

**INTERCOMMUNAL CONFLICT OVER NATURAL RESOURCE. THE CASE
OF NORTHERN KENYA, 1963-2011**

BY

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OCTOBER, 2012

DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University

AHMED KHER MOHAMUD


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Date 12/11/2012
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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University supervisor.

Dr. IBRAHIM FARAH


.....

Date 12/9/2012
.....

DEDICATION.

To my parent and my family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to owe a great of gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Ibrahim Farah for his informed guidance and encouragement during this period, with his help has been truly transformational.

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ABSTRACT

Northern Kenya continues to suffer from violent conflict in which a series of actors are involved. Armed groups perform widespread and devastating raids against neighbouring communities. The strength of these warriors groups varies regionally and from case to case. Security operations are often typified by disappropriate brutality. Power figures are known to instigate violence or organize finance armed militias. This protracted conflict in Northern Kenya has incident of gross human right violations, including War ton Killings, rape, torture, force displacement and loss of property have been reported among the warring faction of the pastoral communities. Conflict involving pastoralists associated with resource competition, cattle resulting and wide availability of same arms are wide spread and increasing concern. This study provides a useful case to examine the in depth factors contributing to conflict issues and priorities for conflict prevention. The patterns of the conflict in northern Kenya regions are complex. There are many factors contributing to the risk of violent conflict involving pastoralists, and this tended to become mutually reinforcing. The study found that many people have been displaced by conflict in pastoralist, in north frontier district of Kenya. 70 per cent of the displaced are women and children aged below 14 years. in addition to displacement, many women have also been widowed by conflict further increasing their human rights abuses. The study will try to analyse the factors that contribute conflict in northern Kenya, the post independent period the colonial masters, has marginalized this region. Post independent Kenya government did very little to improve the livelihood of pastoralists in northern Kenya.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The academic literature and popular press frequently link resource with historical potential international conflict and dispute ranging from minor policy disagreement to outright violence. Oil for example has been deemed a significant factor in the 1990 Gulf war, while issue of water scarcity are often viewed as fueling continuing hostilities between Israel its Arab neighbours along the Jordan river. Further illustrations of the linkage between interstate conflict and resources can be found in the Caspian Sea and Spratly island, related oil reserves between India and Bangladesh America and Mexicans, and among all ten countries of the Nile Basin¹.

If the resources are scarce relative to the demand for those resources nations are likely to conflict, since the imbalance will impinge on economic health or basic levels of human well-being from this argument-it follows that international resource conflict will escalate in the future as human populations and their demands continue to expand while supplies of many basic resources decline in both quantitative and qualitative terms.²

Many conflict in pastoral system can, in-fact be seen as crucial to defining relations between different groups, the multiple resource system, common to dry land areas are characterized by utilization of natural resources for multiple purpose or by more than one

¹ M. F. Giordano, M.A. Giordano, and T. Wolf (2005) international resource conflict and mitigation. Journal of peace research, vol-4, No.1. Sage publication pg 47-48

² Ibid p48

user, because groups have different objectives and interest in the use of resources, competition is often accentuated through violent conflict is not necessary inevitable. Where there are no formal institutions to manage natural resources conflict can be seen as indicating an incompatibility between social institutions and new problems such as shortage of resources. Conflict this serves as means of communications between different groups, the ultimate objective of which may to be set the context for re-negotiation of access to resource and to re-start group identities. If the aggressiveness of herders can in some part be attributed to the demand of survival in harsh environment, then the need to form alliance and co-operate with herder or agriculturist is the other side of the coin.³

Northern Kenya a region that is characterized by arid and semi-arid lands, which commonly referred to as Asals. Northern Kenya's vulnerability to climate change related conflict is a function both its environmental characteristics and its socio-economic circumstance. High temperatures have traditionally made the region of northern Kenya a dry place, prone to drought. Pastoralism and agro-pastoralism have emerge as the principal livelihood strategies for those living in this region since they have proved to be the most adaptable and viable strategies for the environment. However in recent years increasing settlement particular around fixed water points and lack of effective natural resource management institutions to manage livestock and pastures is a sustainable way has led to a number of environmental problems including over grazing soil degradation and erosions. These environmental challenges when combined with severe droughts and history of antagonism between different ethnic grouped in the region, have contributed to

³ Hendrickson Jeremy Arsmon and Robin. Dry land, means-conflict and vulnerable to famine livestock raiding in Turkana Kenya.

widespread violent-conflict in Northern Kenya. The analysis showed that conflict in the Arid and semi-arid lands of northern Kenya are historically noted in competition over diminishing natural resources, and that these conflicts are intensified with privatization of land, the political and economic marginalization of the region and apparent increases in the frequency length and unpredictability of the drought and floods.⁴

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The long-standing conflict among the pastoral communities over natural resources is increasingly being blamed by the lack of clear policy of how to use the scarce resources in the region.⁵ It also blamed conversion of the grazing field. In the recent attacks by the Merile militias to north Turkana, leader from both communities have blamed conversion of grazing fields into crop farms forcing pastoralist from Ethiopia to invade parts of Turkana North district in search of pasture and water for their animals, triggering fresh armed conflict. The leaders criticized plans to initiate an irrigation scheme on Elemi triangle disputed by Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan who argue that it is a source of pasture for their animals. Hundreds of merile herdsman's pastoralists from South Omozone and Nyang'atoms from South Sudan have invaded soya village in Elemi triangle due to plenty of water and pastures triggering clashes with the Turkana and causing tension in the area.⁶

⁴ Report from conservation development centre international institute for sustainable development and safe world November 2009 climate change and conflict lessons from community conservancies in northern Kenya. p35

⁵ F.k.wairagu (2007) raids and battles involving Turkana pastoralists. In p.Goldsmith, in collaboration with H.Ahmed and M.Babiker (ed) fighting for inclusion.conflict among pastoralist and the Horn.Published by development policy management forum. p33

⁶ Barnabas Bii and David Lomuria."Hundreds flees as tension along the Kenya, Ethiopia boarder hits new peak". Daily nation. Wednesday July 4,2012 Nairobi Kenya. p-36

In the recent times, pastoralist conflict-general and resource based ones in particular has escalated and become violent, indiscriminate and destructive. This escalation is attributed to numerous factors with socio- political, economic social and environment attributes which are diverse and fluid indeed the attributes distil into a complex cocktail of cause and effect, a factor that make it extremely challenging to find the necessary sustainable and approached. Even though there exists subtle differences in the socio-structure and organization amongst the different pastoralist groups in the region, they however share commonalities in their approached to natural resource management. After all, they share and exist in largely similar environment, while the question of scarcity and dwindling resources, particularly water, is a global phenomenon and one that the pastoralists are not necessarily ignorant about, the contributory factors to these global trends e.g. climate change, globalization etc are slightly removed from the pastoralists. The everyday pre-occupation of pastoralist especially the normal, is purely simple survival for them and the livestock in an unforgiving harsh environment.⁷

In the context of natural resource management survival of the pastoral communities hinges not on the global phenomena but on three simple aspects, access, management, and ownership. It has been pointed out that nomadic pastoralism is practiced in areas characterized by harsh and unreliable climatic conditions⁸. The pastoralists have therefore adopted such coping mechanisms as migration over wide areas in search of water and pasture. While this traditionally possible in the pastvarious development such as population increases, land encroachment and appropriation has limited such movement.

⁷ Ibid p36

⁸ C. Twyman (2000) participatory conservation, community based natural resource management in Botswana. the geographical journal, vol.166 no.4 black well publishing p335

But, as much as the natural base has continued to diminish, there are still pockets where they are abundant. In other words, scarcity is usually a localized and not necessarily a nation phenomenon. Even in times of severe stress, pocket, sometimes adjacent to the pastoralists, may have sufficient resources. Such areas may include national parks and game reserves forest reserves, private ranches, military installations etc. The choice is difficult as one has to choose between degradation of the resource or letting large numbers of livestock and sometimes people, starve to death. The Conflict therefore regularly occur when the pastoralists resource takes matters into their own hand and break the fences and invade protected and or private property. In times of every severe stresses and given the choice of either massive death of livestock and or inevitable violent confrontations with pastoralist, governments have often allowed limited access to these areas.⁹ The study will try to answer these questions. How population pressure and competition over natural resources especially during drought escalate conflict over natural resource? How poor dialogue between different ethnic groups result tribal animosities and inter and intra community conflict over natural resources mainly water and pasture?

1.3 OBJECTIVES

The overall objective is to examine inter-communal conflict over natural resource with acase study on northern Kenya during the study period.

More specifically the study aims:

⁹ M. J Kimani. (2008). Access management ownership. The water and pasture menu in pastoral conflict in the Greater Horn of Africa. Natural resources conflict in Africa is water the New Oil. United Nations conference Centre. ADIS ABABA ETHIOPIA 13-14 November 2008. P15

- a. Provide an overview of inter-communal conflict over natural resource in Kenya
- b. Analyse resource based conflict among pastoral communities in northern Kenya.
- c. Explore theoretical linkages between inter-communal conflict and resources.

1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This literature is drawn from books academic journals, conference information materials, organization documents, position papers and the internet. The review is on the main theoretical perspective which the study anchors on through the identification of the gaps from the hypothesis have been formulated. A description on how they have inspired the project in part or wholly is stated. The review will give brief highlights first right to use natural resources and the implication of the pastoral communities in northern Kenya.

Natural resource

In the recent years many social scientists have argued that renewable resources scarcity e.g. land degradation, deforestation, fisheries depletion, food scarcity and water scarcity is increasingly a factor that contributes to natural resource conflict. In the past 1945 era conflict over renewable resources has typically occurred in lesser developed countries (LDCs) for example turn-oil in Haiti has been linked to deforestation land scarcity and deforestation are said to have played a role in the 1994 Rwanda civil war. Some observers' in-fact argues that futures wars will be increasingly about water.¹⁰

¹⁰ Rafael Recovery and John Maxwell (Dec. 2001) Journal of conflict resolution Vol. 45, No.6 springer publication. pg 720.

Natural resources are relevant to all the three factors; rents from natural resources provide income for corrupt, incompetent, and repressive governments while at the same time increasing the value of holding the reins of government. Such rents increase the motivation to overthrow the government although revenues accruing to the government although revenues accruing to the government make it more able to defend itself. The looting of natural resources (or extortion in connection with extraction activities) provides economic opportunity for rebel movements. The promise of rent from natural resources may also contribute to strengthen group identities, as when Scottish nationalism was stimulated by the discovery of oil in the North Sea. In the civil war literature, most of the attention has been focused on the economic opportunity provided by abundant natural resources.¹¹

Collier and Hoeffler were among the first to suggest that natural resource abundance may increase the risk of civil war onset, arguing that rebels can loot primary product commodities, to finance their fighting. Furthermore, Collier and Hoeffler (forthcoming) contend that natural resources provide financing as well as motivation for separatist conflict.¹²

They further provide empirical evidence that their measure of natural resource dependence is strongly associated with the onset arguing that rebels can loot primary product commodities to finance their fighting. Furthermore, Collier and Hoeffler

¹¹ *ibid*

¹² P. Lujala, N. Peter, Gleditsch and Elizabeth Gilmore (2005). Diamond curse? Civil war and lootable resources. *Journal of conflict resolution*. vol 49 no. 4 sage publication inc p543.

