Brookings Institution-London School for Economics Project on Internal Displacement, <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads>.

<sup>76</sup> Kamungi, P. (2013). *Municipalities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The Case of Kenya's integrated/Displaced Persons*. Brookings Institution-London School for Economics Project on Internal Displacement. <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content>.

<sup>77</sup> Parliamentary debates July 2, 2008, *Kenya National Assembly Official Records (Hansard)*. P. 1569.

<sup>78</sup> Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) & national network for internally displaced People in Kenya (2011).

over 306 households and 130 households in Kakuma IDP camp.<sup>79</sup> Other makeshift camps in Turkana where IDPs settled include Rumbek, Lowareng'ak, Karodonyang, Makutano Lodwar, Kure, Canaan, and Errite camps.

During Operation Rudi Nyumbani (ORN) initiative by the government in 2009, 2,593 households who were still stuck in camps in Rift valley and Western were sent back to Turkana district. Some were resettled by Lodwar town Council while others and 158 camps were profiled later and paid 10,000 ex-gratia.<sup>80</sup> They joined those who had been displaced by colonial invasion, drought and famine, circulation of illegal arms which caused conflict and displacement of people to Lodwar town creating 'hidden' internally displaced persons.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

This chapter focused on the historical background of the Turkana community and the factors that accelerated their displacement from their habitual homes to relief camps, makeshift camps, main camps, and urban centres such as Lodwar town. Colonial administration (1895-1963) and its legacies set the pace for Turkana instability and subsequent displacement from their land. The constantly armed aggressions against the Turkana, forced removal from their land to create colonial white highlands and mass confiscation of their animals played a pivotal role to their displacement.

Persistent drought and famine affected the economic and social stability of the Turkana community. The scarcity of pasturage and water claimed hundreds of thousands of Turkana animals leaving them in the state of despair and destitution. It caused malnutrition, exacerbated conflicts, cattle rustling and the death of many women and children. People were pushed to relief camps where the government issued food rations while other families moved to urban centres to seek wage labour.

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<sup>79</sup>TurkanaTimes Reporter. (2015, February 16). Double jeopardy: IDPs yearn for a home 7 years, *Turkana Times*, pp2-3, <http://www.turkanatimes>.

<sup>80</sup> Tenth parliament fourth session (2012). Report on the parliamentary select committee on the resettlement of IDPs in Kenya.



The unrestricted flow of illicit arms in the region changed the pattern of life of the pastoral Turkana. The uncontrolled flow of illegal small and light weapons caused fear, loss of property, death, and displacement of people in a different capacity. It intensified commercial cattle rustling leading to bloody confrontation. The culture was no longer the yardstick to direct raids as the youth became antagonistic and unruly to elders who determined when and how cattle raids would be done.

Multiparty wave and party competitions during elections led to the displacement of hundreds of thousands across the country. For instance, in 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007 elections hit both local and international news headlines as Kenyans claimed the lives of their own. The worse was 2007 which left over 1300 dead, 630, 000 internally displaced, and 12,000 crossing to Uganda. Over 65,000 Turkana were displaced from other parts of the country. Why did this population end up moving to Turkana? What were the motivating factors behind this move? Chapter three will focus on the push and pull factors that forced the Turkana community to move back to their cradle land after almost a century since they were displaced.

## CHAPTER THREE

### SETTLEMENT OF 'HIDDEN' IDPS IN LODWAR TOWN

#### 3.1 Introduction

The traditional image of life in tents and sprawling camps no longer describe the full story of IDPs. As the world urbanizes, IDPs too were increasingly pulled and attracted to large towns and cities. This was so with the Turkana 'hidden' IDPs. From various destinations of their displacement, majority bypassed official IDP camps, their families and settled in Lodwar town. Consequently, those who went through the camps found the camp framework socially constraining and economically limited. As a result, they left the camps and settled in various urban centres in Turkana District including Lodwar. This made their presence go unnoticed as they mixed up with the general urban population. Thus their oblivion made them 'hidden' IDPs. This chapter focused on understanding the concept of 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar context, settlement and life as 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town and finally 'Hidden' IDP and Local integration. It argued that the skewing assistance, selective resettlement, restrictive camp framework and desire to explore the 'unseen' IDP status influenced the IDPs to circumvent the official camps to settle in Lodwar town.

#### 3.2 The concept of 'hidden' IDPs

The IDPs who avoided the camp settings after displacement due to one reason or the other have been widely researched under different titles which include; integrated, invisible, unseen, non-camped and finally hidden. Although the IDPs in question settle in different environments such as urban centres, per-urban or rural areas their challenges and coping strategies have similarities. For instance, Kamungi in her article Municipality and IDPs outside camps refers to this category of IDPs as 'integrated'. According to Kamungi these are IDPs' who are living dispersed among communities whether with relatives and friends or in rented accommodation usually in urban and peri-urban areas. In other words, the term 'integrated' IDPs in the Kenyan context refers to IDPs living outside of camps.<sup>81</sup> Similarly,

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<sup>81</sup> Kamungi P (2013), *Municipalities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The case of Kenya's 'integrated' displaced persons*. The Brookings Institution – London School of Economics Project on Internal Displacement. [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org), 30/11/2019.

Muisa Wakhisi while describing the IDPs who were displaced from their homes in 1992, 1997 and 2007 post-election but were not accounted for by the government authorities, he refers to them as ‘invisible’ IDPs. He argues that their invisibility status was clandestinely due to dictatorial KANU regime who considered such people a security risk and lack of commitment on the government side to resettle. As a result, many joined their kith and kin, friends and relatives as a coping mechanism.<sup>82</sup>

In this study, the term ‘hidden’ IDPs refers to a group of IDPs who avoided the official camp settings to resettle in Lodwar town. This IDPs are out of sight or not readily apparent to government or other officials who are directly in charge of IDPs.

Various phenomenon explain why this group of IDPs came to existence in Lodwar town. First, the government through their operations such as Operation Rudi Nyumban (ORN) Operation Ujirani Mwema (OUM) and Operation Tujenge Pamoja (OTP) selectively ‘compensated’ some IDPs leaving others with no place to call home.<sup>83</sup> This created a group of IDPs in Lodwar town called ‘hidden’.

Similarly, IDPs who never wanted to be noticed by the authorities due to their direct involvement in politics that triggered ethnic violence in other parts of the country also silently ended up in Lodwar town directly or indirectly through make-shift camps. Their presence also went unnoticed as they mixed with the general urban population. Thus their oblivion made them ‘hidden’ IDPs. These ‘hidden’ IDPs are not accounted for, yet displaced. According to Wakhisi, such people do not protest for their rights like the camped IDPs, neither do they engage in academic forums to articulate their plight.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Wakhisi M.A (2015). Surviving Displacement: The Case of “Invisible Internally Displaced Persons”, Kisumu County, 1991- 2011. A research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Arts, Armed Conflict and Peace Studies, Faculty of Arts Department of History and Archeology University of Nairobi.

<sup>83</sup> Lynch G (2009), Durable solution, Help, or Hinderance? The Failing and Unintended implications of Relief and Recovery Efforts for Kenyas Post Election IDPs. African political economy, Vol. 36, No. 122, Taylor and Francis Ltd. [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org), 2/11/2019.

<sup>84</sup>Wakhisi M.A (2015).

Furthermore, their unseen way of survival and operations usually leave them unnoticed by the government authorities and humanitarian groups such as Kenya Red Cross. Scholars of Armed Conflict and Peace Studies further argued that the decision for this category of IDPs to remain 'hidden' did not solely lie with them but pushed by circumstances to assume their 'hidden' status.<sup>85</sup> Some 'invisibility' came as a result of IDPs feeling that the government was not committed to assisting them to resettle. For instance, the government focused on landowning IDPs as a way of identifying real IDPs and leaving landless IDPs such as squatters and non-farmers, who were unable to return for some reason.<sup>86</sup> Whereas others adapted the 'unseen' way of life after missing out the government compensation during the government programs and operations to resettle IDPs. There were those IDPs who saw the government as part of the perpetrators of their eviction, therefore, could not be trusted. These include the 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town were displaced during the officially sanctioned reprisals by police and military during ethnic and border conflicts between the Pokot and the Turkana people.

Of contrary opinion with Gona argue that IDPs saw an opportunity to explore the 'unseen' and 'hidden' status in Lodwar town and live free from camp constrains, inadequacy and restrictions.<sup>87</sup> This gave them an opportunity to be part of the booming commercial activities within Lodwar such as hawking, fruit vending, selling brooms and mats. Additionally, with big hotels, restaurants, retail shops, milling machines, tourist camps, open markets and butcheries, they were hopeful of a wider range of employment opportunities.<sup>88</sup> Other than business opportunities, adequate and quality schools with feeding programmes also attracted them to Lodwar town. Easy access to education services by 'hidden' was one of the key pull factors to many IDP category households. Having tasted life in camps where children either got sub-standard education due to lack of properly established systems of education since the government believed that camps were

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<sup>85</sup>Gona G.M, Contribution on the concept of 'hidden' IDPs, Masters Project Presentation on 31<sup>st</sup> October 2019, departmental library, University of Nairobi, Department of History and Archeology.

<sup>86</sup> Lynch G (2009).

<sup>87</sup> Ombongi K.. S Contribution on the concept of 'Hidden' IDPs, Masters Project Presentation on 31<sup>st</sup> October 2019, departmental library, University of Nairobi, Department of History and Archeology.

<sup>88</sup> Oral Interview, Mr Bernard Gek, businessman Lodwar town, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

temporarily homes for IDPs walked for kilometres to get good schools built by the community hosting them which was also expensive.

Nevertheless, there were IDPs whose decision to adopt the 'hidden' lifestyle was out of rejection. After ethnicised rejection in regions such as Bungoma, Nakuru, Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu, they moved to their kith and kin where they faced a second rejection. Being resented at their cradle homes, they developed a feeling of homelessness at home. For example, the rejection was worse during employment in areas such as Turkwel and Lorogun. The IDPs were openly denied access to Kerio Valley Development Authority (KVDA) social facilities such as swimming pool, cinema, play stations and medical facilities enjoyed by other members of the society. Men were not allowed to share local brew (kada) with their kinsmen. Women, on the other hand, were denied the opportunity to shop at Kitale town using the KVDA community social responsibility bus.<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, they were also denied access to Nadome mines where Turkana women spend most of their time mining gold and in Turkwel Gorge Dam (TGD) where they got casual jobs of washing and drying fish for export. As a result, IDPs felt unwanted, resented and rejected. Therefore, the majority of them left their families and settled in California, Kambi moto and Soweto slums of Lodwar town.<sup>90</sup>

In Lodwar town, the resentment took a new sophisticated twist as the 'hidden' IDPs were rejected by their friends who were resettled by the Ministry of Special Programme in conjunction with Lodwar Municipal Council. Living side by side with the settled at the outskirts of Lodwar town, the 'hidden' expected cordial and symbiotic transaction in different aspects of livelihood since they once shared common predicaments, but still they were resented. Therefore, out of frustration that came with rejection, they resolved to remain 'hidden' loitering within Lodwar town for a survival. To the local community in Lodwar town, resentment came alongside with suspicion and rivalry. Lodwar town residents believed that the presence of 'hidden' IDPs was the source of insecurity in the neighbourhood. Also failure to differentiate categories of IDPs made them have a feeling

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<sup>89</sup> Oral Interview, Mr Lokio David, KVDA Staff, Turkwel, 5<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>90</sup> Oral Interview with Mr Godfrey Ekwoma, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017, Lodwar town.

that IDPs were getting underserved favours from the government yet they all faced same economic and social challenges though not displaced. Therefore, there was no co-existence especially in sharing of important social facilities such as schools, hospitals, parks, churches and houses. Similarly, the business oriented IDPs were not able to secure working space or `allowed to hawk alongside with local hawkers on busy streets due to fear of competition.