(forthcoming) contend that natural resources provide financing as well as motivation for secessionist conflict.¹³

Addison, Le-Billion and murshed assess the possibility that some natural resources are may be associated with conflict while others are not. Loot able natural resources are likely to have a negative impact on a peace process since continued conflict might be more profitable for the combatants than an outbreak of peace similarly Le Billion divides natural resources according to their geographical location in relation to the country's centre of (proximate us distant resources) and their concentration(points vs. diffuse resources). He argues that point resources are associated with state control and coup d'etat (when they are a proximate and with session attempts (when distant). Diffuse resources are associate with rebellion and rioting (when they are proximate) and warlordism (when distant).¹⁴

Ross (2004a) develops several possible mechanisms for how natural resources may affect conflict characteristics and also argue that inevitable of a resource is central in determining the impact on conflict. Sanford (1983) wrote the first influential publication to criticize what he called mainstream view on pastoral development. This is widely held opinion that sahelian pastoralism is economically irrational and detrimental to the natural resource base and that it results in overgrazing which is claimed to be an important cause of desertification. This view held by the colonial administration and later by sahelian governments and donor policy makers.¹⁵

¹³ Ibid p550

¹⁴ M.Apollos 2012. Conflict Transformation. published by centre for conflict esoluion. Nairobi Kenya, p46

¹⁵ S.L Hart (1995) natural resource based view of firm. Academic management of review vol 20 no.4 published by academic management p986

According to Ellis and Swift (1988) this mainstream view has been based on three assumptions. That African pastoral ecosystems are potentially stable (that a carrying capacity can be identified) that these potentially stable systems are frequently destabilized by improper use on the part of pastoralism, and that alterations of system structure (reducing livestock numbers changing land tenure patterns etc) are needed to return these systems to equilibrium and a more productive state. The mainstream view is said to be flawed because it is based on impressions and beliefs without the support of research results based on long term studies. Ellis and Swift (1988) criticize this view on the basis of a year of data collection on pastoral ecosystems in Northern Kenya. They found little evidence of degradation and concluded that at least for some pastoral ecosystems the above assumptions are not appropriate.¹⁶

Correlation between primary commodities and conflict

Paul Collier and Anke Hoettler at the World Bank suggests that countries whose wealth is largely dependent on the exportation of primary commodities a category that included both agricultural produce and natural resources are highly prone to civil violence in explaining the correlation between primary commodities and conflict Collier and Hoettler argue that conflict may be explained either by greed or by grievances, such as feelings of ethnic or political marginalization. They conclude (in large part based on the correlation between primary commodities and conflict),¹⁷ that to understand the causes of contemporary civil wars we should forget about political and cultural argument and focus instead on the greed of rebels and especially on the trade in natural resources. The problem is that the

¹⁶ Top A. Benjaminsen (1997) Natural resource management paradigms shifts and the Decentralization Detour in Mali. Mali. Human ecology. Vol, 25 No.1 sage publication, pg 123.

¹⁷ Ibid p 130

correlation between commodities and conflict does not imply either that rebels are greatly or that they finance their campaigns through the trade in natural resources. The correlation could arise for example, if conflict or even expectations of a conflict causes other economic activities such as tourism and manufacturing, to cease, leaving only extra active industries to function. The argument that dense trade networks reduce conflict risk is already well established in the study of international conflict. Liberal theories argue that where trade is mutually beneficial, to fight with a trading partner would be to commit "commercial suicide".¹⁸

A related argument claims that, through exchange, trading partners develop greater understanding for each other's cultures. Political philosophers, meanwhile suggest that trade reduces the risk of conflict because trade alters cultures, that there is something about trade that makes people less violent. Empirical research demonstrate that once proximity is taken into account states that trade with each other one less likely is fight each other. However, good cross national measures of the density of internal trade of the sparseness of internal networks do not exist, and so this hypothesis, tested at the international level, is untested at the within country level. There are then many possible mechanisms underlying the relationship between natural resources and conflict that need not imply that civil war is typically a result of greed. Different mechanism require different sorts of policy Responses. But knowing what response is most appropriate

¹⁸ Macartan Humphreys. (2005) paradigms in distress primary commodities and civil war. The journal of conflict resolution. Vol 49, no.4 springer publication. P 510

requires thinking more carefully about ways to distinguish the working of these difference mechanisms.¹⁹

According Beachler and Homer Dixon Ecological degradation can act as a cause or catalyst of violent conflict. However the focus on degradation of the natural resources base tends to limit conflict resolution to tackling its specific causes, land use human and animal population growth, and climate variations. Proposed resolution mechanisms are thus technical than economic, political, or cultural better water management, soil conservation, reforestation family planning etc. The crucial issue of economy the state politics and identity are inadvertently pushed aside. Persistent in equity in resource allocation, which is inherently political and economic, and the role of the beneficiaries and perpetrators of the status quo are this taken out of the limelight.²⁰

Fearon, and Lati, Elbadawi & Sambanis, have all tried to replicate the Collier and Hoeffler findings on natural resources and civil war, their result vary. Fearon and Latin study provides the sharper challenge to the Collier Hoeffler finding, the authors' reports that neither the share of primary commodity export GDP nor it is square is remotely significant in their model, when they adjust to cover their data based to cover the same.²¹

Elbadawi and Sambanis finding are more ambiguous, they report that a primary commodity export variable is significant in some of their models but not other, depending on the procedure they choose to imput missing values, and how they operationalize civil

¹⁹ Ibid p513

²⁰ Mohamed Suliman. (1999) the Nuba Mountains of Sudan. Resource Access violent conflict and identity. In Daniel Buckles(ed) cultivating peace conflict and collaboration in natural resource management. Published by international development research centre. Ottawa, Canada. p 206.

²¹ M. Nie (2003) Driver of natural resource based political conflict. Policy science vol36 no3/4 published by springer. 325

war onsets, they conclude that the Collier and Hoeffler result appear fragile and cautiously agree with Fearon and Latin, that there is no significant relations between civil war and natural resource dependence. Elbadawi & Sambanis, Hegre, has also produced mixed result, although his finding lend more support to the Hoeffler & Collier Claimsa Hegre finds that when he used a very low threshold for defining conflict (25 deaths in single year). Primary commodities exports have no influence on the likelihood of civil conflict. When using the 1000 deaths threshold employed by Collier and Hoeffler and a civil war data base similar to their finding, even though he employs a different set of control variables, finer time divisions and different statistical process. Hegre reports that the sufficient on his primary commodities are somewhat less important than suggested by Collier and Hoeffler.²²

Doyle and Sambanis, however, find that primary commodity exports are negatively associated with the success of peace building efforts in 124 wars between 1945 and 1997. Since wars are generally lengthened when peace building efforts fail their finding imply that primary commodity exported tend to increase war duration.²³

All conflicts must be conceptualized within the context of human rights, conflicts result in general violation of human rights of its victims. All categories of human rights are affected, and violated by conflict. Conflict violates the fundamental rights of people because it leads to the loss of human life, and erodes the liberty of individual in conflict situations, of the vindicating these fundamental rights are not in operation. Similarly, conflict makes it impossible for people to enjoy other categories of rights. The ability of

²² Ibid p330

²³ M. L. Ross(2004) what do we know about natural reslources and civil war? Journal of peace Research 2004. vol. 41 no.3sage publication London p.340-341.

people to pursue and enjoy their economic rights is eroded by conflict. The social rights of citizens to health care, education and property nutrition structures. This makes it difficult for victims of conflict situations further lead to the breakdown of all partners of interactions and care within and between communities. Hence the traditional rights of brotherhood and solidarity are disrupted. This new dimension of insecurity must not be allowed to obscure the continuing and devastating problems of unchecked population growth, crushing debt burdens; to trade drugs and the growing disparity between rich and poor poverty disease, famine, oppression and despair about joining to produce 17 million refugees, 20 million displaced persons and massive migrations of peoples within and beyond national borders. These are both sources and consequences of conflict that require the ceaseless attention and the highest priority in the efforts of the United Nations.²⁴

Turton suggests that war is not simply a means by which an existing 'tribe' defends its territory but rather it is the essential means by which such political superstructures have been created and are maintained among the Mursi, and their neighbours in Omo Valley in this sense, ethnicity is not the cause of war, but the reverse.²⁵

According to Markakis, the livestock proliferation occurred at the time when the pastoralists' habit began to shrink due to encroachment of cultivation in the seemingly high potential area desertification in the marginal semi-desert areas.²⁶

Mamdani, Kasema Katende Antocan have argued that because of the unreliable rainfall patterns in Karamoja, agriculture fails in four out of every five years. And according to

²⁴ M. Mwangi and N. Karuru (1998) Women's land and property Rights in conflict situation. Published by centre for conflict research. Nairobi- Kenya p15

²⁵ K. Fukui and J. Markakis. Ethnicity and conflict in the Horn of Africa.p5.

²⁶ Abdul Ghattar Mr. Ahmed & Hassan A. Abdul Ati managing scarcity human adaption in East African dry lands preceding of regional workshop held on 24-26 August 1995. Adis Ababa Ethiopia.

Novellis, calculations five crops out six bring bankruptcy. Survival therefore depends on cattle because cattles have an advantage over crops. They can move from place to place in search of water and foods. Mobility allows the pastoralist to maximize the use of seasonally available resources. It is also acclaimed as an ecologically non destructive form of pastoralism. Through Ocan (1992) recognizes pastoralism as the most ecologically viable form of production he also notes the importance agriculture in a pastoral setting, since according to calculations 70% of the diets of over 50% of the people in Karamoja are constituted by creals. This implies that there are highly fluid processes of change at some points from agriculture to pastoralism and at another, the reverse, not for setting social formations eluded by these changes.²⁷

The past two centuries the period of industrial revolution, emergence of science and population explosion have witnessed a great broadening and Deeping of interest in natural resources. An influential expression of this growing interest was that of British classical economics, early in the nineteenth century, with its doctrine that inherently limited availability of natural resources set an upper bound to economic growth and welfare²⁸.

Malthusian scarcity no doubt, has characterized many relatively primitive societies which posed limited knowledge and skill. They not only failed to develop cultural taboos which stabilized populations but also were able to extract only a small proportion of the services available in the natural environment, thus, the limits of their resources were quickly

²⁷ F. Emmanuel Mubereza, 1995. In A. M.Ahmed, H.A. Abdul(ed) agriculture and pastoralism in Karamoja competing or complementary form of Resource use managing scarcity human adaption in East Africa dry lands regional preceding of a regional workshop held on 24-26-August 1995. Addis Ababa. Ethiopia p16.

²⁸ Ibid p18

reached. But such societies would also have to be relatively isolated for otherwise cultural diffusion, migration and interregional trade would offer the possibility of progressive extension of the resource limit under primitive conditions of isolation a relevant questions is whether it is the limited availability of natural resources or the limited stock of knowledge that produce diminishing returns and inhibits economic growth.²⁹

According to Ordway natural resources currently are involved in two reasons for changing the “basic philosophy, indeed religion of modern man” first, he says because of scarce natural resources there is a physical limit to an economic level of living. And second, long before these physical limits force an understanding that unlimited material growth is unsound mind, we must presently adopt natural resources conservation otherwise we shall, by rapacious appetite for natural resource, sacrifice the “Good life” spiritual values the beauty of flabour of nature, independence and freedom of the individual, and national character.³⁰

According to sears botanist and conservationist who suggest that natural resource problems require that an ethical re-evaluation of the American way of life be undertaken Ihon Kenneth Galbraith economist aware that conservationists, from concern natural resource inadequacies, have long challenged the gargantuan resources appetites of advanced industrial economies has this to say in support of their revolt, Ordway sears, and Galbraith do not carry ethical argument as far as some proponent conservations.

²⁹ Y. Arsano (2011) water, a resource of development and conflict. Journal of peace research and action. Vol 15 no3, published by the life and peace institute. P23

³⁰ Ibid 34

These three concerns themselves at least directly, only with the relatively temperature questions of per capital growth in conception.³¹

Other writers like William Vogt and Fairfield Osborn have opened many other ethical issues. They have proposed that it is population growth itself that must be reduced, eliminated or reversed. Vogt asserts that "unless population control and conservation areas include, other means his argument is that, we must adjust our demand to supply."³²

This above argument clearly shows that if the demands and supply are not equal there is scarcity, and people cannot achieve their goals as per required hence conflict is likely to occur in that community.

Resource scarcity and conflict

Thomas Homer Dixon argues that environmental scarcity involves persistent, low intensity conflict that may not lead to dramatic confrontations, but can wear down governments it can cause urban migration and unrest, decrease economic productivity ethnic conflict and so on. Homer –Dixon further argues in a more speculative vein, those countries experiencing chronic internal conflict because of environmental stress will probably either fragment or become more authoritarian. Authoritarian regimes may be inclined to launch attacks against other countries to divert popular attention from internal stress.³³

Competing theory has recently become popular that instead of leading to war, water will fuel greater interdependence among states and that water and river basins are therefore

³¹ M. Nie (2003) drivers of natural resource based political conflict. *policy sciences*, vol.36 no.3/4 published by Springer p318

³² H. J. Barnett and C. Morse. *Scarcity and growth. The economics of Natural Resource availability.*

³³ R. Jackson and G. Sorensen (2007). *Introduction to International relations, theories and approaches 3th edition.* Oxford University Press P 258.

pathways to peace coming together to manage share resources will prevent conflict and build trust even in otherwise conflict ridden areas.³⁴

This reassuring argument refers to historical lessons, interstate war is unlikely, it is said because of thousands of years there have in fact been no wars specifically over water resources, and evidence shows water interdependence does not lead to war. The real problem according to this war reasoning is that the provocative rhetoric their own constituencies can antagonize their neighbours. There are at least three fundamental problems with such generalization. They evoke historical lessons that for historical philosophical reasons cannot be drawn and that are therefore no guide for how states and other will act in the future. The past cannot in this way predict the future, especially at a time when unrepresented technological ability to control water has coincided with uncertainty about future climate and water land scopes, thus fuelling distrust and competition, and also underlining the need for cooperation. Problematically, imprecise definition of “cooperation” and conflict must be questioned when, it only owing to cost. initiatives to cooperate will always outnumber instance of war. But although water as a “pathway to peace” is a simplistic slogan, the challenge of optimal water planning have brought some of the world’s most implacable enemies to negotiation label and led to agreement and institutions that survived strained relations. For example Nile countries both options have been available and continue to be available and the Nile issue will never be settle one for all.³⁵

³⁴ A. Swain and F. Krampe (2011) transboundary river and climate change : Africa and Asia rivers. In V. Gounden (Ed) conflict trend environment climate change and conflict, issue 2 011. Published by ACCORD p 20

³⁵ Ibid p30

In that regard others sees otherwise 1982, then Egypt foreign affairs minister Boutros Boutros Ghali, Predicted that the next war in the Middle East would be fought over water. The then World Bank vice president, Ismail Serageldin, said that the wars of the next century would be about water. A number of scenarios have foreseen water wars as a feature of geopolitical power struggles. Water scarcity is bound to lead to war; it is said because water is absolutely essential to human life.³⁶

Literature gap

Pastoral communities and practice are under severe pressure, and are not in themselves responsible for many of the conflicts which they become involved. Pressure on access to land and water has increased competition for scarce resources, bringing pastoral communities into contact friction with the users including agriculturalist and ranchers.

The study ought's to contribute, how clear policies, and formal institution to manage natural resource can reduce inter-communal conflict

1.5 HYPOTHESIS

This study will test the following hypotheses:

- Mismanagement of natural resources leads to conflict.
- Resource depletion, environmental degradation, and climate change are the causal factors of conflict.
- There is relationship between resources and inter-communal conflicts.

³⁶ T. Tvedt (2010). Some conceptual issues regarding the study of inter- state relationship in the river basin. In T. Tvedt(ed) The River Nile in the post colonial age conflict and cooperation among Nile Basin countries. Published I.B Touris Ltd. New York U.S.A. p 237-238

1.6 JUSTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

The research will be a contribution to the raging debate on the conflict with the view to having a positive influence on the stakeholders, policy makers of conflict by generating share understanding on the conflict. The range of policies pursued by successive post-colonial governments has led pastoralists from mainstream national development in most countries in the Horn of Africa. Over the years, there has been a tendency to neglect the needs of pastoralists and even to envisage the eradication of pastoralism. In addition, there has been tendency by government to focus on the interests of agriculture and urban dwellers, thus marginalizing other stakeholders. Most states in the Horn of Africa have pursued policies based on containment, pacification and sedenterisation of pastoralists.³⁷

In adequate land tenure policies: The majority of pastoral resources are held under a controlled access system which is communal in form. Communal land tenure relates so that system of tenure in which the tribe or clan or a group has access to land. Tenure is thus a social institution, a relationship between individuals and group or tribes consisting of a series of rights and duties with respect to the use of land.³⁸

From 1950s, most Horn of Africa countries tried to introduce a form of private property system through the granting of private group title to limited areas. Having group title gave security to the groups but it also circumscribed their ability to maintain reciprocal relations among their own communities and with others. It also reduced their access to critical grazing and water resources outside the group ranch boundaries.³⁹

³⁷ C.T. Timura (2011)environmental conflict and social life of environmental security discourse. Anthropology quarterly vol 74 no3. Published by institute for ethnographic. George Washington University. USA P 125

³⁸ ibid P 130

³⁹ T. A. Benjemensen (1997) natural resource management.pridigms shift and decentralization reform in Mali. Journal of conflict resolution vol. 25 no.1.p230

The enforced changes in land tenure altered the way people related to and as a resource and this created uncertainty and tension. The customary regime governing pastoralists land recognized the communal use of land and was in contrast to the privatization and individualism of land advocated by state legislations. As a result of increased levels of privatized land, pastoralists traditional grazing patterns and coping strategies have been disrupted. This has resulted in reduced and fragmented grazing areas and increased the impact of droughts and scarcity. It should be noted that the existing policies and legal institutions frameworks were put in place in the 1950s and 1960s when the ratio of land to population was greater. The major concern of policy and law was the regulation of 'orderly' use of land. The tension between state legislation and customary land regimes and the continual grabbing of land and displacement of pastoralists in the Horn of Africa are now leading to violent conflict among pastoralist ranchers, sedentary farmer and state security forces. When in Ethiopia Article 130 (3) of the revised constitution is explicit on the issue of pastoral "grazing lands" are not held or possessed individually and hence belonging to the government. Article 1168 (1) brought an end to private land ownership of rural land. Land tenure is being hotly debated. Despite the many problems which land policies like the Swynnerton plan (this is the plan of 1954 introduced the concept of title deeds in Kenya) of the 1950s brought to agricultural areas in Kenya, ambitious and costly programmes of land titling and registration, supported by the World Bank are being pursued and policies of individual title deeds are now being implemented in pastoral areas. The rate of land expropriation in pastoral areas is severe. Most pastoral advocates, including pastoral organizations are calling for an immediate moratorium on land titling

until land rights can be equitably regularized. In the absence of coherent national land policies, violence over resources may increase⁴⁰

In order to mitigate the conflict, cooperation based on sound policies must be employed as management strategy to circumvent the conflict before it becomes dysfunctional, as observed by Markakasi “scarcity remains the harsh fact of longer massive but need for it remains as valid as ever”. Thus scarcity and mobility made conflict inevitable⁴¹

Scientists showed that the proliferation of fish cages for agriculture in channel of Boliano, Philippines, reduced water flow and the amount of dissolved oxygen in the water to level that were lethal to fish. This information helped to diffuse the growing conflict among resource users and provide guidance for the development of a plan for optimal resource use.

According to John Markakasi, the major migration of the past gave rise to endless strife, memories of which continue to nourish contemporary hatreds. To this day, pastoralist movements generate conflict without end, among the herders themselves and with cultivators. Occasionally, such conflict is enmeshed with major confrontations and escalates out of control⁴²

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The conflict is social phenomenon that is complex and multi-dimensional and therefore must be analyzed using a number of approaches. The architecture of the conflict over the natural resources are complex due to resource shortage and ecological degradation which

⁴⁰ Kennedy Mkuti- (1999) report – African peace forum / safer world / university of Bradford.

⁴¹ B.Boutros Ghali – an agenda for peace. Preventive Diplomacy peacemaking and peace keeping. Report of secretary general to the united nation member, June 1992

resulted in even social measures that manufacture scarcity of resources all over the world.

The studies therefore opt to analyze reasons why does conflict occur over the use of natural resources? The use of natural resources is susceptible to conflict for number of reasons.

1. Natural resources are embedded in an environment is interconnected space where actions by one individual or group may generate effects far off-site.
2. Natural resources are also embedded in a shaval social space where complex and equal relations are established among little range of social actors, agro export producers, small scale farmers, ethnic minorities, government agencies etc. As in other fields with political dimensions those actors with the greatest access to powers are also best able to control and influence natural resource decisions in their favou..
3. Natural resources are subject to increasing scarcity due to rapid environmental change, increasing demand, their unequal distribution (Homer Dixon and Blift. Environmental change may evolved land and water degradation, over exploitation of wildlife and aquatic resources, extensive land clearing or drainage or climate change Natural resource scarcity may result from unequal distribution of resources among individuals and social groups or ambiguities in the effect of environmental scarcity such as “constrained agricultural output, constraint economic production, migration, social segmentation and disrupted institutions can either singly or in combination produce or exacerbate conflict among groups.
4. Natural resource are used by people in ways that are defined symbolically, land forest, and water- way are not just materials resources people compete over, but are

also part of a particular way of life (farmer, ranchers, fishers, loggers) an ethnic identity and asset of gender and age roles.⁴³

The study will examine why conflict over natural resource is endless. It will also analyse the following factors as main contributors of the conflict the Northern Kenya:-

Population growth.

Climate change.

Political change

Cross boarder migration

Economic factor

1.8 METHODOLOGY

In order to be more accurate in its finding the study ought's to have endeavored to collect primary data by way of interviewing key officials from pastoral communities, institutions such as ministry of state for development of northern Kenya and other arid lands, to understand pastoral communities the back drop of their historical background of their conflict. This will indeed have given a clear insight on initiative, progress and dynamics of this conflict through the eyes of the actors⁴⁴. This was not unfortunately achieved due to limitation of financial, resources, human and time. Although there are many ongoing conflicts over natural resource in E. Africa, the study chose to focus on northern. The focus of northern will serve as case study.

⁴³ D. Buckles and G. Rusnail. (1999) conflict and collaboration in natural resource management. In D. Bucklea (ed) Cultivating Peace conflict collaboration in Natural Resource management. Published by international development research centre. Ottawa, Canada pp3-4.

⁴⁴ Simon A. mason. From conflict to cooperation, the Nile basin, courtesy of the Paul - Klee Stiftung, Kunsts Museum Bern- ETH Zurich

This project is entitled to be used both primary and secondary data. The primary data will be gathered by contacting with authorities and scholars in the field of research through non-structural discussion and references to primary materials like, treaties, declaration and peace dialogues among the communities.

The secondary data will be conducted from authoritative sources such as books of renowned authors found in libraries, institutions of higher learning, relevant ministries like ministry of state from provincial administration and internal security ministry of environment and natural resource, foreign missions, documents from international organizations e.g. United Nations among others. The secondary data will be used for verification of the primary data and to supplement by filling the gaps left by the primary data.