Nonetheless, there were those locals who accused the IDPs of environmental degradation. They claimed that they were destroying trees along Turkwel River for charcoal burning and firewood; destroyed even the local fruits such as ‘Mikoma’; exhausted ‘Mburukunya’ trees which the community depended on for making brooms and mats which were now sold to them by the IDPs expensively. In some areas, they were accused of spreading skin diseases which, coincidentally, broke out in town a few months after the resettlement of IDPs in Lodwar town. Furthermore, IDP presence on streets bothered many of the residences since they occasionally engaged in unlawful activities such as pickpocketing. Some were accused of stealing goats and sheep from smaller farmers in the outskirts of Lodwar town.<sup>91</sup>

### **3.3 Patterns of settlement of ‘hidden’ IDPs in Lodwar town**

Lodwar municipality is located within Turkana County, Turkana central along Kitale-Lokichogio highway. The municipality covers an area of 706km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 58,218 as per the census results of 2009. The municipality contains two wards namely; Kanamkemer and Lodwar Township where the ‘hidden’ IDPs settled.<sup>92</sup> Whereas these IDPs had varied reasons that acted as pull factors to settle, in Lodwar town, they all settled ended up in the poorest Suburbs of California, Nepta, Kambi Mawe, Kambi Mpya, Kambi Moto, Napetet and Nepta.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Oral Interview, Ekharan Selin, Lodwar Town, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>92</sup> Hesse, C., MacGregor, J. (2006). *Pastoralism: dry lands' invisible asset?* Dry lands Programme, International Institute for Environment and Development.

<sup>93</sup> Oral Interview, Barasa Amos, Lodwar town, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

Though tracking, profiling, registering and documenting this group of IDPs was not done respondents indicate that those who were attracted by commercial activities and better social amenities formed the majority of the 'hidden' IDPs.<sup>94</sup> This group settled in Soweto slum which surrounds Lodwar Township ward and close proximity to town centre where hawking is much easier. They came from Japata, Katuke, Olkadong, Nemanjalala, Konos, Nai farm and Somojat ADC farms where other than working as casual labourers they engaged in small business which complimented their livelihood.<sup>95</sup>

In Napetet village were mainly IDPs who were hopeful to be resettled by Lodwar municipality like their counterpart who immediately after the 2007 displacement were accorded a good reception; given land and their houses constructed by Lodwar municipality and supplied with piped water. This group had most of their friends and relatives in the IDP settlements in Canaan, Nakwamekwi, Lokaparaparae East, Lokar and Nataparkona. Owing to the good relationship that exhibited between them, they developed a symbiotic and mutual business network where the settled IDPs after receiving donations from the government, Faith-Based Organizations (FBO), NGOs and well-wishers, they gave part of it to 'hidden' IDPs to supply them to shops around. These items varied from foodstuffs, food additives, detergents, utensils and beddings. In return, the sale as a 'hidden' got a share of every item presented to him for sale. Most of this category of the no-camped came from Naivasha and Uasin Gishu district.<sup>96</sup>

Around Nepta was another group who settled on one side Lodwar Kenya Medical Training College (KMTC) and Lodwar cemetery grounds and on the other the Catholic Diocese of Lodwar (CDL) on the other hand. Their main pull factor was donations from churches such as CDL, Equity Wings to fly, and the Tallow company educational kitty, Mercy Corp, and safety hunger educational kitty that financed the education of most of their school-going children in Lodwar since 2009.<sup>97</sup> Together with the charity services provided to the poor

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<sup>94</sup> Oral Interview, Long 'or Bernard, Lodwar Town 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>95</sup> Oral Interview, Ekharan Seline, Kanamkemer Lodwar, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>96</sup> Oral interview, Robert Shiundu, a businessman, Lodwar Town, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>97</sup> Oral Interview, Mr Nyongesa, Ministry of Education Turkana Central Sub-County, Lodwar Town 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

and IDPs by the church-based organization such as Catholic Relief Services by the Catholic Dioceses of Lodwar and Redeemed Gospel church attracted other groups of IDPs to Lodwar town. For instance, the Catholic Relief Services provided food, medical services, mosquito nets and sponsored needy students. Under their economic Empowerment Programme of Ng'ombe Yetu Tukae Pamoja, they facilitated many IDP households with a cow to assist them to start and live in peace.<sup>98</sup>

Like other groups of IDPs who received full attention to their challenge, 'hidden' IDPs who settled in California suburbs were among who were pulled to Lodwar due to access to quality and adequate public health. Furthermore, some of them came when Lodwar municipal council in conjunction with CDL was facilitating free medical camps for IDPs within Lodwar town. IDPs could access medical services in various centres such as; St. Catherine Napetet, St. Elizabeth clinic, St. Patrick Kanamkemer, St Mary Kalokol and St Monica Nakwamekwi.<sup>99</sup> Health services for children below the age of five from IDP families were also made free in almost all private hospital to help many displaced households to access. Tuberculosis control and family planning services for women were also offered for free. This with many other medical opportunities made most of the IDPs to move to Lodwar.<sup>100</sup>

Other village settlements in the outskirts of the town where the 'hidden' IDPs live include *Kambi Mawe*, *Kambi moto* and *makaburini*. Those who settled in the mentioned areas were mainly displaced through cattle rustling, border and ethnic conflicts within Turkana District. These suburbs surround the middle-class estates of Nawaitorong and Johannesburg which hosts most of the senior government, County government and NGO workers. These groups survive by providing cheap labour services in these homes. For instance, most women do cleaning and other house chores whereas men weed flowerbeds.

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<sup>98</sup> Oral interviews, Barasa Amos, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2017, Lodwar Town.

<sup>99</sup> Oral Interview, Mr Godfrey Ekomwa, Social Welfare Officer, Catholic Diocese of Lodwar, 12<sup>th</sup> May, 2017.

<sup>100</sup> Oral Interview, Long 'or Bernard, Lodwar Town 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.



Among the displaced people who moved to Lodwar town was this special category of ‘invisible’ people who are often forgotten yet most vulnerable. These are the ‘hidden’ children, teenagers and young adults lost or were separated from their parents during ethnic conflicts, therefore, ended up on the streets. These children are in three categories; the first one comprises of children who were separated by their parents during the war and abandoned. These children have no ties with their families and are entirely on their own. They accompanied other families to Lodwar because they were of Turkana origin and after arrival; they were left on their own therefore forming 'hidden' street families. The second category comprises of those who see the street as their home and seek shelter, food, and a sense of community among their companions there. Family ties may exist, though visits are not frequent. The last one includes streets children who are on the street for a livelihood but have strong family connections, they attend school and usually return home at the end of the day.

What differentiates the ‘hidden’ street families from the normal one is their historical background. The missed opportunities of being raised from where there were born and how they found themselves on the streets of Lodwar town. Like any other street boys, they survive by collecting garbage for sale, begging, or pick-pocketing, to offering parking services to shoppers. Girls' activities are generally limited to begging and prostitution. Once on the streets, the girls find a home in the makeshift shelters often in dark alleyways. These makeshifts are made of Cartons, sacks, and paper are the furniture and bedding in the plastic shacks. Street boys often take responsibility for the girls' security, acting as 'husbands'.<sup>101</sup>

### **3.4 ‘Hidden’ IDPs and local integration in Londwar town**

Lodwar town provided a unique context of ‘hidden’ IDP livelihood and integration. Unlike in other cases where IDPs from different ethnic groups were imposed on local community, the ‘hidden’ IDPs identify with Turkana district as their place of origin. Their ethnic affiliation explains why they left better urban centres in other regions of Kenya to settle in

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<sup>101</sup> Oral Interview, Mr Godfrey Ekomwa, Social Welfare Officer, Catholic Diocese of Lodwar, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

Lodwar town. The question then is, have they integrated among the local residents? Sarah Dryden defines local integration as a situation in which host and the displaced communities can co-exist, share the same resources—both economic and social — with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the host community.<sup>102</sup> She notes that for a complete integration to happen the socio-cultural change they undergo must permit them to maintain an identity of their own and to adjust psychologically to their new situation, the friction between host populations and the displaced is not worse than within the host population itself and lastly when the displaced population reaches a point where they do not encounter more discrimination than it exists between groups previously settled within the host society.

Ager and Strang also pointed out that integration among people is closely facilitated by indicators such as language and cultural knowledge, employment, housing, education and health. The author emphasized that employment is the main factor influencing many relevant issues of integration such as providing the opportunity for the development of language skills, restoring self-esteem and encouraging self-reliance.<sup>103</sup> Basing on this argument, one can draw a comparison with of ‘hidden’ IDPs employment in Lodwar as compared to the local population. It shows vividly that the challenge with employment in Lodwar town is not an isolated case for ‘hidden’ IDPs but also affecting the local community. Lodwar being a town in an arid part of the country is not endowed with wealth-generating resources, therefore, creating very minimal job opportunities for its inhabitants. Nevertheless, ‘hidden’ IDPs have managed to either secure temporary employment or engage in small business in basketry, charcoal, hair salon, woodwork, posho milling, food and fruit selling, tailoring and weaving.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Sarah Dryden-Peterson (2003), Local integration as a durable solution: refugees, host populations and education in Uganda. New Issues in Refugee Research Working Paper No.93. [Research@refugeelawproject.org](mailto:Research@refugeelawproject.org), 11/7/19.

<sup>103</sup> Alastair Ager A. and Strang A (2008), understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework. Journal of Refugee Studies Vol.21, No.2. Oxford University Press, doi:10.1093/jrs/fen0lb. 20/09/2019.

<sup>104</sup> IDeP (2018), Turkana County Government, Lodwar Municipality. An integrated Develop Plan.