CHAPTER TWO

INTERCOMMUNAL CONFLICT OVER NATURAL RESOURCE: AN OVER VIEW

INTRODUCTION

Conflict over natural resources such as land, water and forest is ubiquitous ailing and People everywhere have competed for the natural resources they need or want to ensure or enhance their livelihood. However, the dimensions, level, and intensity of conflict vary greatly. Conflict over natural resources may have class dimensions, pitting those who own the resources against those who own nothing but whose work makes the resource productive. Conflict over natural resources can take place at a variety of levels from within the household in local regional, societal, and global desk furthermore, conflict may cut a cross these levels through multiple points of contact.⁴⁵

Conflict over natural resources has many negative impacts. However, people who study conflict also recognize its value as a catalyst for positive social change. Conflict is an intense experience in communication and interaction with transformative potential for marginal groups. Seeking to redress injustice or extreme inequalities in resources distribution, conflict is an inherent feature of their struggle for change. Although confrontation can lead to violence, avoiding and shunning conflict can be equally dangerous as unresolved problems may flare up with renowned rigous misunderstanding or confusion regarding rights to natural resources and management responsibilities can

⁴⁵ D. Buckles and G. Rusnak. (1999) conflict and collaboration in natural resource management. In D. Buckles (ed) Cultivating Peace, conflict and collaboration in natural Resource Management. Published by international research development centre. Ottawa, Canada p2.

escalate into more intense conflicts as the number of people involved and the problem multiply.⁴⁶

CONFLICT OVER VIEW

Natural history teaches us that when individuals live in a group they gain benefits from the presence of theirs and form active cooperation in locating food, rearing offspring, or detecting predators these basic functions are paramount importance for the survival of the members of the group, whether they are ants, birds, or human hunter-gatherers. In modern societies, cooperation may be expressed in more complex ways (e.g. the cooperative fine tuning of the LINUX operating system by computer experts at different locations on the globe via the internet but the underlying functions are still related to improve survival in a given environment group life also entails cost living in close proximity to members of the same species implies the simultaneous exploitation of resources, under these conditions competition is likely. These conditions are easily encountered by various species in the natural environment as well as in various sitting of modern human societies. Most indirect cost result, when group members are obliged to coordinate their activities in order to remain together. This may lead clashes of interest when individual of different age sex, dominance rank and productive conditions differ in their needs and, accordingly would like to follow different courses of action.⁴⁷

Some communities are actually placed at a disadvantage by strong application of environmental laws, such as when a low-income housing project is scrapped because it would violate height limitations or obstruct someone's view. Consider for example a tribe

⁴⁶ Ibid p7

⁴⁷ F. Aureli & Fran B.M DE WAAL, (1995) Natural conflict resolution. University of California Press. P45

that struggles internally to make difficult decision to cut timber in wildlife habitat in order to provide income for its impoverished members and then confront objections from environmentalist. In other instance individuals or communities are excluded from environmental decision-making process that impacts their communities and their capacity to make a living from natural resources usage. For instance in the Northern California, the US supreme court allowed a highway logging operation planned by the government to destroy a portion of a national forest after study clearly concluded that the area was central to a tribe's traditional religion and would have understanding effect on religious practices.⁴⁸

Over the past sixty years, 40 percent of civil wars can be associated with natural resources. Moreover at least eighteen violent conflicts have been fuelled by the exploitation of natural resources since 1990s.⁴⁹

I concur with this statement because most of recent conflict in Africa more in East Africa is being fuelled by natural resources. This conflict can be interstate conflict or inter-communal conflict for example Kenya, and Uganda are disputing Migingo Island, which it not taken core can take the countries into war.

Natural resources and other Environmental factors are linked to violent conflict in a variety of ways that are often obscured by more visible drivers such as ethnic tensions. Competition to control or gain access to natural resources can also be exploited by rebel groups to fund war, and individuals and groups may exploited natural resources can also

⁴⁸ Kathryn M. Mutz, Gary C. Bryner, and Douglas S. Kenney Justice and Natural Resource Concepts, strategies & Applications Island Press, Washington PPS. Covelo London. P39

⁴⁹ Drought and potential conflict scenario in northern Kenya and other arid lands. Situation report vol1 no1 2011. UNDP P4

be exploited by rebel groups to fund war, and individuals and groups may exploit natural resources in ways that create an incentive for them to obstruct or undermine efforts to build lasting peace.⁵⁰

Resource based conflict is often generated over issues such as irreversible environmental damage that include a wide range of participation and stakeholders. This can occur at a variety of scales from the local level, such as the siting of a neighborhood incineration unit to international –level dispute where government, cooperation and NGOs are involved. The causes of conflict can also be highly varied and may deal with a wide range of issues such as land, as forest clear cutting, water quality disposal of toxic substance or mining.

Each state has a large appetite for natural resources and the temptation for one state to appropriate resources of other states in border areas or international areas beyond the jurisdiction of any states is sometimes irresistible. Not surprisingly, gaining access to natural resources has more than once been a casus belli both between and within states.⁵¹

The root cause of natural resource based conflict

Driving forces act as agent of change and during this change, conflict in natural resource management is often generated. Over the past four decades conflict in the preservation and development of natural resource has been a common theme worldwide, changes in knowledge about the environment and increasing public involvement in decision making have altered how traditional resources agencies and companies make decision.

⁵⁰ Ibid.6

⁵¹ Allan W. Ewert, Douglas. Baker, Glyn C. Bissix Integrated Resource and Environmental management the Human dimension. p-86-87

Blockades in international protest civil disobedience and boycotting of natural resource products have characterized some of the conflict.

Abundance and conflict

The relationship between natural resources and conflict has traditionally focused on the struggle for scarce natural resources, such as lack of freshwater, food, territory, or energy. More recently an abundance of natural resources has become to be seen as an equally and more important factor, particularly in intra-state violence. Excessive natural wealth leads to slow growth, rent-seeking, corruption in government, and rebel, pivoting, all of which can generate internal or external violent conflict.⁵²

At the same time wars after plenty of opportunities for rebellions groups or warlords (at times with the complicity of international companies) to loot and plunder natural resources Economist focused on the relationship between an abundance of natural resources with economic performance, political scientist increasingly began to study natural resources wealth as a cause of political and socio economic instability. The basic assumption behind these propositions was that large levels of natural resource rent relative to income generate disproportionate levels of rent seeking which results in greater conflict about distribution and militarization of politics often with the involvement of foreign conspirators and adventures, with time the relationship between natural resource wealth and development began to be considered more broadly, particularly after case studies demonstrated how a number of countries that related

⁵² N. Pether Gleditsch, K. Furlong, H. Hegre, B. Lacina, T. Owen, (2006) conflict over shared rivers. Resource scarcity or fuzzy boundaries. *Journal of political geography*. Vol.25. published by Elsevier Ltd. P365

heavily on natural resource exports suffered from high levels of corruption, increasing income inequality, growing poverty and poor governance.

The assumption was that the states that earn a large proportion of their revenue from natural resource rents have less need to levy domestic taxes. As a result leaders tend to be less accountable to individuals and groups within civil society. After the end of the cold war, when the proliferation of civil wars pointed to a group incurs concentration of violent conflicts in countries rich in minerals and other resources, thereby reviving the idea that natural resource wealth might be more of a curse than a blessing.

Examples of Abundancy of resources

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

of government power. Resources which require extensive extraction and transportation practices tend to spark separatist conflicts.⁵³

Scarcity and conflict

Social-scientific inquiry focused on environmental degradation and resource scarcity as possible causes of violent conflict. The concept of environmental scarcity in particular scarcity of renewable resources such as forest, cropland, fresh water and fish stocks, that can arise from the depletion or degradation of resources, increased demand for resources and unequal distribution resources which can lead to social stress within countries that has the potential to stimulate ethnic clashes, urban unrest, or civil strife (including insurgencies and coups d'état).⁵⁴

Many researchers, among them Homer-Dixon, Bacler, Boge and Klotzil, Hunge, and Ellingsen, Releign and Urdal, and urdal , find a positive relationship between resource scarcity and conflict they suggest that depriving people of their livelihoods leave them no choice a part from fighting for survival. Following a neo-Malthusians line argument, they assume that population growth reduces the availability of natural resources because population grow faster than food supplies. This induces competition and, ultimately, conflict over means of existence. The researchers often cited as this perspectives most decisive representative. According to them conflicts takes three forms: conflict between states, groups identity conflicts, and civil strife and insurgency. Empirical evidence suggests, first, that international conflict over scarce resources is rare, second, scarcity can initiate migration, resulting in ethnic conflict and rivaling in the host area, third,

⁵³ Repot. The peace and conflict Review Volume 4, Issue 1.p42

⁵⁴ Nico schrivers. Development with destruction. The UN and Global Resource Management. Forward by James Crawford and Suplchai. panitch pakdi pp-160-161.

scarcity often causes economic deprivation and ensuing conflict, especially when institutions prove ineffective. Fourth, developing countries suffer greater harm from scarcity and conflict because they are less well-equipped to alleviate grievances. Increasing resource scarcity could trigger mass migration and, as a consequence, resource degradation or depletion in other regions. People native to the host region might feel their livelihood is threatened and use violence as a means to assert power, the consequence being ethnic clashes (Ecological marginalization).⁵⁵

According to the scarcity and conflict perspective, conflict is generated by the scarcity in two ways: first, the mechanism is that resource scarcity of natural resources drives elites to “capture” resources, marginalizing powerless groups in the process. The second way in which scarcity supposedly causes conflict is through its debilitating effect on economic and social innovation – what Homer Dixon terms the “ingenuity gap.” The environmental scarcity is sometimes called resource scarcity. According to Homer Dixon, this concept describes the declining availability of renewable resources such as fresh water, soil, forests, and fish.⁵⁶

The relationship between environmental scarcity and conflict is complex. One scarcity can interact with numerous social, economic, and political factors, such as the legitimacy of the political regime and the character of the economic system. These social effects can then, under certain conditions, cause ethnic conflicts, insurgencies, and toppling of regimes. The probability of violence increases as the balance of power in the society

⁵⁵ S. Annika, G. Lauster and, W. Wodni. (2011) *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*. vol.5 no.1 Sage publication. P157-158.

⁵⁶ P. Tamas (2003). *Water Resources Scarcity and Conflict. Review of Applicable Indicators and System of Reference. Potential Conflict to Cooperation Potential (PCCP) Publication* p15

shifts away from the state and moves towards opponents. According to Homer Dixon, such changes have a propensity to generate acute insecurity and therefore increase the probability of violent intrastate conflict.⁵⁷

Natural resource use also continues to be an aggravating factor in armed conflicts around the globe, and in case where the true sources of the conflict may extend beyond dispute resources, resources conflicts are often the most visible and symbolic causes of the dispute. If the resources are scarce relative to the demand for those resources, nations are more likely to conflict, since the imbalance will impinge on economic health or basic level of human well being.⁵⁸ From this argument it follows that international resource conflict will escalate in the future, as human population continues to expand while supplies of many basic resources decline in both quantitative and qualitative terms. Controversy and intractable conflict will increase as more of the natural world becomes endangered.⁵⁹

Environmental scarcity to conflict involves economic decline due to a decrease in the quantity or quality of natural resource, which may cause tensions over claims to the shrinking natural resources based. Environmental scarcity to conflict also involves population migration. As groups seek out resources to replace those that have been depleted, immigrants and natives may fight.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Sylvester Bongari Maphosa, policy Brief Africa Institute of South Africa. Briefing No. 74 March 2012 p. 5-6.

⁵⁸ Mark.F. Giordano, et al. Giordano and Aaron T. Wolf. *Journal of peace research*, (Jan. 2005).

⁵⁹ Martin Nie. (Dec 2003) *policy science* Vol. 36. No. 4 p 312

⁶⁰ M. Nie- (2003). *Drivers of natural resource based political conflict. Journal of policy Science*, Vol 36, No. 4 published by Springer. p309.

Resource scarcity can exacerbate a conflict thus increasing the likelihood that it might become violent. For example, it has been found that natural resources play a role in at 40 percent of all (violent) intrastate conflicts (United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), 2009). This fact creates important implications for both conflict prevention warning and response.⁶¹

Examples of resource scarcity and conflict

Kenya's vulnerability to conflict over natural resources was gain highlighted in 2009, during the severe and prolonged drought that affected much of East. Vast areas became parched and barren, wildlife numbers decreased and thousands of livestock died of thirst and starvation. This coincided with reports of rising armament among communities in the arid lands of Northern Kenya and increasing outbreaks of violent, inter-community conflict.⁶²

Poor natural resource governance

Good governance the key aspects of which are accountability, the rule of law, transparency, equity and participation is an important aspect for development. When livelihood strategies shift in response to changes in the availability of natural resources governance plays as critical role in resolving tensions between competing users groups as well as preventing violent conflict.

Governance itself can also be a source of conflict even when it designed to reduce tension or improve livelihoods. Natural resource policies and interventions are often

⁶¹ R. Gendron and Evan Hoffman. The Journal of the Peace and Conflict Review Volume 4, issue 1.springer publication p67

⁶² Conflict assessment report in northern Kenya compiled by PARAGYA. P11

made without the active participation of affected communities or sufficient consultation of stakeholders. In some cases these interventions can conflict with traditional practice, while in others they can unintentionally benefit some groups to detriment of others, poor planning, coordination and information sharing between development project can also cause conflict as they intentionally impact resources users or compete for the same limited resources. mismanagement of natural resources leads to situations of possible conflicts. It is in fact believed that Africa is a continent “rich in resources but poor in governance.”⁶³

Poor governance and corruption can also exacerbate secessionist tendencies especially if the secessionist group has a fighting chance of wresting control of a valuable natural resource. Where a region sees what it considers its resources stolen by a corrupt national elite comfortably ensconced in the capital, the prospect of gaining control over the natural resources revenues and using them for the benefit of the local ethnic majority can be a powerful driver for secessionist movement close to 30 armed conflicts active in 2001 had a strong link to natural resources exploitation, in which either licit or illicit exploitation helped to trigger, intensify or sustain a violent conflict or collapsed states. corrupt officials and their opponents, often involved with organized crime and terrorist networks, siphoned off revenues from natural resources. In addition to sustaining conflict and undermining governance, resources exploitation has contributed to famine, the spread of diseases, population displacement, and serious environmental damage.

⁶³ S. Bongari Maphosa (2012). Policy Brief Africa Institute of South Africa. Briefing No. 74 March 2012. p 5.

Abundant natural resources, which should be a blessing for a low – Income Country in most cases make poor people poorer.⁶⁴

Example of poor governance of resources

Somalia serves as an example of how misguided and unsustainable NRM can drive scarcity, undermine development and contribute to conflict. The fertile riverine areas of the Lower Shabelle and Jubba Valley. In Southern Somalia contain the country's most important natural resources. Between 1977 and 1991, this region underwent a fundamental change in resource governance, particularly in the allocation of land. This change resulted in loss of access to land for marginalized class, heavily impacting livelihoods and eventually causing civil order breakdown and conflict. The change in the allocation of- and hence access to – land during this period was rooted in the politics of the region, where exchange of land-and therefore revenue-was a means used by the political elite for providing favours to loyal clans, to the detriment of local groups. However, land was in short supply and could not be allocated indefinitely. Incursions into the riverine areas put traditional production systems under pressure. As a result, potential revenues shrunk as production decreased and scarcity increased. The remaining land became even more valuable and hence appealing for political motivated redistribution.⁶⁵

Factors and triggers conflict over natural resource

Over Population

Majority of the population is directly dependent on four key renewable resources that are specially crucial to food production water, cropland, forests and fisheries, this growth

⁶⁴ I. Bannon & Paul Collier. Natural Resources and Violent conflict options and actions.

⁶⁵ *ibid*

population does indeed present the largest and most complex of threats to human security. The availability of these key renewable resources, determines the people well being, and the scarcity of such resources under certain circumstance could lead to violent conflict. The global population is expected to rise to eight billion people by the year 2025.⁶⁶

This increase coupled with rising rates of consumption will result in a corresponding increase in global economic output, and is inherently linked to the supply of goods and services from the natural environment. As consumption increases, countries will face growing shortages of vital renewable resources such a freshwater, cropland , pasture, forests, fisheries and other wildlife for example, it is predicted that -47 percent of the world population will be living areas of high water stress by 2030.⁶⁷

Indeed, nearly half of the world population is directly dependent on natural resources for its livelihood.⁶⁸ Because of population increase and increasing demand of water for Agriculture industry and urbanization, a large number of countries fall into the category of water scarce nations, observers say that by the 2025, 48 countries in the world will be severely short of water and that people on earth will not have access to clean water supplies, for instance in Africa alone 300 million people a third of the continents population have already started living under water scarcity situations of the beginning of the millennium. As population grows competition of resources take place between herders and herders along clan's lines. The rich families are able to mobilize labour and

⁶⁶ United Nations population Division (2009 March 11). World Population prospects: The 2008 Revision Population Date base. Retrieved 26 August 2010.

⁶⁷ A.K Temesgen (2010) climate change to conflict. Lesson from southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya. Printed by allkopi Norway p18

⁶⁸ Ibid p19

capital necessary for irrigated agriculture. As they do so during the wet season, when grazing is not scarce, cultivation has little impact on livestock production. Instead, for poor families can only afford wet season dryland farming in the rain fed non-swamps areas, but this is also where and when the herds are grazed with high potential for conflict.⁶⁹

Climate change

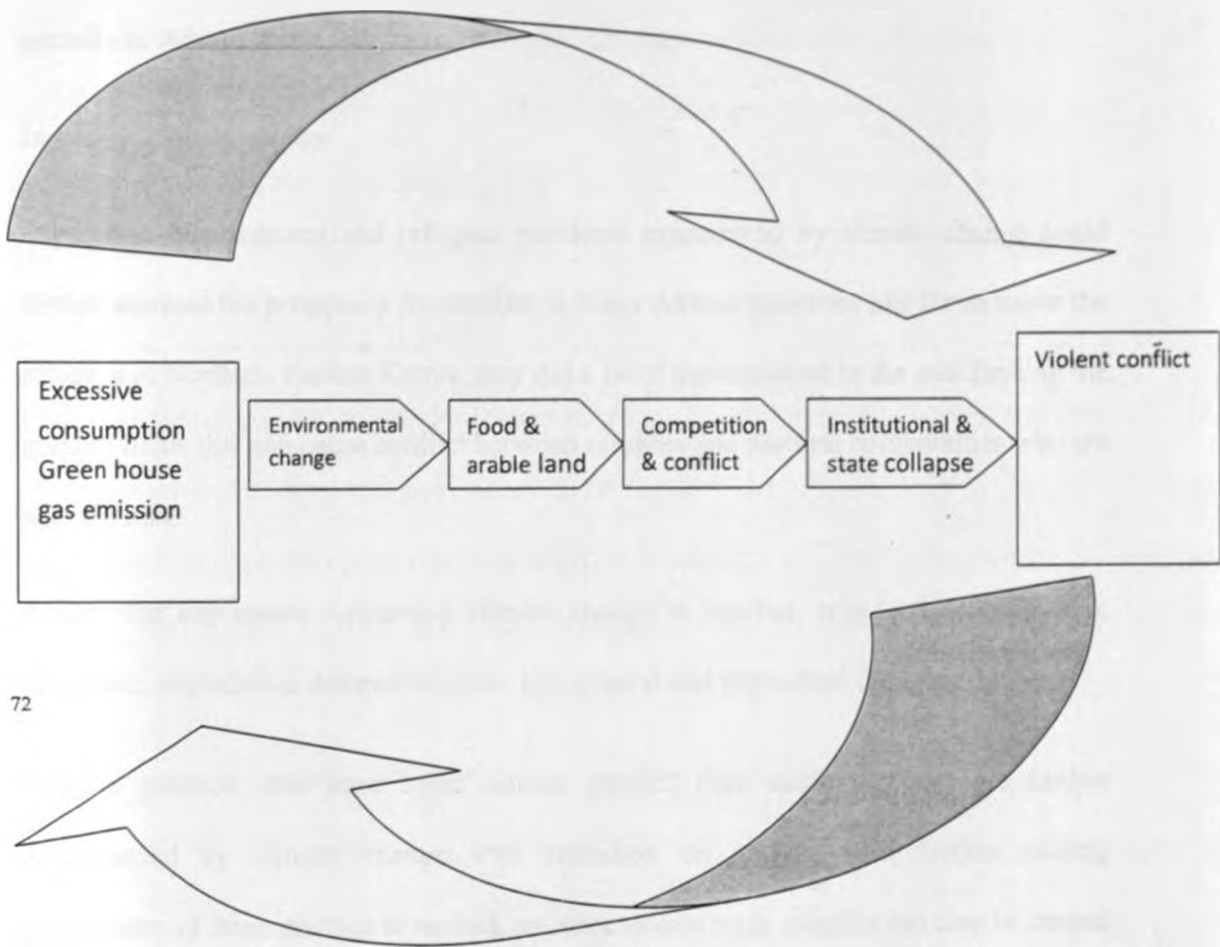
Climate change threatens to alter the distribution and availability of many critical natural resources. Potentially throwing local livelihoods and rural economies into upheaval. The poor are most vulnerable to those conditions, and face particular challenges in protecting themselves, their families, their assets and their livelihoods against environmental risks, shocks, and stress.⁷⁰

Natural resources climate change and conflict.

The link between climate change and conflict is indirect; climate change can contribute to natural resource scarcity, which in turn can exacerbate conflict.⁷¹ The figure below contains a simplified conceptualization of the link between climate change, resource scarcity and resource conflict.

⁶⁹ S. kratli and j. swift (1999) understanding and managing pastoral conflict in Kenya. A literature review. Published by institute of development studies. University of Sussex, UK p27

⁷¹ J. Ansie van wyk (2010) the African union to climate change and climate security. D. Anthony and J. Ansie van wyk (Ed). Climate change and natural resource conflict in Africa Published by institute of security studies. P3



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Effective structure to handle the impact of climate change might reduce the possibility of conflict. The impact of climate change on natural resources such as land and water feed on other deeper structural tensions including inter-alia, ethnicity, politics and culture.

⁷² Ibid p4

climate change is a ticking bomb for global food security and in particular for food security in Africa.⁷³

Impact of climate change

Population displacement and refugees problems exacerbated by climate change could further increase the propensity for conflict in many African countries like for example the refugees in Northern Eastern Kenya, they did a lot of deforestation in the area limiting the grazing fields this can cause conflict between refugees and pastoral communities who are also the host.

Among the key issues connecting climate change to conflict over land are inter alia, ecosystem degradation deforestation, soil erosion and intensified drought.

Cultural practice, that have often caused conflict (like cattle rustling) are further compounded by climate change with reduction on grazing land further causing perpetrators of these practice to embark on more violent raids conflict can also be caused when pastoralists as part of their nomadic traditions, fail to respect international boundaries.⁷⁴

Major contemporary and social issues are intimately linked with the quest for global poverty reduction, particularly poverty in developing countries. Today, people around the world, particularly in the developing world are struggling to survive in the face of a

⁷³ M. Funder, Signe Marie cold-12 Aunkiddle & Ida Peters Glinborg in collaboration with Nanna Callisen Bang. Addressing climate change and conflict in development cooperation. Danish institute for international studies, Report 2012:04.

⁷⁴ D.Tadesse. the hydropolitic of the Nile. Climate change water food security in Ethiopia. In D. Anthony and J. Ansie van Wyk (ed) climate change and natural resources conflict in Africa. Published by institute of security studies p85

multiple of environmental problems, the overuse of natural resources, the degradation the ecosystem, and extreme climatic events such as floods, droughts and hurricanes, these problems play an important role in increasing human vulnerability, undermining livelihood and human well being, threatening environmental security and potentially generating on exacerbating conflict. The past impact that this has on poverty, particularly in the developing nations whose economies are largely dependent on the ecosystems.

Although environmental factors play an important role in creating environmental in security other factors play also are known to pay significant roles. Such factors include poverty income inequality, rapid population growth, poor governance, globalization and high diseases burden. These factors interact with environmental problems to put environs pressure on the social fabric of many communities and subsequently participating insecurity that often leads to conflicts. Recent research attention on environmental security has large by focused on environmental resource driven violent conflicts. These concepts of environmental security should go beyond violent conflicts and the struggle for scarce environmental resources.