However, keeping in mind the status of complete dependence that is associated with displacement where the majority of these 'hidden' displaced falls, they are still entangled in a web of poverty. As a result, they solely depended on undignified ways of earning livelihood such as begging, brewing illegal liquor called *kada* in local dialect hawking, illegal sell of meat, stealing, and smuggling illegal goods. Suburbs such as Napetet, IDP women are known in slaughtering stolen goats and sheep and hawking the meat in tins while California, Nepta and soweto suburbs residents are known for brewing *kada*.<sup>105</sup>

According to the Catholic Social workers, poverty among the 'hidden' has changed most of the low-class dwelling areas into a hub of criminal activities. Young men and women indulged in all forms of crime namely; robbing, mugging people, rape and drug abuse.<sup>106</sup> The same sentiments were confirmed by a church elder of the Reformed Church of East Africa who is a resident in Soweto slums. He noted that there were many rape cases of children between 11 and 15 years. Many other girls of the same age dropped out of school to indulge in prostitution.<sup>107</sup>

The elder's argument was supported by Mr Bernard Lang'or who was also concerned about the rising cases of prostitution in informal areas of Lodwar town especially among married women and the school going girls in return for food and other favours. IDP women often fell in these traps because of their desperate situations.<sup>108</sup> Some women confessed to having multiple sex partners without knowing their HIV/AIDS status. UNHCR and the Great Lakes Initiative on aids survey done on HIV knowledge, opinion and attitude among the displaced and the people of Turkana, the host community had very little knowledge on HIV and other sexual related diseases.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Oral Interview, Eskon, Reformed Gospel church elder, Soweto slum, Lodwar town, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>106</sup> Oral Interview, Ebei Long'or Monica, Soweto Slum, Lodwar Town, 9<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>107</sup> Oral Interview, Reformed Gospel church elder, Soweto slum, Lodwar town, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>108</sup> Oral interview, Long'or Bernard, Lodwar Town, 9<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>109</sup> UNHCR (2004), *Behavioral Surveillance among Refugees and Surrounding Host Population in Kakuma*, [kenya.hivaids@unhcr.org](mailto:kenya.hivaids@unhcr.org), 13/7/2019.

Another indicator we can use to measure the level of integration of ‘hidden’ IDPs in Lodwar is education. Basing on Ager and Strang argument that education is key in providing skills and competencies in support of subsequent employment enabling people to become more constructive and active members of society.<sup>110</sup> The question then is, how do we rate the level of education achievement of ‘hidden’ IDPs especially after their settlement in Lodwar town? One thing education have achieved among the displaced children is integration with members of local host communities, playing an important role in establishing relationships supportive of integration.<sup>111</sup> However, integrating the ‘hidden’ in job market has had challenge especially during the initial stages of settlement. Failure to be integrated in employment affected education since parents could not their children in school therefore increasing the number of street children in Lodwar town. The ‘hidden’ IDP children born in Lodwar resorted on begging and casual labour to survive.<sup>112</sup>

Housing also as an important indicator has a great impact on IDP overall physical and emotional wellbeing. The markers of appropriate housing included a range of measures of the physical size, quality and facilities of housing, along with the financial security of tenancies and, where appropriate, ownership. With regard to 'hidden' displaced people in Lodwar, they do not meet any of the prerequisites of ordinary housing. Most households live in poorly built structures due to lack of money. Some adopted clustering and resource-pooling strategies which enable them to raise money for rent as a group.<sup>113</sup>

Lastly, good health a core factor in integration has not been achieved by the ‘hidden’ IDPs. This category of people does not have adequate access to quality medical services to enable them to actively engage in a new society across. Reliable health services allow effective participation in key state services.<sup>114</sup> Similarly, overcrowding, poor living conditions, lack of access to clean water and adequate sanitation in their habitat worsens the already to frequent health challenges. The outbreak of communicable diseases such as cholera,

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<sup>110</sup> Ager A. and Strang A (2008).

<sup>111</sup> Oral interview, Ebem Hellen, IDP California Slum, Lodwar, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>112</sup> Oral Interview, Madam Kinyonge Racheal, Lodwar Secondary school, Lodwar, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>113</sup> Awuondo, C. O. (1987). 'Human Response and Famine in Turkana, Kenya'. *Unpublished PhD Thesis, The University of Nairobi*. <https://scholar.google.com/scholar?>

<sup>114</sup> Alastair Ager A. and Strang A (2008),

typhoid and dysentery were frequent due to poor hygiene. The situation even worsened during floods where clean water mixed with the sewage, open pit latrines, and uncontrolled litter in the suburbs. Also, limited investment in the infrastructure in the area occupied by these IDPs further hindered important services like fire brigades and emergency vehicles such as Ambulances.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

The concept of 'hidden' IDPs is hardly discussed in many forums. This can be attributed to a number of reasons related to how they come to existence and their survival mechanisms. In this chapter, Lodwar town provides a good forum to interrogate how this group of IDPs were generated; their settlement; livelihood and local integration. Members of the Turkana community have experienced a series of displacement from other parts of the country since the restoration of political pluralism in 1991. Many of them were displaced into camps. From the camps, some joined their kith and kin in ancestral homes in Turkana district. However, due to the nomadic nature and transhumance way of life, some did not find their families and relatives at home. They had moved to other parts in search of pastures for their animals which are the main livelihood. Other IDPs were rejected by their family member. The resentment by their kith and kin created a feeling of homeless. This triggered them to move to Lodwar town where they became part of the 'hidden' IDPs. The number of 'invisible' IDPs accumulated with subsequent elections, hitting the apex with the 2007/8 post-election violence. Furthermore, the selective government operations such as Operation Rudi Nyumbani (ORN), Operation Ujirani Mwema (OUM) and Operation Tujenge Pamoja (OTP) that 'compensated' some IDPs leaving others with no place to go in created another group of 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town. Similarly, children who were separated from their parents as a result of ethnic conflicts also found themselves in Lodwar town as 'hidden' displaced families.

The settlement of 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town was necessitated by varied reasons such as commercial opportunities and better social amenities, presence of family members and Operation Rudi Nyumbani (ORN). Whereas these IDPs had their personal reasons that acted as pull factors, reaching in Lodwar, they all settled in the poorest Suburbs of California, Nepta, Kambi Mawe, Kambi Mpya, Kambi Moto, Napetet and Nepta. In their new dwellings, life was not easy. Although some managed to secure temporary

employment or engage in small business in basketry, charcoal, hair salon, woodwork, posho milling, food and fruit selling, tailoring and weaving. The majority ended up engaging in undignified ways of earning livelihood such as begging, brewing illegal liquor called *kada* in local dialect hawking, illegal sell of meat, stealing, and smuggling illegal goods.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### COPING MECHANISM OF 'HIDDEN' IDPS IN LODWAR TOWN

#### 4.1 Introduction

Can the burden of 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town be blamed on their 'invisible' lifestyle? Sahne in her view of 'hidden' IDP coping mechanism agree that most IDPs who avoided the officially designed camps by government authorities to help them gradually recover from the effects of displacement went through many challenges as they struggled to settle both in rural and urban centres.<sup>115</sup> They were exposed to a high level of cultural, economic and social vulnerability. As a result, they devised methods to deal with these challenges. This chapter argue that the 'loitering hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town ingeniously utilized their 'non-camped' status as a mechanism to cope with the challenges facing them such as poverty, deprivation and a high degree of dependency. The first section of the chapter illustrates how other displaced people have coped with the challenges that accompany loss of livelihood during displacement whereas the second looks at how 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar coped with their challenges. Key coping mechanism included; community social networking; depending on the faith-based organisation to support them with basic needs; splitting, clustering and pooling of resources and the assistance given by both government and Non-Governmental Organization.

#### General coping strategies among the displaced people

Coping strategy is a contested concept, though numerous frameworks and assessment scales have been developed over the past decades that attempt to distinguish its key components. Folkman and Lazarus for instance, defines coping as an attempt to master, tolerate, or reduce internal or external stressors that an individual perceives as exceeding existing resources.<sup>116</sup> Frydenberg defined coping mechanism as the ability to employ a range of productive ways to evade or reduce stress. It is a function of the structural determinants and the individual characteristic, perception of the situation and coping

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<sup>115</sup> Sohne, S. I. (2006). Coping with displacement: The case of internally displaced persons Jinja, Uganda. *Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy Thesis. The Fletcher School. Tufts University 12-14.*

<sup>116</sup> Folkman, S., & Lazarus, R. S. (1980). An analysis of coping in a middle-aged community 587 sample. *Journal of Health & Social Behavior*, 21(3), 219-239.

intention.<sup>117</sup> The term coping has widely been used in the study of displacement to explain how both IDPs and refugees manage their lives after being forcefully evicted from their habitual homes.

Seguin in his work on coping strategies of displaced women in Georgia argued that forcibly displaced persons such as IDPs and refugees suffer losses of tangible materials including property and personal belongings, along with intangible assets such as social support networks, socio-cultural practices, and identities connected to the social and physical spaces they have left behind.<sup>118</sup> The author noted that women in Georgia used problem-solving coping strategies which primarily included seeking employment, attending training sessions, and budgeting. They took all jobs they could to cope with the financial losses such as growing and selling excess fruit and vegetables grown in allotments and worked occasionally at temporary agricultural jobs involving heavy manual labour in fields and gardens. Besides agricultural jobs, some women were able to find employment at the non-governmental organisations and quite frequently attended training sessions such as sewing training and budgeting techniques to help improve their job prospects and cope with losses respectively.<sup>119</sup>

Like elsewhere in the world, here in Kenya both urban IDPs and refugees have had a better share of challenges to with. Waweru, for instance, noted that hidden urban refugees in Nairobi engaged in multiple simultaneous livelihood strategies to cope with the challenges they were going through. The strategies were a combination of both employment and self-employment. The employed refugees mainly worked factories, restaurants, construction sites, cleaning companies and gas stations whereas those who were self-employed engaged in begging, selling tea, charcoal, vegetables and commercial sex work.<sup>120</sup> Similarly, Jaji

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<sup>117</sup> Frydenberg, E. (2004). Coping competencies: What to teach and when. *Theory into practice*, Vol. 43, No. 1, Conflict Resolution and Peer Mediation, <https://www.istor.org/stable/3701560>, Accessed: 22-11-2019.

<sup>118</sup> Seguin, M., Lewis, R., Razmadze, M., Amirejibi, T., & Roberts, B. (2017). Coping strategies of internally displaced women in Georgia: A qualitative study. *Social Science & Medicine*, 194, 34-41.

<sup>119</sup> Seguin, M., Lewis, R., Razmadze, M., Amirejibi, T., & Roberts, B. (2017).

<sup>120</sup> Waweru I.W (2014), coping Strategies among urban refugee women in Nairobi: A case study of Eastleigh and Kayole. Research project, department of Rural Sociology and Community development, university of Nairobi.



also accounts on the coping mechanism of the women refugees living in Nairobi. The author argued that refugee women used deception and manipulation as a survival strategy. Since the support given to refugee women in Nairobi was not enough to fulfil their basic needs to satisfaction, therefore, some refugees were prompted to devise strategies to get more financial and material favours. Some of the refugees faked the fights and played a role which conforms to a victim identity to obtain more attention and access to resources. While others claimed to have been raped even when they had consensual sex for them to be paid or resettled in a third country.<sup>121</sup>

Muisa in his work on coping mechanisms of invisible IDPs in Kisumu County argues that human beings are self-organizing, proactive and self-reflecting and self-regulating rather forces reactive organisms shaped by environmental forces or driven by concealed inner impulses whenever they face stress. According to Muisa, the invisible IDPs in Kisumu County showed surprising abilities in employing assertive coping mechanism. This involved applying constructive attempts to deal with their challenges. Firstly, they depended on their kith and kin, friends and colleagues for survival. The listed people warmly welcomed them on their return and assisted them to settle. Secondly, on return to normalcy, most IDPs re-married as a way of integrating into society. As life returned to normalcy, they were introduced to petty farming, fishing, entrepreneurship and boat making by their kith and kin as a way of fending for their livelihood.<sup>122</sup> Interestingly, some of the coping strategies such as depending of Faith Based Organizations (FBO), commercial sex work, community networking were also evident in the coping mechanism among ‘hidden’ IDPs in Lodwar town.

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<sup>121</sup> Jaji, R. (2009). Refugee Woman and the experiences of local integration in Nairobi, Kenya (Doctoral dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of a doctoral degree, Bayreuth University. [www.jstor.stable/32633841](http://www.jstor.stable/32633841), 12/4/217.

<sup>122</sup> Wakhisi M.A (2015), Surviving Displacement: The Case of “Invisible Internally Displaced Persons”, Kisumu County, 1991- 2011. A research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Arts, Armed Conflict and Peace Studies, Faculty of Arts Department of History and Archeology University of Nairobi.

## 4.2 Communal networking as a coping mechanism

As it happens to IDPs elsewhere in the world, 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town found themselves in unpromising settings engaging in income-generating activities, such as petty trading or small business or selling services such as tailoring. They therefore focused on different survival strategies to evade pain and minimize their daily stress. Long postulates that found in circumstances such as those of displaced families, one is forced to devise the survival strategies which mainly calls for innovativeness, resilience and the ability to obtain the best out of severely constraining circumstances that were full of exclusion from formal employment.<sup>123</sup> In the same way, 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar were forced to secure an alternative livelihood options through their own ingenuity. They engaged in different activities to make their ends meet. Community networking was one of them.

'Hidden' IDPs largely depended on the community networking and reciprocal structures to start a new life. The network assisted the IDPs to get a temporary place to stay after arriving in Lodwar town. Though the strategy did not work for all urban IDPs, it assisted many to keep in touch and socialize with one another frequently, providing a platform to meet easily and share their woes.<sup>124</sup> Most 'hidden' IDPs indicated that community social network helped them to get cheap rental house, casual work, food and financial assistance within the town. It also worked well during the police crackdown on illegal goods and businesses ran by some IDPs.<sup>125</sup> Just as Modoc & Coetzee elsewhere on the same kind of organisation noted that networking whether temporary or permanent, large or small was very key towards the growth of any group of people.<sup>126</sup> Through this network, IDPs formed Community Based Organisations (CBOs) such as Kanakemer Women Group (KWG) which helped them support one another. The group started in 2009 by three women who were displaced in Kitale. They were guided by the Catholic Diocese of Lodwar social action department who drafted the group constitution and helped them to register with the department of social and gender services. The membership later grew to sixteen women

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<sup>123</sup> Long, Norman 2001. *Development Sociology Actor Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge.

<sup>124</sup> Auma 2011, pp. 76-77.

<sup>125</sup> Oral interview, Ebem Hellen, IDP California Slum, Lodwar, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>126</sup> Momdoc & Coetzee, (2002).

drawn from Kanakemer, Lowasenkak, Nakwamekwi and Napetet shanties within Lodwar town.<sup>127</sup>

The group engage in both social and economic activities. The group played a significant social role uniting the ‘hidden’ IDPs. It brought together IDP households to celebrate together during the traditional weddings, baby visits and supporting sick and bereaved members. Economically, they had merry-go-round, voluntary savings, table banking and loaning members from their small revolving fund. This fund assisted members to start small businesses such as selling vegetable, fish, charcoal, fruits, brooms, mats and cereals.<sup>128</sup>

#### **4.3 Assistance from Faith-Based Organisations**

Religion played an important role in creating a safety-net for ‘hidden’ IDPs arriving in Lodwar town from different parts of the country. To begin with, the spiritual well-being which played an important psychotherapy role to help the IDPs to come to terms with the experiences of the post-poll violence. Churches such as Reformed Church of East Africa, Catholic Diocese of Lodwar and Pentecostal Assemblies of God through their pastoral care after realising the sudden numerical growth of the church, they introduced lessons of the ‘healing of the soul’ which brought godly peace that healed most IDPs from stressful memories of displacement and loss of their loved ones. Secondly, religion to them was a powerful social agent which integrated people, making them equal in the eyes of the creator. It immensely contributed towards the ‘hidden’ IDPs acceptance amongst host communal lifestyle that was an attribute of African religion – Community centred. This gave every individual a sense of belonging and thus an integral part of the whole. Though the circumstances surrounding election violence and displacement and loss of loved ones were beyond human understanding, religion played an explanatory role making IDPs to accept their current situations.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Oral interview, Ekharan Selin, Lodwar Town, 7<sup>th</sup> May, 2017.

<sup>128</sup> Oral interview, Elope Maria, California slums, Lodwar Town. 7<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>129</sup> Oral Interview, Ebei Long<sup>2</sup> or Monica, Soweto Slum, Lodwar Town, 13<sup>th</sup> May, 2017.

Religion was a pure upbeat, positive view of life. It could significantly enhance well-being and perhaps even longevity.<sup>130</sup> Attitudes under stress may indeed affect how the body responds. It has been found, for example, that members of fundamentalist religious groups have more optimistic attitudes than those of moderate or liberal groups. The differences may well be accounted for by the relatively hopeful attitude toward life that fundamentalism engenders, along with the greater optimism reflected in the actual content of religious services. According to St. Thomas Aquinas, religious faith is a mystery that helps even if cannot be understood. This is the mystery and secret of the providence.

Through religion most 'hidden' IDPs accepted their situation and started picking up bits and pieces, moving on. It was a positive upbeat view of life which significantly enhanced the well-being and perhaps even longevity. It was found that the Muslim IDP were more optimistic due to their strong commitment to the promises of their creator as compared to Christian who were moderate. The differences may well be accounted for by the relatively hopeful attitude toward life that fundamentalism engenders, along with the greater optimism reflected in the actual content of religious services.

Similarly, through the church charity basket, IDPs were able to receive some assistance. The assistance was in cash and kind and sometimes directly from the church management or the congregation.<sup>131</sup> For example, the Reformed Church of East Africa and Pentecostal Assemblies of God donated tent, food and clothes and a place. They also gave cancelling classes and introduced us to new believers' classes.

Ekirapa Isaac accounted on how the churches assisted them when they arrived in Lodwar town;

When we came to Lodwar town it was around March 2009, most IDPs were already resettled in Kanamkemer, Soweto, kambi Mawe, and kambi Moto. We were not lucky to find a place to stay and therefore the churches around here allowed us in their compounds. Reformed Church of East Africa, Catholic diocese of Lodwar and Pentecostal Assemblies of God donated some tents and later building materials for most of us. From there, we depended almost entirely for church support. They gave us cancelling classes, food, donated clothes to our children, and introduced us to new believers' classes. From there

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<sup>130</sup> Oral Interviews, Owoton Peter, Lodwar town 8<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>131</sup> Oral Interview, Ekutan Susan, a Congregant Reformed Gospel Church, Lodwar Town, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

we could spend most of our time around the church premises assisting in cleaning the compound, serving visitors and praying.<sup>132</sup>

Catholic Diocese of Lodwar (CDL) also extended a hand of help to IDP in Lodwar town. The social ministry, blue print ministry and relief service departments ran by the CDL distributed food to urban IDPs in Lodwar every Wednesday.<sup>133</sup> The diocese also used food distribution as a platform to advocate for IDP rights, educate IDPs on economic empowerment and conservation of the environment. To some who were willing to relocate to outskirts of Lodwar town, they were given one cow through the peace initiative called *Ngómbe Moja, Tuishi Kwa Amani* initiative which targeted ‘hidden’ IDPs displaced as a result of cattle rustling.<sup>134</sup> Through the church programmes, the IDPs got networks that enabled the ‘hidden’ IDPs to supply church members with petty goods such as vegetables, household goods, clothes and mats.<sup>135</sup>

Furthermore, the church introduced the needy members to various faith-based organisations and religions which gave financial support to the ‘hidden’ IDPs.<sup>136</sup> Importantly religion demystified the Turkana traditional chores in the family and society in general by encouraging women to strongly take up the family responsibilities. The FBOs helped IDP women to courageously engage in various income-generating activities as a coping strategy to provide for their families. Wawire noted that the role of women changed from the ancient traditional housewife to a breadwinner. Women perfected their socializing skills, building the huts, as well as performing traditional rituals.<sup>137</sup> Hodgson, on the other hand, noted that they played an important role in the family economy which was more taxing and crucial since they were responsible for cultural reproduction in addition to domestic chores and livestock production activities.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Oral Interview, Ekirapa Isaac, Lodwar Town, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>133</sup> Oral Interview, Mr Ekirapa Isaac, Soweto slums, Lodwar town, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>134</sup> Oral Interview, Mr Godfrey Ekomwa, Catholic Diocese of Lodwar, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>135</sup> Oral Interview, Ekutan Susan, a Congregant Reformed Gospel Church, Lodwar Town, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>136</sup> Oral Interview, Mr Robert Shiundu, businessman Nepter estate Lodwar, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>137</sup> Wawire, V. K. (2003). Gender and the social and economic impact of drought on the residents of Turkana District in Kenya, 12/3/17, <http://agris.fao.org>.

<sup>138</sup> Hodgson D. (2000). *Rethinking Pastoralism in Africa: Gender, culture and the myth of the patriarchal pastoralist*. London: James Curry Ltd.

#### **4.4 Entrepreneurship**

Before IDPs started settling in Lodwar town, small enterprises and businesses within the town were not a lucrative venture. Small-scale businesses such as selling second-hand clothes well known as 'Mitumba clothing' was not valued until it was seriously taken up by IDPs as a strategy to earn a living. IDPs engaged in this business because it required little capital to start. Secondly, the business did not require a long legal process to start. What one needed was to identify a suitable location to operate the business, the supplier and a daily fee for town council.

Hawking was another success story for IDPs who moved to Lodwar town after displacement. Many started hawking due to desperation but ended up making a living out of it. Running this business was also very easy since it doesn't require hidden costs.