In the coming decades, accelerating environmental insecurity resulting from resources competition will aggravate global poverty and hamper the achievement of sustainable development particularly of the millennium development goals in developing countries. Environmental security should therefore expand on scope to include issues that could reduce society's vulnerability to all forms of environmental threats, particularly poverty.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Ibid p88

Poverty

Poverty is both a cause and result of environmental insecurity one way in which poverty is entrenched in the society is through uneven distribution of and access to resources. Geographically, the poorest segments of the population live in the most degraded and marginal lands and economically do not have access to most environmental goods and services. For instances, about 40% of Africans population lives on marginal land characterized as arid or semi- arid lands. Through about 70% of the least developed countries are in Africa, about 4% of them lie wholly or partially in these arid or semi-arid lands. In sub Saharan Africa for instance, poverty is a major factor in environmental degradation. Poor people often adopt practices that degrade the environment because survival, rather than long-term sustainability, is their ultimate goals. At the same time, when conflict does occur, it is the poor with the least resources to draw upon who are affected the most; a majority of them are forced to flee their homes and end up as environmental refugees. Poverty is therefore a potent and very destructive force in our present generation and it is not eradicated the world peace will be constantly threatened.⁷⁶

Economic

Economic development and access to finance, in the form of foreign contributions or control over natural resources, provide backbone of the opportunity explanation for civil war. Some scholars like Collier and Hoeffler argue that the main source of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa is the regions poor, economic performance.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Lael Brainard, Derek Chollet. Two poor for peace. Global poverty conflict and security in the 21st century. Brookings Institution press Washington DC, USA pp-73-74

⁷⁷ John W. Maxwell(2000). Journal of Peace Research. VOL.20 no4. Sage publication. P65

All across Africa, it is believed that most of the warlords who have led rebellions against central governments have exploited the resource for personal gain. Solid minerals have offered some of the greatest attractions to warlords in times of conflicts, largely because of the ease with which they can be sold or bartered to procure weapons. The methods of operation in most cases are similar. With an outbreak of conflict, warlords target the main mineral resource base of the country in order to capture and market the produce. The proceeds are used to procure weapons, which are then used to acquire more political powers. Complex networks are developed, either through the neighbouring states of international criminal gangs, and warlords are able to penetrate international markets to dispose of the resources and ensure the regular supply of weapons. Apart from direct involvement in the mining of these resources, another source of income for the warlords is through "protection" fees that are extorted from foreign multi-national corporations. For the multinational, it fulfills natural interests with the warlords. Although, on the surface, it often appears that the multinational corporations are losing income because of the protection payments, in actuality, with those payments, they are able to go beyond the agreed extradition limits that are in their contract.⁷⁸

Kenya has often been described as economically prosperous, politically stable, culturally and ethnically diverse, and endowed with a most attractive and population and landscape. Unlike many African countries, it has not faced decline per capita GNP and frequent coups, but the nation has serious problems caused by fundamental contradiction and

⁷⁸ Ibid p67

dilemma in its political economic life.⁷⁹ These problem can be observed in the acute class and ethnic rivalries for national resource, a middle class under increasing economic pressure, declining terms of trade, increasing international debt and political and economic vulnerability that shapes relationships with served other nations.⁸⁰

Migration

The resource conflict that concern vs. here typically arise at the settlements site, when migrant establish farms or began to use resources that had previously been available to local groups. In meant cases, the migrants have a different natural background from that of local resident. They share no common tradition or recognition of resources values and taboos. They do not share common social framework to identify resources right and process. They are not established mechanisms for arbitration, benefit sharing and managing common property, they are also highly stressed typically with little knowledge of the local resources based & limited reserves of food or cash. They are forced to opportunities in their use of resource a situation that can degenerate to access.⁸¹

In some cases, increased scarcity of and competition of over access to water and arable land may contribute to internal or regional migration and disasters such as floods may lead to temporary or long term local displacement. This may in-turn strengthen conflicts between host societies/communities and migrants looking for access to new land and resources.

⁷⁹ B. P. Thomas slyater (1992) class and Gender in Africa resource management, the case of rural Kenya. Chicago journal, economic development and cultural change. Vol 40 no. 4 published by university of Chicago p811

⁸⁰ Ibid p811

⁸¹ S. R. Tyler. (1999) Policy Implications of Natural Resources Conflict Management. In Daniel Buckles (ED) Cultivating peace, conflict and collaboration in Natural Resource Management. Published by international development research centre. p 266.

Factors or trends that and trigger or substantially exacerbate conflicts over natural resources. This result is that local/traditional mechanisms are no longer able to address or solve conflicts and mediate diverging interests. The following list gives an overview of such factors.

In most cases natural resources have more than one user. Without clear but not necessarily written agreement and/or clear legal status, this fact opens doors for conflicts which reflect the power relation between users. Most conflicts on natural resource are resources use conflicts.

Economic and population growth, combined with the destruction of ecosystem leads to a situation where competition over resources increase. Such conditions can easily exacerbate the potential for conflicts particularly where other conflicts factors (e.g. politicized ethnicity or social inequality) are also present). Climate change will substantially affect developing countries. More and longer drought periods may increase the pressure on natural resources. (Particular conflicts or worsens existing conflicts. Political changes in many countries especially in weak failing or failed states as well as incomplete or traditional democracies, effect the management of natural resources in many ways. Shifts in political power create new as parathions in terms of exploitation of resources. To manage changes & conflicts functioning institutions, arrangement and regulations are necessary.⁸²

Example of climate related environmental change.

There has been a tension between the Turkana and other pastoralist groups for access to water and pasture, but these have increased as water sources have dried up and pasture

⁸² Ibid p 227

been lost. Because of the water is not being recharged, the wetland areas that the Turkana could traditionally fall back on in times of drought have dwindled. Even the huge Lake Turkana has receded.⁸³

Pastoral-related conflicts are some of the most controversial aspects of natural resource conflicts in Africa. It is difficult to demarcate the theaters of these conflicts, as belligerents often do not recognize national boundaries. Consequently, it is not unusual for conflicts to extend to neighbouring countries. Although pockets of pastoral conflicts exist in many countries, the problem is most prevalent in the north east region of the continent, notably in the Horn of Africa, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia. Conflicts surrounding animal stock are of interest in Africa, Uganda, Kenya that include the importance of these animals to other socioeconomic realities of the affected societies, and the effects of these conflicts on the political realities of the affected countries. This section has two objectives: to identify the issues determining pastoralist conflicts and to discuss recent cases of these conflicts and the themes they evoke.⁸⁴

Political incitement

It is common practice for African leaders to use state power and institutions to promote their own interest or those of their ethnic groups. This is achieved through intimidation, violence and other forms of terror against real and imagined enemies. Nowhere is ethnicity more at play in Kenya than in the political arena. Ethnicity has become, not only a basis of political support, but also of political marginalization. The political class has,

⁸³ Mr. J. Kimani. Access- management ownership, the water & pasture menu in pastoralist conflict in the greater Horn of Africa. International Conference United Nations Conference Centre. 13-14 Nov ddis Ababa, Ethiopia.

⁸⁴ Abiodun Alao (2007) Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa. University of Rochester Press pg 101-102

since independence manipulated ethnicity in the capture, consolidation and hold onto power. All pretence of national unity abandoned-save only in rhetorical pronouncements- Kenyatta built his powerbase among the Gikuyu, Embu and Meru (GEMA) communities excluding the majority not only from the political, but also the social and economic sphere of the state. President Moi, once in power, proceeded to similarly consolidate it with the Kalenjin community resulting in its ethnic domination and hegemony over state institutions. The collapse of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) that swept Kibaki into power only two years into term was largely due to exclusion, or perceived exclusion, of non-GEMA players who had been instrumental in the coalition. In the 2007 general elections, both sides appealed to ethnic bases. One need not look further than the provincial outlook of the Constitutional Referendum, and the 2007 presidential election results.⁸⁵

The clamour for political pluralism was met with brutality and warnings that opening up the political space would breed inter-ethnic conflicts since the people were not cohesive enough. Ethnicity has over the years been manipulated for political and economic gains. Because of weak democratic and accountability institutions, the attitude that the elite have towards state power- that it is to be used towards personal aggrandizement, prestige and social status rather than in the service of some ideal or public good has persisted.⁸⁶

This study demonstrates the centrality of ethnicity and its politicization in conflict-50 per cent of respondents believe Kenyan politics is influenced by ethnicity. This study's position

⁸⁵ N van de walle. (2007) *africa economies and the politics of permanent crisis 1979-1999*. Cambridge university press p97

⁸⁶ *National conflict mapping and analysis: peace and conflict trends in Kenya 2011*. publication of National steering committee in peace building and conflict management p29

is that politics is the fulcrum around which all the other forms of conflicts are anchored, although there is great interplay among politics, legal, security, economic and environmental factors.

Ethnicity has been politicized by elites who are accused of sowing divisions. Formation of ethnic alliances, politicizing the formation of electoral and administrative units, and electoral violence has been major aspects of ethnic dimensions of political conflicts. Majimbo rhetoric during elections has been known to feed conflict, while creation of counties is bound to create new fronts for conflicts. For instance, in Transmara, there is a persisting concern that the battle for political dominance between the Masaai and Kipsigis groups might fester into worse conflict. Further, marginalization of communities has fed apathy, particularly in the predominantly pastoralists Northern Kenya.

In this way, the state has been an instrument of balkanization-through the personalization of political power. Worse still, the weakness of the political party system, characterized by poor internal party democracy, defections and wrangles further foments conflict. Parties' alliance-seeking habits, often informed by ethnic calculations, cement a divisive and conflict-generating political dispensation. Incitement and/or propaganda.⁸⁷ Political conflict they are wicked by nature. But they are also wicked by design in that political actors, institution and decision making. Politicians may facilitate conflict by not intervening, they may directly promote conflict by propaganda or even as a form of

⁸⁷ Ibid p35

political competition before elections, and sometimes raids have been used to generate funds for election campaign⁸⁸

Conclusion

In the above chapter, I have emphasis the linkage between natural resource and conflict. The root cause of the natural resource conflict and also factor that trigger the conflict over natural resource. Natural resource conflict needs clear understanding of the governance of the natural resource, respect for existing by laws by the herders. In Africa where most national economies are based on the natural resources endowments and the political institutions are trails, these considerations become more diverse. It is not therefore not surprising that link between natural resource and conflict in the continent is multidimensional. It is clear that the politics of natural resource management in Africa brings together a whole range of actors.

⁸⁸ S. kratli and swift (1999) understanding and managing pastoral conflict in Kenya. Aliterature review. Published by institute of development studies, university of Sussex. Uk p3

CHAPTER THREE:

INTERCOMMUNAL CONFLICT OVER NATURAL RESOURCE. THE CASE OF NORTHERN KENYA FROM 1963-2011

INTRODUCTION

Northern Kenya, including North Eastern Province, upper Eastern, Turkana, North Rift and Central Rift Regions has experienced chronic ethnic conflict and cattle rustling for along time.⁸⁹ Most of these conflicts are resource based and are manifested in the killing, injuries and damage to property occasioned from time to time.

Northern Kenya is the most marginalized and under-developed region of Kenya lacking basic service provision and receiving a smaller proportion of national resources than other regions of the country.⁹⁰ The vast majority of the area is comprised of arid land, where rainfall is/ no temperature are high throughout the year and where peoples access to and control over critical livelihood resources such as land is insecure.

The dominant livelihood in arid districts is pastoralism, a system of production that is characterized by livestock mobility and the communal management of natural resource.⁹¹ Pastoralist communities have been largely marginalized from economic and political resources in recent decades.⁹² This marginalization is due on part to limited capacity or ineffective state institutions in remote areas; but it also reflects the fact that pastoralist communities are largely underrepresented in government and the wider political process.