Ekwom David, a resident and well-established businessman in Lodwar town said;

Most of these IDPs came here with nothing, begged for some time then all over a sudden, they identified products whose demand was high and their wholesale suppliers. Some of the best products they started selling were the umbrellas, traditional medicine, water, biscuits and toothbrush. Hawking was the type of business which needed less than Ksh 500 but made huge profits. Another service provision business that IDPs easily ventured in was Shoe shining. Some shoe shiners who started as squatters with nowhere to shelter themselves are now landlords. Operating a Salon or a Barber Shop too was underrated by most Lodwar residents but IDPs were reaping handsome rewards. This business only required simple hair skills, strategic location and consistency. Most of IDP ladies started their business by visiting clients in their homes and then later look for a physical location where clients could easily trace them. Some were encouraged and supported by their clients to establish a physical place for their salon.

#### **4.5 Commercial sex work**

According to World Health Organisation, commercial sex worker is a female, male or transgender adults aged over 18 years who sell consensual sexual services in return for cash or payment in kind and who may sell sex formally or informally, regularly or occasionally. Therefore, specifically refers to people of all genders who sell sexual services consensually. It is also important to note that the definition of sex work relates only to those who are over the age of 18 years.<sup>139</sup> However, in Lodwar prostitution though

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<sup>139</sup> IWRAW Asia Pacific (2017). Promoting health and human rights. [www.google.net](http://www.google.net). 22/09/2018.

perceived as a social ill and illegal, IDPs still engage in this business as a way of earning a livelihood.

Throughout the interviews among hidden IDPs in Lodwar, it was evident that economic needs and coercion were the most mentioned as the primary motivating factors for engaging into sex work. Ferguson et.al also holds the same opinion that most women who enter prostitution do it as a result of poverty, diminished employment opportunities as well as due to challenges of meeting subsistence needs.<sup>140</sup> Most of the participants expressed the desire for an alternative form of employment but lacked the required skills to be hired in any work. Secondly, compared to other businesses, commercial sex needed no capital, was easy to enrol, had a ready market as well as high returns than any other work a woman can do.<sup>141</sup>

#### **4.6 *Jua Kali* industry**

Other than commercial sex work, hidden IDPs engaged in *Jua Kali* businesses as a main source of livelihood. Their activities ranged from selling of sweets, plastic bags and utensils, brooms, as well as food and fruit vending. Especially for women, the food industry was an important source of livelihood to most women. Women-owned small kiosks in open air market near shops, schools, churches and construction sites which sold food to workers. Majority of them cooked food from their homes and supplied the shop owners, workers on construction sites, taxi drivers, and hawkers in town. The most commonly prepared food included chapatti 'ndondo'(plain beans), 'githeri' (a mixture of maize and beans) and ugali which was mainly served for lunch. Porridge, tea and *mandazi* on the other hand were served both in morning hours and in the evening before they closed their businesses.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Shannon K, Goldenberg S.M, Deering K.N, Strathdee S.A (2014). HIV infection among female sex workers in concentrated and high prevalence epidemics: why a structural determinants framework is needed. Current opinion in HIV/AIDS. [Google Scholar](#).

<sup>141</sup> Oral Interviews, Kinyonge Rachael, teacher Lodwar high school, Lodwar town, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>142</sup> Oral Interview, Selinen Ekhran, Lodwar town, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

Nevertheless, women engaged in masculine activities such offloading goods from lorries, carrying stones and mixing ballast during construction. Furthermore, they fetched water for construction companies, hotel and restaurants. Some women walked for long distances collecting firewood and palm reeds along the banks of River Turkwell. Palm reeds were used for making brooms, mats and baskets.

Selin Ekhran, an IDP woman remarked;

When I came to Lodwar, I was 6 months pregnant of my first born. I had nothing yet my two younger brothers were there with me. Together with other IDP women from Canam, we used to walk for long distances along River Turkwel gathering fruits known as Makoma for food. Life was not easy especially for me since I was pregnant. Other women were able to collect firewood and Abrukunya for sale and making brooms and mats which I could not.<sup>143</sup>

#### **4.7 Splitting, clustering, and pooling of resources as a coping strategy**

Splitting of family members, clustering and pooling of resources together for the purpose of reconstruction was not a new phenomenon among the pastoral Turkana community. The practice of splitting families to better manage the family herds and enable families to cater for its members was a dominant feature of their life. The strategy reduced the pressure on existing household food resources and saved a life.<sup>144</sup> Children were sent off well-off and rich kinsmen, friends or to boarding school as a survival mechanism. It was a mechanism of sending off the population from the pastoral sector. Schools were popular at such times because nearly all the primary schools in the district had boarding facilities where the children were fed by the government or by the missionaries. The school population rose during the drought and probably decreased in good times.<sup>145</sup> The same survival strategy had been exhibited at large among the 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town who had adopted the same method in raising the rent, food, and starting up small businesses.

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<sup>143</sup> Oral Interview, Ebemhellen, Lodwar town, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>144</sup> Cassanelli, L. V. (1981). Drought and famine in Somalia pastoral strategies through the twentieth century [History].

<sup>145</sup> Awuondo, C. O. (1987). 'Human Response and Famine in Turkana, Kenya'. *Unpublished PhD Thesis, The University of Nairobi*. <https://scholar.google.com/scholar?>



The capacity of this strategy went beyond food provision among IDP households to include devising means and ways to cope with rent. The clustering of IDPs in specific suburbs of Lodwar was not limited to the tendency of them settling among people from their respective kins and the quest for security in numbers, but also incorporated pooling of money for rentals. IDPs that had no relatives and friends to house them resorted on this method of survival mechanism which involved living in a shared accommodation that enabled them to pay for rent together. The strategy saved many new IDPs moving to Lodwar town to avoid exorbitant rents and provided significant source of economic, social and security relief.<sup>146</sup>

While some landlords in Lodwar resented ‘hidden’ IDPs on the ground that they were not able to pay their rent dues on time, clustering strategy and pooling of resources enabled IDPs to pay rents for a couple of months in advance.<sup>147</sup> This idea was common among Turkana women, who had previously worked together in Japata, Kobos, Namanjalala, and Naifarm ADC in Kitale as casuals. These groups started in Kitale town. Using money gathered from the groups, women bought fish from Lake Turkana and Turkwel gorge and sold in Lodwar town. This turned out to be one of lucrative businesses for IDPs.

Clustering and the accompanying resource-pooling strategies were one of the few methods that naturally achieved economic, political and socio-cultural integration between the local Turkana people in Lodwar town. It facilitated the development, respect, trust and mutual understanding which had been too difficult to attain. The idea of splitting, clustering and pooling of resources together was an old pastoral cultural strategy that they borrowed from their great grandfathers. Awuondo and Miscell noted that after the drought, the pastoral Turkana people joined their herd together in corporate groups and pooled their surviving stock in order to exploit economies of scale.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>146</sup>Oral interview, Ekharan Selin, Lodwar Town, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>147</sup> Oral Interview, Ekharan Selin, Lodwar Town, 12<sup>th</sup> may, 2017.

<sup>148</sup> Odegi C.O (1987, Human Response to Drought and Famine in Turkana. A thesis submitted in fulfilment for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Nairobi.

Once the livestock had been pooled, they would be left in the hands of a few selected men or families in the pasturelands as the rest split and moved into the camps for relief rations. Migrants had similarly left their families and livestock with kinsmen, neighbours or friends as they went out in search of wage employment. This mechanism of pooling resources after-a drought or loss of livestock from catastrophes was customary. Historically, the able-bodied dispossessed nomads would leave behind whatever had remained of their stock and "disappear" into distant lands to settle and work there temporarily to secure and acquire new herd mostly from their neighbours Merille.<sup>149</sup>

According to Jaji, clustering was also used by Somali refugees as a conscious strategy to find security in numbers as the Somali women's narratives indicate. The author noted that it assisted them to overcome the general perception which termed all Somali as terrorists. The strategy enabled checks on those joining them to avoid suspicious activities that may endanger their stay by eliciting security concerns. The raids targeted rape and harassment at a time when women belonging to the other nationalities observed that police harassment had abated since they reverted to this method. The same method had also been used among the Congolese refugees in Kawangware, Zimmerman and Kayole slums.<sup>150</sup>

Splitting of families among hidden IDPs in Lodwar town was used as one stone to kill several birds at ago as the wise men stated. First, unseen IDPs applied this method as a way of reducing the burden of rent and food by sending their mature boys to their kins and kith within the town to stay with them. This reduced the amount of household expenditure on food and rent. There are those who were left in the camps within Lodwar town to gain from free medical, education, and food ration given to IDPs in official designated camps. This had been used as a key communication line to assist the urban IDPs in to stay connected to their friends and relatives in the camps and even the royal area. To some extent, it assisted some families who were displaced Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu to adapt to the harsh climate of Lodwar town. For instance, mama Amos whose two children failed

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<sup>149</sup> Turkana District Political Records, 1921-45 (Miscell) Kenya National Archives, Nairobi; Awuondo C. Odegi 1987 pp 120-121.

<sup>150</sup>Jaji, R. (2009). Refugee Woman and the experiences of local integration in Nairobi, Kenya (Doctoral dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of a doctoral degree, Bayreuth University.

to adapt the new climate were returned to Kitale where they stayed with their surrogate grandmother who was a Bukusu.<sup>151</sup>

The mechanism also gave rise to a new form of business that thrived between IDPs in camps within the outskirts of Lodwar town and the hidden IDPs in Lodwar town. Food ration distributed by well-wishers, county government, the faith-based organizations and charity groups to IDPs in camps were used as trade goods in Lodwar town. Mr Robert Shiundu a businessman in Napetet estate Lodwar town, noted that IDPs had an unbreakable long chain of business, coordinated between the camps and the businessmen in town.

He narrated and I quote:

For the last six years, I have been selling highly nutritious food that comes from the IDP and to some extent refugee camp in Kakuma. These commodities are being supplied to us by the urban IDPs and sometime Sudanese refugees who have business and family links with IDPs living in camps. The commodities include maize, millet, sorghum and bean flour; high-quality sufuria, cups, mats, tents, clothes, and electronic devices; medicine, vitamins, proteins, and energy boosters for malnutrition cure.<sup>152</sup>

#### **4.8 Support from institutions**

Periodically, IDPs benefited from government programmes that were set to help mitigate the harsh living conditions of the people of Turkana in general. This includes the Safety Hunger fund mend to assist families living in drought-affected regions of Mandera Turkana, Wajir and West Pokot. Each household received five thousand four hundred shillings after every two months. The money assisted them to buy food and reduce the effects of hunger. Furthermore, they benefited from *Lepetu*. This fund was given to all adults from low-income families.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Oral Interview, Mama Amos, Kanam village Lodwar Town, 10<sup>th</sup> may 2017.

<sup>152</sup> Oral Interview, Mr Robert Shiundu, businessman Napetet estate, Lodwar town, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2107.

<sup>153</sup> Oral Interview, Mr Gek Bernard, Lodwar Town, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

Similarly, IDPs above 65 years also received fund for elders known as *Nakoskiok* in the local dialect. This was facilitated by the ministry of Labour and Social Services.<sup>154</sup> Local government of Lodwar, on the other hand, allocated a piece of land in Canaan, Lokichar, Lokichogio, Kanamkamer and Nadapal for resettlement of some roaming urban IDPs evicted from various parts of the country in 2007.<sup>155</sup>

The ALPHA PLUS and Elizabeth Glassier Paediatric Aids Foundation, Catholic Diocese of Lodwar, Mercy Corp, USAID, Islam Religion and Reformed Church of East Africa other than advocating for the rights and welfare of the neglected urban IDPs in Lodwar, they also assisted them in different ways. First, they contributed food, tents for shelter, medical services, and counselling sessions especially immediately after their arrival in Lodwar. ALPHA and Elizabeth Glassier Paediatric Aids foundation counselled and trained HIV infected IDPs on how to live healthily. They also facilitated them with medicine. Together with Lodwar District Hospital made available free medicines for HIV and AIDs patients. Merlin therapeutic trained IDPs on diet, malnutrition and contributed food additives to IDPs boost their health and avoid malnourished among children in Lodwar town. The World Food Programme on the other hand distributed food monthly to all groups in slum areas including the IDPs.<sup>156</sup>

Catholic Diocese of Lodwar (CDL) also extended a hand of help to IDP in Lodwar town. The social ministry, blue print ministry and relief service departments ran by the CDL distributed food to urban IDPs in Lodwar every Wednesday.<sup>157</sup> The diocese also used food distribution as a platform to advocate for IDP rights, educate IDPs on economic empowerment and conservation of the environment. IDP families were also given one cow through the peace initiative called *Ngómbe moja, tuishi kwa Amani* initiative.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Oral Interview, Abodi Patrick, Equity Bank Public Relations officer, Lodwar Town, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>155</sup> Oral interview, Long'or Monica, Lodwar Town, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>156</sup> People First Impact PFIM (2012).

<sup>157</sup> Oral Interview, Mr Ekirapa Isaac, Soweto slums, Lodwar town, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>158</sup> Oral Interview, Mr Godfrey Ekomwa, Catholic Diocese of Lodwar, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

#### 4.9 Conclusion

The chapter discussed the coping mechanisms of various hidden IDPs found in Lodwar town. 'Hidden' IDPs employed varied survival strategies to counter life challenges that they were facing. This included community networking as a survival strategy, assistance from Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs,) entrepreneurship, *Jua Kali* industry, splitting, clustering, and pooling of resources as a coping strategy and support from institutions. Some involved in criminal activities, such as stealing and sexual exchange (commercial sex work) as a survival strategy.

The FBOs provided a wider range of assistance to 'hidden' IDPs. The help varied from psychological healing, sense of belonging and a place of refuge when everything fell apart. In conjunction with non-governmental organisations such as Mercy Corps, churches like Catholic Diocese of Lodwar and Redeemed Church of East Africa offered material support to 'hidden' urban poor immediately after displacement. The assistance included beddings, food, water and free medical services. IDP also engaged in small commercial activities hawking, opening kiosks, loading and offloading goods from the trucks, washing clothes, selling charcoal, brooms, and household utensils. Periodically, 'hidden' IDPs also benefited from government programmes that were set to help mitigate the harsh living conditions of the people of Turkana in general. This included Safety Hunger fund, *Lepetu* and *Nakoskiok*. *Lepetu* is fund mend for all adults from low-income households whereas, IDPs above 65 years also received fund for elders known as *Nakoskiok* in the local dialect. This was facilitated by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services.

'Hidden' IDPs largely depended on the community networking and reciprocal structures to start a new life. The network system assisted the IDPs to get a temporary place to stay after arriving in Lodwar town. Members of a social network provided support in a variety of ways including, companionship and assistance with daily tasks and hassles; reassurance and emotional strength; practical advice guidance; and perhaps, most critical, the sense that one is important, valued, and cared about. Networking was also crucial in getting the cheap rental house, casual work, food and financial assistance within the town. On the other hand, the practice of splitting, clustering and pooling resources also assisted 'hidden' families to

live on the limited resources they had. The strategy reduced the pressure on existing household food resources and saved a life as children were sent to live among the well of relatives. Finally, the 'hidden' IDPs who engaged in sex workers attributed their decision to dispossession, lack of skills for anything else, poverty and idleness for engaging in the practice. Some married women also practice commercial sex because they have families to fend for and bills to pay.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### IMPACTS OF NON-CAMP STATUS ON IDPS AND THE HOST COMMUNITY

#### 5.1 Introduction

The impact of displacement among the ‘hidden’, IDPs in Lodwar town was a challenge and opportunity in the same measure. Some host community viewed IDPs as potential threat and burden to them since they had nothing to offer. Other members of the community were positive about their presence in home town. IDPs enriched the labour market in Lodwar and Turkana at large by introducing new expertise. This chapter focuses on the duality of the impacts of displacement on the ‘hidden’ IDPs in Lodwar town, the host community and the environment. It will argue that despite the burdens the IDPs introduced to the people of Lodwar town, they also benefited them in different ways.

#### 5.2 Impacts of displacement on the ‘hidden’ IDP

Of all parties that were affected by displacement, IDPs carried a larger part of the burden and risk of displacement. The loss of property during displacement exposed them to a highly vulnerable situation which seldom left them stable. This was not an exception to ‘hidden’ IDPs in Lodwar town whose coping strategies adopted to eke a living had enormous economic and social impacts on their wellbeing.<sup>159</sup> For example, the loss of income-generating activity for Turkana men who entirely depended on livestock keeping providing for the family had multiple impacts on the family survival and their culture. Men were only respected according to the size of the livestock they owned. Therefore, displacement deprived them a cultural position in the family as providers and forced them to take a back seat as women took the leadership role.

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<sup>159</sup> Chamber (2009). pp. 22-23.

### 5.2.1 Impact of displacement on the IDP household

The impact of displacement among ‘hidden’ IDP households in Lodwar town was both a blessing and a curse at the same time. For Turkana women, it provided for an opportunity to elevate the social ladder. ‘Hidden’ IDP women were quick to adapt the non-camp status and therefore devised ways to cope with the effects of displacement and making good use of economic opportunity available compared to men. Therefore, they became bread winners of their households contradicting the Turkana traditional myth where women were only allowed to perform home chores and take care of the family as men provided for the family livelihood.<sup>160</sup>

The arrangement pushed away men from their families because they had lost their position as providers of the family to women. This in return had an overwhelmingly negative impact on IDP families. The new leadership responsibilities overburdened women and exposed them to potential risks in their line of duty. For instance, most women who were not able to secure employment opportunities suffered high-risk of sexual abuse as they engaged in secret commercial sex work to enable them to pay their bills and provide for their families.<sup>161</sup>

Although commercial sex work was an immediate remedy for their challenges, it had long-term social impacts on the ‘hidden’ IDP families. The business affected many marriage relationships leading to divorce. Similarly, young IDP girls were prematurely introduced to prostitution which affected their schooling, their moral standards and exposed them to early marriages. Furthermore, women doing commercial sex workers were often harassed by men, sometimes physically assaulted. They were also exposed to dangerous diseases such as gonorrhoea, syphilis, and HIV.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Oral Interview, Lomorukai Ekimomor Evalin, IDP Lodwar, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>161</sup> Oral interview, Mrs Kinyinga Rachael, Lodwar High School, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>162</sup> Buscher, D. (2013). New approaches to urban refugee livelihoods. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 28(2), p10, 12/6/17, <https://refuge.journals>.



Furthermore, sex work is illegal in Kenya; therefore, the industry is done in secret. This further made the workers vulnerable since they could not fight for their rights. Given the clandestine and socially stigmatized nature of their work, IDPs who survived on this business were left without recourse to legal protection from threats to their safety, vulnerable to arrest and abuse and without access to health and social services.

‘Hidden’ IDPs were often detained in hospitals for failing to pay bills for medical services. For instance, the non-camped IDPs located around the Kambi Moto, Kanamker, Napetet, Lowasengak, Kasedonyang, Caanan and Nakwameki areas mentioned several IDPs detained at Lodwar district Hospital for failing to pay their medical bills. From our interviews, we noted that such detention and lack of money to buy prescribed medicines discouraged them from going to the hospital. Similarly, lack of access to affordable healthcare was cited as a big challenge for IDPs with diseases such as asthma, diabetes and cancer.<sup>163</sup>

Other than medications, water and sanitation in urban slums where IDPs lived was generally poor. In Kambi Moto, Kanamker, Napetet, Lowasengak, Kasedonyang slums of Lodwar town for instance, ‘hidden’ IDPs interviewed said, where they live, they did not have piped water. They bought water from vendors and kiosks which were relatively high cost for household;

In slums you see, we struggle with everything, so when it comes to water, we are forced to cut down on our food budget to buy water, which we use sparingly because it is very expensive. We also risk using unsafe water because we don’t have many options.

### **5.2.2 Impact on IDP children**

Displacement and subsequent lack of stable income to sustain a family adversely affected the welfare of ‘hidden’ IDP children in Lodwar town in many ways. First, failure of parents to fend for their families forced many children to move to streets. Hawking and begging became their daily routine to secure a meal for themselves and their family members. The coping strategies of their poor parents forced them to seek an alternative way of living.

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<sup>163</sup> Oral Interview, Mr Etiang Epalat, Kanam Village, Lodwar, 10<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

Most of the desperate IDP families pulled their children out of school to save on the amounts they spend on school fees and related costs such as; uniforms, books, pencils, to secure a meal and rental for family.

Through our enrolment campaign drive and sensitizing parents to take their children to school in my sub-county, we realized that over 90% of the IDP parents knew the importance of education and were willing to send their children to good schools. However, the circumstances surrounding their survival hindered them to do so. Most of them lived in deplorable conditions, they depended on handouts and cheap labour to earn a living. They did not have stable jobs to sustain their families and pay the school for petty school requirements. This made schooling of their children irregular and unpredictable especially in schools where the feeding programme had not been actualized.<sup>164</sup>

Elsewhere, save the Child Fund and Hart and Lo Fortes reporting on Karamojong children noted that exposure of children to change in the learning environment affected most school going age IDP pupils and students.<sup>165</sup> The same case with Turkana families who before displacement, their children went to well-facilitated schools with enough classrooms, served with both tea and lunch and some had school transport. However, in the new environment, they found themselves after displacement negatively impacted their learning abilities. Despite the free primary education initiative by the government and funding of schools through devolution, the available school infrastructure in Lodwar central could not accommodate the large numbers of children in town. They had few teachers, inadequate teaching and learning materials and lacked feeding programme. In some schools due to a large number of pupils, teachers were overwhelmingly unable to curb bullying and guarantee pupils security.<sup>166</sup>

Therefore, a good number of IDP children in schools in Lodwar dropped further as they advanced to secondary school. The transition to high school was actually below 30% due to high costs of secondary education. The cost of a public day school in Lodwar was estimated to be charging a minimum of Ksh.21, 000 per year while boarding school charges

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<sup>164</sup> Oral interview, Mr Nyongesa, Turkana Central Sub-County Education Quality Officer, 9<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>165</sup> Save the Children Fund (UK). (2009), *Life on the edge: the struggle to survive and the impact of forced displacement in high-risk areas of the occupied Palestinian territory*. The survey conducted by near east consulting. Supported by the humanitarian aid department of the European Commission (echo).