⁸⁹ Report of the Peace And Security Workshop for Northern Kenya, held at Kenya school of monetary studies from 1st-2nd October 2009. Government Printers. Nairobi.

⁹⁰ M.P Bond & J. Bond.(2007) Environmental/ Influences on Pastoral Conflict in the Horn of Africa. Journal of political geography Vol.26 p.85

⁹¹ Report from conservation Development Centre; International Institute of sustainable development (2009).

⁹² World Institute for sustainable Pastoralism Global Review.

Northern Kenya is characterized by harsh climate conditions, unreliable and unpredictable weather patterns and general remoteness.⁹³

Background

Northern Kenya region is marginalized in the number of inter-related ways⁹⁴. It is isolate by its topography and pass infrastructure, especially roads that serve it. It has been noted that the whole of Northern Kenya region, that is Turkana County, West Pokot County, Samburu County, Baringo County, Part of Elgoyo Markwet, the whole North Eastern Province has less than problem tarmaced. This is compounded by ineffective security provision, which means for instant that many roads are considered unsafe to travel to the thread to bandit attack. The region is not well integrated into the national economy and it has very limited political leverage.⁹⁵ In addition as elsewhere in the county ethnic identities and divisions inform and often intensify conflict. Among pastoralist groups in particular there is significant interplay between group identities and historical fuels.⁹⁶ This generated cycle of attacks and revenge attacks that can lead to embedded ethnic hatreds between communities.

Conflict has always been a part of the lives of population in arid and semi-arid areas the frequency, intensity and destructiveness of the conflicts have increased.⁹⁷The customary

⁹³ J. Waita & J. Ndirangu. Strengthening Community Managed drought risk reduction in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia. (2010) published by Acacia Consultant Limited. Nairobi P.8

⁹⁴ Report Conflict-sensitive approaches, climate change and conflict lesson from conservancies in Northern Kenya. Conservation Development Centre, International Institute for Sustainable Development and Safer World. Publication p.35

⁹⁵ Hagmann & E. Ludi, Pastoralist Conflict resolution in the Horn of Africa, in understanding Environment conflict of cooperation. (United Nations Environmental Programs 2004). Unep Publication. Nairobi. Kenya. Pg 5

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ J. Waita & J. Ndirangu. Strengthening Community Managed Drought Risk and Reduction in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia (2011). Published by Acacia Consultant Limited Nairobi Kenya. P15.

rangeland and migration routes are shrinking due to expanding cultivation and less permeable local and international border. The pastoralist societies of the arid lands region in Kenya have long been subject to inter-communal and inter-ethnic conflicts.

⁹⁸Disputes are triggered by short-age of natural resources, political skirmishes and general lack of development in the region.

Arid lands populations have been existing on the periphery of government development assistance and service delivery.⁹⁹ This includes as a lack of service provision by justice sectors institution. Most intra- communal disputes are handle either by community elders or by chiefs and assistant chiefs on the basis of informal conflict resolution mechanisms.

Northern Kenya is an arid region in habituated by nomadic pastoralists and characterized by a fragile ecosystem ravaged by the effects of climate change and susceptible to insecurity due to regional ethnic and political inter-play within the Kenya-Uganda – Sudan-Ethiopia-Somalia borderlands.¹⁰⁰ The region is also drought prone situation that has depleted livestock, water and pasture. These conditions create an increased need for mobility further and further survival of pastoralist livelihoods. North Kenya is part of the ASALS which constitute about 80% of the country's land mass with about 10 million people and approximately 70% of the national livelihood herd.¹⁰¹ Compared to the rest of the county, Northern Kenya is extremely underdeveloped and have over 60% of its population living below the poverty line. In addition, these areas have insect development

⁹⁸ T. Chopra. Reconciling Society and the judiciary in Northern Kenya (Dec 2008). Published Legal Resources foundation.

⁹⁹ Ibid

¹⁰⁰ International Organization for Migration. Mitigation the impact of climate change among pastoralist communities. (July 2011) Church road-off rhapsa road, Westland, Nairobi-Kenya.p1.

¹⁰¹ Kenya National Commission of human right. Foreigners at home. The Dilemma of citizenship in Northern Kenya. KNCHR Publication.nairobi kenya P49

indicators and regularly suffer from conflicts and security droughts and other hazards that destabilize socio- economic activities and deplete natural resource base leading to low productivity food security and loss of livelihoods.¹⁰²

The arid and semi-arid Northern Kenya has of late hot headlines for all wrong reason, unfavourable weather, hunger and drought, Extreme poverty endemic conflict and poor infrastructure.¹⁰³

The Northern Kenya fall within the arid and semi-arid land (ASALA) in Kenya.¹⁰⁴ ASALS constitute about 80 percent of the country's land mass and about 10 million people live in this region 10 million people live in this region it is estimated that approximately 70% of the National livestock herd is found in ASAL most people who live in this area are mainly nomadic pastoralists. The community's main livelihood is based on livestock. For the pastoralist's community, access to water and pasture for their cattle is crucial to sustain their livelihoods. The pastoralist community occupies about 70% of Kenya's total land area, and they constitute about 20 percent of the total population of the country.¹⁰⁵ The Arid and semi-arid are highly deprived in terms of welfare amenities and services. The few welfare facilities that exist have also been destroyed non- operational due to the perpetual conflict scenario children have been left with no access to education, for instance, Turkana has only 182 primary schools 700059 km area with average distance of commuting ranging between 10-12 km. Several of these

¹⁰² Ibid.P49

¹⁰³ A. Majid N. Abdi. "Tapping the North's Hidder potential". *Daily Nation*, 5th October 2012. Nation Media Group Publication .P13.

¹⁰⁴ J.F Jones and J. Herbert Williams, A Kumssa (2009). *Conflict and Human Security in North Rift and North Eastern Kenya*. International journal of social economic. Emerald group publishing ltd vol. 36 No.10.p1010.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid p.1010

schools however, have been ruined or shut down due to the violence, along with dispensaries and churches.

Economic Activities

The associated lack of infrastructure, social service and investment has meant that most members of the communities in Northern Kenya lack access to basic levels of education - and resources that will enable them to diversify their livelihoods.¹⁰⁶ This leads to dependence on livestock and the natural resource based. The lack of market for livestock encourages lack herds of low quality, which create reinforcing cycle whereby there are no incentives for improving livestock breeding reducing herd size or developing market.¹⁰⁷ Institutions are closely linked to economic marginalization as resources are not optimally used to generate alternative sources of income and livelihood. Poor road infrastructure and related transport costs inhibit small-scale farmers and livestock keepers from reaching the formal markets such as those in neighbouring districts. The volumes of produce and stock are too low to bring the require return.¹⁰⁸

Weak natural resources management

Weak natural resources leads to rising tensions between groups, access is not regulated by any institution (be it found or traditional) which could otherwise established rules and serve to peacefully negotiate disputes between separate groups seeking to utilize the same set for resources¹⁰⁹ strong NRM Institutions are needed in planning and co-coordinating

¹⁰⁶ Report conflict –sensitive approaches climate change and conflict. lesson from conservancies in Northern Kenya. 2005 Publication, Institute for sustainable development and saferworld.p19

¹⁰⁷ Ibid p49

¹⁰⁸ M. Adan, R. Pkalya, conflict management in Kenya, Towards Policy and Strategy formulation. Edited by Elizabeth Muli-2006 Practical action Publication.p25

¹⁰⁹ Northern Rangeland Trust (NRT), fact sheet, Northern rangeland Trust Isiolo Kenya 2007. P.15

the pasture and water resources. However, neither the traditional pastoralist, natural resource management institutions, nor the community institution such as group ranger, nor local government authorities have resource or power to undertake these functions. As a result this factor is considered of high significant in contributing to natural resource scarcity.¹¹⁰

Health

Armed conflict has more often characterized by poor malnutrition, poor sanitation and withdrawal of health personnel from such areas and recurrent traumatic disasters, seriously constrains the care system in the household and the community.¹¹¹ Mothers in particular may have to take up completely different roles in household with a different daily routine as a result of conflict conditions. This may interfere with breastfeeding for example when the family splits up, or the mother is forced to spend long hours to get food, water, in pastoral communities in Northern Kenya, there is an increase risk of disease particularly diarrhea, this may reflect synergy with malnutrition.¹¹² Climate and geographic aspect of settlements altitude and rainfall affect respiratory and malarial mobility. However all this are as the result of poor access to health clinics, medicines and vaccinations.

¹¹⁰ UNDP- Project, Copping with Drought and climate chase 2009.

¹¹¹ Documentation of the social and economic implication of conflict Drought Risk Revolution Strategies. Mandera County in Northern Kenya and Dolo, Ado, Filtu and Hundet Woredas is Southern Ethiopia. Acacia Consultants Ltd. Nairobi, Kenya. p27.

¹¹² E. Franck, A. Martha Nathan, E. Abella, Roth (2005) Seeking, alternative Livelihood in Northern Kenya. 2005 P.21.

Education in Northern Kenya

The government prides itself in having effectively put in place a system of free primary education (FPE).¹¹³ However, it fails to evaluate the efficiency of this program and impact it has on the intended recipients, for instance, in spite of the fact that there are schools in Northern Kenya; the area occupied by pastoralists, the teacher pupil ratio is greatly unbalanced.

The state report states that “despite effort of the government, education in pastoralist areas is characterized by low enrolment rates, high rates of attrition, gender disparities in enrolment and performance, as well in transition rates.”¹¹⁴ For example, net enrollment rate (NER) in North Eastern Province, a predominantly pastoralist area, for 2008 was 30.9% for boys and 25.7% for girls, projections for NEP indicates by 2010, the NER for the Province will be 38.6% compared to the national target rate of 94.8%. According to UNICEF institute of statistics (2008), 18% of children of primary school age are out of school, most of these are pastoralist children.

Roads

To improve all the social amenities in Northern Kenya, the government has to take responsibility to improve the roads, network in Northern Kenya. Both examination calendar and school opening calendar has been interplated due to poor state of the roads in the region. Examination papers delay, students sit for long sessions of exams into the night due to impassible roads during seasonal rains.

¹¹³ Kenya Constitution(2010) Article 5 (e) (v)

¹¹⁴ UN Special Rapporteur on fundamental freedoms and indigenous issues (Kenya Report 2006) P. 24.

The roots cause of conflict in Northern Kenya.

Proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW).

Since time immemorial, the nature of the pastoralist's way of life style demanded that they be armed with some form of weapon for purposes of protection or self-defense both for themselves and their cattle from attack by wild animals and theft.¹¹⁵ Bows and arrows were the weapons of choice; however, in the past three decades, there has been an escalation of cattle-rustling attacks, which has been fuelled by the increase small arms. These illegal arms normally originate from neighbouring countries which have been experiencing internal strife, including Uganda, Somalia and Ethiopia. This has led to the formation of heavily armed and militarized groups.

Since (1979) the fall of Amin's regime and sack of Moroto Arsenal in Uganda) neighbouring countries along Kenya's Northern border,' (Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan) have been shaken by political unrest and internal wars.¹¹⁶ Thousand of light weapons (and ammunition) have become available, it is widely believed that this process has affected different areas at different times and with different intensity and has therefore continuously changed the balance of power between neighbouring groups.

Changes in the balance of power, together with increasing pressure on resources, result in escalation of conflict particularly raids. The use of automatic guns instead of spears, bows and old rifles has increased the number of fatalities and the intensity of violence during the attacks. The most striking example of such increase violence is through to be

¹¹⁵ Moran no more. The changing face of cattle rustling in Kenya. Kenya Human right commission 2010- publication. Kenya human right commission, Gitanga Road Valley Arcade. Nairobi. Kenya p 26.

¹¹⁶ Kratli & J. Swift (1995) Understanding & Managing Pastoral Conflict in Kenya. (1995).University of Sussex UK. p23.

the indiscriminate killing during the raids not only of men but of women and children as well.¹¹⁷

Pastoral communities in Northern Rift Region provide an excellent market for five arms.