<sup>166</sup> Bowlby, J. (1973). *Separation: anxiety and anger* (Vol. 2). *Attachment and loss*. 3/11/16, <https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl>.

were ksh.50, 000 to 78,000, and private secondary schools paying over Ksh.100, 000. These amounts were far much beyond the reach of poor, displaced IDP families who depended on a daily wage to put food on the table.<sup>167</sup>

In some instances, however, displaced children were fortunate enough to have greater opportunity for even greater access to higher education than that which was offered in their place of origin. For instance, there were families whose children were lucky to get scholarships from Kenya Commercial Bank (KCB), Equity Fund Wings to Fly, Constituency Development Fund bursaries and partial assistance from both local and international organizations within Lodwar town.<sup>168</sup>

Some of the scholarships like that of KCB were partial and parents needed to work hard to top up the fee for their children to remain in school. Daniel Longman Lokwang' a 19-year-old, form three student at Lodwar High school was an example of the many students whose families were struggling at least to enable their children to access education.

In our interview with him he noted the following;

I was lucky to get a KCB partial scholarship after passing my KCPE examination at Nangis primary school in 2013 where I got 370 marks. However, the scholarship alone is not enough to cater for my school fees. My mum works at Akwang'a primary school as a cook and during her free time she does washing clothes for people around Lodwar town to support me and my two sisters in school. Despite the many challenges I face, I thank God because am still at school. My friends who joined RCA Lokori, Kitilu boys, Nadapal high school, and Lodwar girls dropped out of school due to lack of school fees."<sup>169</sup>

Child labour among the school going children from non-camped IDP families affected their education. Many children complemented their parent's efforts by scavenging on dumpsites and streets for scrap material, hawking, fishing, sand and firewood collection. They also worked in slaughterhouses and made bricks for survival. They earned about ksh 100-200 per day, while often risking injury and exposing themselves to infectious diseases, such as

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<sup>167</sup> Oral interview, Mr Nyongesa, Turkana Central Sub-County Education Quality Officer, 9<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>168</sup> Oral interview, Mr Nyongesa, Lodwar Town, 9<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>169</sup> Oral interview, Lonyaman Lokwang' Daniel, Student Lodwar High School, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

tetanus. Parents also encouraged their children to take up casual jobs on construction sites, fetching water, carrying building blocks, digging foundations, carrying sand and concrete and clearing the construction sites.

In our interviews with Mr Barasa, a contractor and businessman in Lodwar, he affirmed that most children, especially from the IDP families had foregone going to school due to enormous challenges they faced both at school and at home. He noted that children were secretly picked up in Lodwar by Lorries each morning to be taken to construction sites, and dropped back very late in the evening.<sup>170</sup> These claims were confirmed by an adult IDP who complained of not getting as many jobs as they used to before due to the shift to child labour.

Children were hired by wealthy members of host community took advantage of desperation the 'hidden' children were in to perform household chores like laundry, drawing water, fetching firewood and cooking, thus exploiting their vulnerability. The 'invisible' urban children were contended with life's basics, that is; food shelter, water and clothing. Long'or Monica accounted on how civil servants in Lodwar town employ young 'hidden' IDPs as housemaids, garden boys and poultry attendants. Their parents, who could barely make ends meet, usually had no objection to child labour. Sometimes women together with their children are hired by wealthy members of the community on a daily basis to perform certain household chores such as laundry, drawing water, fetching firewood and cooking, thus exploiting their vulnerability. To my surprise, churches of all the places too engaged in this hideous activity. Many destitute boys were casually employed to slash, collect bin, fetch water and distribute leaflets for various churches. Unfortunately, these kids were paid as little as ksh.30 per day.<sup>171</sup> This amount of money was not enough to buy even a plate of rice in a kiosk but kept the poverty circle of IDPs passing from one generation to another. Poverty had reduced most of IDP families to a level of contending with life's basics, that is; food shelter, water and clothing.

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<sup>170</sup> Oral interview, Barasa Amos, Lodwar Town, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>171</sup> Oral interview, Long'or Monica, Lodwar Town, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

Some IDPs had petty family trade such as selling vegetable, fruits, second-hand clothes, shoes, charcoal, firewood and roasting maize which in most cases was run by children. Samson Lote averred;

Since I returned here in Lodwar upon displacement, life has been very challenging. I run a transport business popularly known as Boda-Boda and my wife has a firewood, charcoal, and 'Malimali' shop. Whenever my wife is engaged elsewhere, I ask my 12 year old son to stand in for her though aware of him being underage. I do this out of love, not because I don't love him or out of bad intention but because that is where life has forced us to reach.<sup>172</sup>

### **5.2.3 Children in conflict with the law**

Lack of parental care, guidance and educational training programs to young 'hidden' IDPs children on the streets of Lodwar town led raising children who were rebellious and always in conflict with the law. These children engaged in criminal offences which made them to conflict with law enforcers. For instance, in California and Soweto slums 'invisible' IDP girls of underage are deeply webbed into new urban lifestyles of prostitution, drug trafficking, selling of illegal brew and to some extent used in smuggling of weapons in and out of the town. 75% of these children in conflict with the law were girls of age 13 to 16 years who were exploited by rich men and women to advance their illegal businesses because they were less suspected by the law enforcers. However, when caught in a crime, the authorities concerned also failed to respect and promote dignity and self-worth of these minor lawbreakers.<sup>173</sup>

In 2012, there were over 60 pending criminal cases in Lodwar Law court touching on underage, most of whom were 'hidden' IDP street children. The children in conflict with the law rose drastically since 2009 when Lodwar recorded the highest influx of 'hidden' IDPs in the town.<sup>174</sup> Putting children behind bars separated them from their families and communities, therefore, seriously damaging their physical, mental and social development.

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<sup>172</sup> Oral interview, Lote Samson, Lodwar Town, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>173</sup> Mousavi, S., Rastegari, B., &Nordin, R. (2013).Improving the Legal Protection of Child in Conflict with the Law: Reintegration and Rehabilitation into Society. 23/12/1. <https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract>.

<sup>174</sup> Oral Interview with Mr Godfrey Ekwoma, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017, Lodwar town.

The detention of the minor led to lifelong stigmatisation which hampered reintegration of children into Communities. For instance, Article 37(b) of the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC), states clearly that deprivation of liberty of any child shall be used only as a measure of last resort. It is, therefore, necessary to develop a wide range of effective measures to ensure that children are dealt with in a manner appropriate to their well-being and proportionate both to their circumstances and the offence.<sup>175</sup>

### **5.3 Impacts on the host community**

Away from children in conflict with the law, there were also significant social-economic and environmental burdens caused by ‘hidden’ IDPs on the host community. IDPs overwhelmed the existing infrastructure in Lodwar town. Housing facilities were stretched to limits. For instance, Nawaitarong estate in Lodwar town was initially a low and middle-class estate however, after the deployment of government officials from the ministry of special programmes, international organizations and NGOs working with the IDPs in camps inflated the price of the houses. The estate became a renowned high potential and well-protected area hosting high profile people.<sup>176</sup>

The presence of IDPs also had impacts on the existing infrastructure such as schools, housing, and health facilities. IDPs brought unfair competition on limited jobs, scarce resources and drove up the prices of houses. As a result, the town experienced uncontrolled mushrooming and sprawling of shanties as ‘developers’ raised house like structures made of iron sheet and timber to meet the needs of the grown populations. The displaced population who were not compensated during the Operation Rudi Nyumbani programme was forced to establish informal squatter settlements as the number of the urban poor in Lodwar town ballooned beyond the county's control. This obviously came with a range of security-related problems which were directly associated with IDPs who later settled in Lodwar from different parts of the country.

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<sup>175</sup> Federle, K. H. (2017). Making Meaningful the Right to Appeal under the Convention on the Rights of the Child. *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 25(1), pp 9-11, <http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/content/journals/10.1163/15718182-02501001>.

<sup>176</sup> Oral interview, Barasa Amos, Lodwar May 12<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

#### 5.4 Impact on the environment

Environmental impact caused by ‘hidden’ IDPs in Lodwar town further became a big concern for both local community and the authority. These IDPs exerted pressure on indigenous trees along Turkwel River. The trees were used for charcoal burning, construction, firewood, timber and firing bricks. According to local people’s estimate, one large tree was needed to fire approximately 3,000 bricks.<sup>177</sup> The brick-making project also required a lot of water and trees. Therefore, deforestation led to frequent conflicts between IDPs and the local community. Since the project was an important source of income for most IDPs living in the outskirts of Lodwar town, it was very hard for them to stop. The project was mainly done by both men and women groups as a way of eking a life despite the considerable environmental damage on trees, vegetation and soils along Turkwel River. The clay for the bricks was dug from borrow pits by hand, in areas that were often previously farmed. In the wet season, these pits fill with stagnant water and contribute to environmental health problems such as malaria.<sup>178</sup>

Since there was limited arable land to sustain the IDPs, shrubs too, were not spared as some became traditional herbalist and medicine. Selin indicated to us that in 2009 when they arrived in Lodwar, the forest along the Turkwel River was packed with a variety of indigenous trees, shrubs and grass which were used mostly by cattle herders. Lack of other means of survival forced them to start harvesting trees and grass for various uses. They walked for long distances looking to collect shrub called *amburukunya* which they preferred in making brooms, mats and baskets for sale. They also survived on wild fruits called mikoma which were only found along Turkwel River.<sup>179</sup>

Despite many burdens associated with the influx of IDPs, they also benefited the local communities. The interaction between the two groups (IDPs and the local community), had a double impact--burdens and opportunities. Although host communities felt burdened during the initial influx, there was a benefit that accompanied IDPs. For instance, the

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<sup>177</sup> Oral interview, Mr. Gek Bernard, Lodwar Town, 12<sup>th</sup> May, 2017.

<sup>178</sup> Kibreab, G. (1996). People on the edge in the horn: displacement, land use & environment in the Gedaref region, Sudan accessed on 13/3/2016, <https://www.cabdirect.org/cabdirect/abstract>.

<sup>179</sup> Oral Interviews, Kinyonge Rachael, teacher Lodwar high school, Lodwar town, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

infrastructural expansion. Roads, housing and health services were improved by Lodwar town council to cater for additional population. Though in small way, the economic activities engaged in by various ‘hidden’ IDPs boosted the circulation of money within Lodwar town and increased the overall welfare of the host community.<sup>180</sup>

The entrepreneurship survival mechanism of the IDPs created job opportunities. For example the ‘jua kali’ industry ran by IDPs since early 2009 earned the county a lot of revenue. This included the weaving industry, brick making, food industry, bicycles and Moto bike transport, cleaning and security industries. Brooms, mats, traditionally made carpets, were exported from Turkana to other regions such as Trans-Nzoia, Uasin-Gishu and Bungoma. Local shop owners also benefit from foreign foods, medicine, and food additives, foreign currencies that IDPs in Lodwar traded in from the IDP camps around and from Kakuma refugee camp.<sup>181</sup> Bascom and Kok commending on the same topic noted that IDPs and refugees in any host community had a multiplier effect, by expanding the capacity and productivity of the receiving area's economy through local and regional trade and the growth of markets.<sup>182</sup>

Nonetheless, economically IDPs played an important role in different ways. To begin with, the labour market was highly boosted by the presence of IDPs who provided both skilled and unskilled labour. Secondly, the activities of charitable organizations in Lodwar town which started mainly as support for IDPs has provided employment for both local community and IDP expatriate and casual workers. Consequently, the organization serving the IDPs have rented facilities, boosted hotel businesses, tourism and enhanced circulation of currency. IDPs themselves, on the other hand, are also a source of market for locally produced products and important services such as food, fish which boosts the local area taxes.

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<sup>180</sup> Oral Interview, Ekeny Ann, Lodwar town, 12<sup>th</sup> May, 2017.

<sup>181</sup> Oral interview, Mr Shiundu, businessman, Nepter estate, Lodwar town, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2017.

<sup>182</sup> Bascom, J. (2001). *Losing place: refugee populations and rural transformations in East Africa* (Vol. 3). Berghahn Books.



## 5. 5 Conclusion

The survival mechanisms of IDPs in Lodwar town have had hard negative impacts on their lives. The binate effects were not only felt by the IDP fraternity but also the host community and the environment. To begin with many families faced challenges that led to separation as men ran away due to lack of income. This had overwhelming negative impacts on women as new household heads especially in terms of family security and provision. Children were not able to constantly remain in class due to lack of school fees, uniforms, books, pens and other school necessities. Their right for education and protection against child labour were frustrated as most of them ended up on streets begging, working in factories and industries. Others employed in shops, supermarkets and warehouses as wage workers. They lingered around construction sites seeking for work so as to assist their parents.

Similarly, lack of parental care, guidance and educational training programs to young 'hidden' IDPs children on the streets of Lodwar town led raising children who were rebellious and always in conflict with the law. These children engaged in criminal offences which made them to conflict with law enforcers. For instance, in California and Soweto slums 'invisible' IDP girls of underage are deeply webbed into new urban lifestyles of prostitution, drug trafficking, selling of illegal brew and to some extent used in smuggling of weapons in and out of the town.

Away from children in conflict with the law, there were also significant social-economic and environmental burdens caused by 'hidden' IDPs on the host community. IDPs overwhelmed the existing infrastructure in Lodwar town. Housing facilities were stretched to limits. The presence of IDPs also had impacts on the existing infrastructure such as schools, housing, and health facilities. The town experienced uncontrolled mushrooming and sprawling of shanties as 'developers' raised house like structures made of iron sheet and timber to meet the needs of the grown populations. Furthermore, the environmental impacts caused by 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town were overwhelming. The 'hidden' IDPs exerted pressure on indigenous trees along Turkwel River. The trees were used for charcoal burning, construction, firewood, timber and firing bricks.

## CHAPTER SIX

### 6.0 CONCLUSION

In recent years, there have been many studies done on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in the first world nations and developing countries such as Kenya. These studies mainly focused on IDPs resulting from political, ethnic and natural causes.<sup>183</sup> In line with the above studies, this research focused on 'hidden' IDPs in urban settings in Kenya. It examined the loitering IDPs of Lodwar town, their ingenious utilization of non-camp status in an arid part of the country and the mechanisms they employed to cope with challenges. This study contains three main objectives. The first objective examined the push and pull factors that led to 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town. The second objective assessed the coping mechanism of the 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town whereas the third examined the impacts of the non-camp status on the IDP livelihood and the host community in Lodwar township.

Considering the first objective, the study revealed that the loitering 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town were a perennial product of displacement in Kenya which took place in different phases. The first phase occurred in early 20<sup>th</sup> C in Turkana district due to recurrent cattle rustling, drought, famine and colonial expeditions. As a result, many Turkana families were displaced to Bungoma, Trans-Nzoia, and Uasin Gishu districts. The second phase followed in the early 1990s during the reintroduction of multiparty politics in Kenya, which created divisions along ethnic lines, mainly in the Rift Valley displacing the Turkana families.

Following this second displacement of the 1990s, not all IDPs settled in camps. Some of them decided to move to Lodwar town where they improvised various coping mechanisms which enabled them to survive. These survival mechanisms of 'hidden' IDPs, as indicated

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<sup>183</sup> For example, Kamungi Prisca on her study on the politics of displacement in multiparty Kenya argues that competitive politics in Kenya intensified the already existing division of people along ethnic lines. Goldsmith etl., fighting for inclusion argues that the prevalence of natural calamities such as drought and famine diminished pasture land leading to resource conflict and displacement. Murunga G, on the economic impacts of 2007 political violence argued that other than death and displacement of people, the violence led to a destruction of property worth billions. See Kamungi P.M. (2009), The politics of displacement in multiparty Kenya. *Journal of contemporary African Studies*, pp 9-11. Goldsmith P. etl. (Eds.). (2007), *Fighting for inclusion: conflicts among Pastoralists in eastern Africa and the Horn*. Development Policy Management Forum, p.78. ; Murunga, G. R. (2011), Spontaneous or Premeditated?: Post-election Violence in Kenya. *Nordiska Afrika institute*, Uppsala. P13.

in the second objective, were on the basis of gender and age. Whereas male IDPs earned their livelihood in *Jua kali* sectors (informal sector made up of small-scale traders and craftsmen), construction industry, brick making and selling second-hand clothes, women engaged in indoor chores such as cleaning houses, washing clothes and babysitting for a pay. Children did hawking of sweets, groundnuts and water in Lodwar town to support their families.

Concerning the third objective, the study further revealed that coping strategies employed by the 'hidden' IDPs had both negative and positive impacts on the residents of Lodwar town. On one hand, the IDPs were a burden to the society. For instance, during their initial stage of displacement, their presence overwhelmed the limited social facilities such as schools, hospitals and houses. On the other hand, IDPs enriched the labour market of Lodwar town through their skills in various fields such as masonry and welding. They also provided the much needed cheap labour which lowered the cost of production. Consequently, through *miganda* (pulling together) initiatives, they were able to raise funds which boosted in Lodwar town.

In line with the objectives, the study also focussed on the research hypothesis. According to the first hypothesis which argued that the settlement of 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town was as a result of various push and pull factors, the study confirmed that indeed there were factors which led to the displacement of the Turkana people. One was the colonial armed expedition in the second decade of 20<sup>th</sup> C which led annexation of fertile land and confiscation livestock of livestock. A second factor was the drought and famine of 1960-61 claimed over two-thirds of their livestock which was their major source of food, prestige and wealth thus making them paupers and third was the proliferation of small arms along the porous international border fuelled conflicts and posed a threat to sustainable development in the region leading to the displacement of people. As a result, some Turkana families were displaced to famine relief camps within Turkana district such as Furguson's gulf, Kalin and Todonyang while the others moved to Bungoma, Kakamega, Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu districts where they lived as IDPs.

In the above regions, the Turkana were further affected by political instability during the reintroduction of multiparty democracy in Kenya in the 1990s. This period witnessed conflicts along ethnic lines, especially in cosmopolitan regions. For example, in 1992, 1997 and 2007 many of them were displaced from their homes to various IDP camps in the Rift Valley and Western provinces. However, there were those who bypassed official IDP camps established by the government and settled in various parts of Turkana district where they faced open resentment and discrimination from their kith and kin in areas such as Lorogun, Kaptir, Kesogon and Turkwel. The cold reception by their 'relatives' pushed them to settle in Kambi Moto, Kanamker, Napetet, Lowasengak, Kasedonyang, Caanan and Nakwameki slums in Lodwar town.

In line with the second hypothesis, which states that the 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar Township had various mechanisms of survival that enabled them to deal with their challenges, the researcher confirmed that the loitering hidden IDPs had various coping mechanisms. For instance, Men mostly engaged in masculine activities such construction works, offloading cargo and brick making. Women on the other hand focused on the food industry where they sold food on construction sites, retail shops, and to members of the *jua kali* industry. They also offered services such as cleaning homes, washing clothes and commercial sex work. Children did hawking, and collection of scrap metals for sale.

The coping mechanisms discussed in the earlier paragraph, had impacts on both the IDPs and the host community. On one hand, it led to family separation among the IDPs which consequently increased the number of street families in Lodwar town. Similarly, it created a shift in domestic roles where men who were traditionally the providers and heads of the families lost their prestigious title to women who became the breadwinners. On the other hand, the presence of IDPs in Lodwar affected the host community in various ways. The IDPs competed over the already limited facilities such as hospitals, schools and houses. Limited housing for the IDPs also led to the emergence of uncontrolled mushrooming of shanties within Lodwar town. Areas such as Kambi Moto, Kambi Mawe, Kambi Mpya and Napetet grew with the increase in population which exerted pressure on the limited natural

resources such as trees which are used for charcoal burning, construction, brick making and firewood.

In conclusion, the coping mechanism of 'hidden' IDPs, in arid urban settings such as Lodwar, remains to be a complex field of study. This argument is pegged on the recurrent conflicts over rivalrous and non-excluded scarce resources in the region such as water and pasture; bloody cattle rustling; drought and famine; infiltration of sophisticated illicit weapons and politicised border conflicts that caused massive displacement of people into urban centres. These impoverished people running for their survival are often termed as those under normal pastoral transhumance. This confusion between pastoral seasonal cyclic and the actual displacement and its effects is a field for future academic research. Additionally, the harsh realities of displacement on 'hidden' juvenile rights and freedom in Lodwar town need special attention. Displacement robbed their rights to normal growth and development exposing the underage not only to child labour but also anti-social behaviours for survival. As a result, children find themselves at the cross-road between what is legally right and wrong. A related study will, therefore, be of help in answering the following; in the absence of biological parents, who should guide the displaced juvenile? And why do we have increased cases of children in conflict with the law in Lodwar town? Is there an alternative way of correcting the underage other than putting them behind the bars?

However, in the midst of all these struggles, lack and hopelessness, the Catholic Diocese of Lodwar was instrumental in assisting the 'hidden' IDPs. The church through their mercy basket (a department created by the church to serve the needs of the poor in the society), supported the IDPs with basic needs and relentlessly advocated for the rights. Will the programme make a lasting impact on the livelihood of the 'hidden' IDPs in Lodwar town?

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