¹¹⁸Where they traditionally relied on bows, arrows, spears, pangas and rungs for protection and warfare they now resort to cheap and easy to use assault rifles such as the AK 47 and the G3 rifles where are relatively cheap due to high availability small arms plays a significant role in determining the winners and losers of conflict, and in the commission of crimes.¹¹⁹ Other than legitimate use for security management, misused or illicitly transferred small arms have only had negative effect on communities affected and largely affect innocent people.

The proliferation of modern automatic weapons has substantially transformed its structure, content, impact and actors in pastoralist conflict has escalated, an arms race has developed amongst border communities in Northern Kenya.¹²⁰ This arms race amongst the Turkana, Karamojong and their pastoral neighbours is motive for bonding and raiding in the belief that there is security in numbers.

¹¹⁷ Ibid p26

¹¹⁸ J. Rando Broek (2009) Conflict Motives in Kenyan's North Rift Region 2009. Interns & Volunteers series p.16-17.

¹¹⁹ M. Wepundi, E. Nthiga, E. Kabuu, R. Murray and A. Alvazzi de Frate. Availability of small arms and perceptions of security in Kenya; An Assessment 2012 Published and development studies, 47 Avenue Blanc/202.Geneva.

¹²⁰ F. K. Wairagu. 2007 Raids and battle involving Turkana pastoralist. In P. Goldsmith, in collaboration with H. Ahmed and M. Bakiker (ed) fighting for inclusion, conflict among pastoralists in East Africa and the Horn. Published by development policy management forum p39

Scarcity of resources in Northern Kenya

Competition over critical resources like pasture and water has resulted in conflict it has led to an increase in cattle rustling and banditry in Turkana and neighbouring Pokot.¹²¹

One of the leading causes of conflict among pastoralists is competition for limited natural resources such as pasture water land.¹²² Regions occupied by pastoralists receive limited amounts of rainfall and which limits the availability of pasture.

The increasing scarcity of resources (pasture and water) and pastoral communities' inability to apply most of their traditional rangeland management practices have resulted increasing pressure on rangeland loss of indigenous practices and wreaking of customary law. The increase in the frequency and intensity of violence between pastoralists and farmers in semi arid and arid area of the region.¹²³ Competition over scarce grazing fields, water resources and pasture has escalated inter-ethnic animosity often resulting in armed conflicts, which are predatory in nature and much more destructive.¹²⁴ For example, Isiolo, Baringo, Marsabit, Moyale Samburu, and Turkana communities are moving in large number into agriculture areas of Laikipia in search of water and pasture. Similarly Pokots and Marsabit raids the Turkana villages that boarder their districts for control over resources available in Turkana area.

Competition for access to natural resource is inevitable in a situation such as Kenya's where there is a wide disparity between the availability and distribution of natural

¹²¹ A. Majid N. Abdi. Tapping the North's hidden potential. Daily Nation 5th October 2012. NMG Publication p.13.

¹²² F.K Wairagu. Raiid and Battles involving Turkana Pastoralists in Goldsmiths, H. Ahmed M. Babiker (ed) fighting for inclusion conflict among pastoralist in Eastern Africa and Horn. p45.

¹²³ C. Layne (2001) Risk Mapping for Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia. Global Livestock Collaborative. Research 5. Program. University of California USA

¹²⁴ Conflict Assessment Northern Kenya Paragya Publication P.6

resources and the population that needs resources for its livelihood.¹²⁵ As natural resources and the livelihoods of individual and communities in Kenya depend directly on access to natural resources. As individuals and communities endeavor to secure their rights a access to resource, the ensuring competition borne out of the imbalance between supply and demand leads to conflict. Resource based exist with respect too virtually all the key natural resources. The morale critical the resource is the more pervasive the conflict have been. In this connection a resource may be considered critical either because it is key to the livelihoods of a community because it is scarce or bot. Resource based conflicts have often explained in terms of scarcity based theories which view the conflict as borne at the strangle for scarce resources often induced by population pressure, which to a war of all against all in the struggle for survival of the fittest.¹²⁶

In all the Districts of Northern Kenya there is evidence that competition for water and pasture, the mainstay of pastoral livelihood is increasing.¹²⁷ Pastoral lands, especially the high potential ones are under threat of encroachment by farming communities and commercial farming, placing communities in ASAL areas in precarious situation in the day season. The competition over access sand control of diminishing resources in Northern Kenya districts of perhaps the main cause of conflict in the region.¹²⁸ In pastoral districts of Northern Kenya, communities often square out their difference over control and access to livelihood resources in violent clashes. The hypothesis that competition over resources to meet the needs of the livelihood strategies of various communities is the

¹²⁵ National Conflict Mapping and analysis; Peace and conflict trends in Kenya. (2011) Publication of National steering committee on peace building & conflict.

¹²⁶ Ibid p64

¹²⁷ M. Adan & R. Pkalya(2005) closed progress. Assessment of the socio-economic impact of conflict on pastoral and semi-pastoral economics in Kenya and Uganda. practical Action-East Africa publication. p20.

¹²⁸ Ibid-21

primary cause of conflict in ASAL areas in the region is validated by the fact that most violent clashes occur over areas well endowed with pasture and water, especially the dry spell seasons.

Clashes between pastoral and agrarian groups are also common as farmers occupy well-water and fertile lands, which have foliage even in the height of the dry season.

Human activity has dramatically reduced and damaged much of the region's ground cover, reducing the carrying capacity of the land predictably, this has led to an increase in communal conflict over access to increasingly scarce pasture.¹²⁹

Resource scarcity becomes a root cause of conflict where groups pursue zero-sum approaches to resource use and management issues to do with struggle for boundaries and their control in this case clamour for ethnicized administrative units and ethnic conflict administrative boundaries and/or constituencies play clear role as conflict drivers.¹³⁰ Droughts and the ensuing scarcity of natural resources as well as political skirmishes are the cause for a considerable number of conflicts and crimes in Northern Kenya. The competition over scarce natural resources poses major challenges for communities who have to co-exist in the same area.¹³¹ Communities have their own systems that regulate the usage of pasture and water sources, but these may differ between groups.

¹²⁹ K. Menkhans. Kenya Somali border conflict analysis (2005). A review report by USAID prepared by Development Alternative Inc. P4.

¹³⁰ Kenya Conflict Analysis. Summary Report. Embracing the practice of conflict sensitive approaches. An analysis of the Kenya context. (2006) Ukaid from the department for International Development P2-3.

¹³¹ T. Chopra. Reconciling society and judiciary in Northern Kenya. Research Report. (Dec. 2008) Published Legal Resources Foundation Trust. p 2-3

Climate change

There have been tensions between pastoral communities groups for access to water and pasture, but these have increased as water sources have dried up and pasture been lost.

¹³²Because the water table is not being recharged, the wetland areas that the Turkana could traditionally fallback on in times of drought-here dislike. Ever the huge Lake Turkana has reduced due to climatically set-back. Territorial disputes have become more common as the lake recedes, taking with it the land features that formed traditional boundaries between groups.

Environmental conditions such as drought and climate change perpetuate a state of increasing scarcity of Arable land water resources. ¹³³Land scarcity is further exacerbated by human cause environmental degradation through deforestation over cultivation, overgrazing or pollution. There is, therefore, an urgent need to address all senses of environmental conflict, namely land, water human, wildlife and climate change to ensure suitable development. ¹³⁴ In the Horn of Africa, climate change is likely to lead to a reduction in the amount of precipitation. ¹³⁵

According to Ox form in it is contribution to the stern review, stress that droughts have become longer and more frequent, while rains are less predictable. ¹³⁶As a result pastoralists do not have an adequate time gap between any two consecutive droughts to

¹³² M.J Kimani. Access Managemnet ownership. The water and pasture menu in pastoralist conflicts in the greater Horn of Africa. Paper presented of Natural Resource conflict in Africa is water the New oil? United Nations Conference Centre-ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia 13-14 November 2008.p6.

¹³³ State of environmental report 2006/7 the national environment authority 2007 10 127.

¹³⁴ Ibid p.128

¹³⁵ A.K Temeigen.Climate change to conflict 2010. Fato report lessons from southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya. Published by Fafo information office, Norway P.23.

¹³⁶ Oxfam (2005) climate change impact on development a role of Oxfams experience for the sturn review.p30.

recover and prepare the next. In 2006 alone a prolonged drought wiped out about 70% of the livestock owned by pastoralists across the Horn of Africa.

Climate change in Northern Kenya cause loss of livestock after drought can lead a wide ranging cattle rustling is an as communities Endeavour to recover lost assets.

¹³⁷ Additionally cattle rustling are inherent feature in the local socio-cultural system of some societies.

The pastoralist in Northern Kenya use indigenous knowledge to Describe changes in the climate and variability. ¹³⁸ They rely on environmental indicators to illustrate changes in the ecological process caused by climate variability such indicators include the frequency of drought, the dryness of rivers and streams that use to flow throughout the year, changes in rainfall patterns in time and by prediction, the disappearance of certain grasses or forage and herbaceous plant species, bush encroachment of grasslands, the intensity of floods and run off, bare and barren soil, the frequency of conflict, the mating pattern of livestock , the changing season of certain flowering plants and prevalence of certain insects, birds and diseases. ¹³⁹

Lives and livelihoods in the HOA has been severally affected by ill conceived socio economic policies. The ensuring 100s of households assets in particular, live stock means

¹³⁷ I. Masinde, M. Adan, R. Pkalya, *Indigennur Democracy. Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanism. 2004.* Published by Intermediate Technology Development. East Africa. P10.

¹³⁸ T. Doti. (2010) *Climate Variable Pastoralist Vunerability and Options. The case of the Born of Northern Kenya.* In A. Anthony Wiliturubani and J.Van Wyk. (Ed) *climate change and natural resources conflict in Afric.* Published institute of security studies P194.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* 194

that households face difficulties in rebuilding their livelihoods even after conditions have improved.¹⁴⁰

The Horn of Africa is home to some of Africa's poorest people and is habited by the world longest remaining concentration of Pastoralist. The HOA also exhibit a high level of human insecurity, having witnessed numerous civil and communal wars, as well as several interstate wars, inter-communal conflicts, notably between Ethiopia and Kenya pastoral communities.

FACTORS AND TRIGGERS

Political instigation

Multiparty politics have brought in political machination to the traditional conflicts.¹⁴¹Such politically motivated and politicians incited conflicts are for the purpose of removing supporters of opposing politicians/parties and building owns supporter base and thereby gain political control as well as for electoral fund raising. The largest numbers of people are killed and displaced in such conflicts, since this is one of the aims and there are even a deliberate targeting of and violence with non- supporters political conflicts both traditional warrior and hired warriors are used.¹⁴² Political leader create conflict by instigating politics that disenfranchise enemy community roars during electioneering period.¹⁴³

Political leaders or contesters in different elective position divide people long ethnic identities and grievances in seeking person gains. Such voiced grievances include raiding

¹⁴⁰ Ibid p.11

¹⁴¹ Conflict Assessment report in Northern Kenya compiled by PRAGYA. P.7.8

¹⁴² Ibid p8

¹⁴³ R. Pkalya, M.Adan. I. Masinde. (2003) A. Focus on Internally displaced conflict victims in Northern Kenya. Published by Inter-Mdiate Technology Development group East Africa. P24

burning of houses and killing of people in opposing political camps in a well calculated move to disenfranchise such groups within the community the resulted intolerance and perceived marginalization of some communities in Northern Kenya in the dawn of political pluralism in Kenya. ¹⁴⁴

In Kenya a bad politics has also been blamed for the spread of livestock theft among the pastoral communities. ¹⁴⁵ Most of these political leaders are normally anointed by their respective ethnic spiritual leaders and as a result, the communities that they represent follow and obey what their leaders tell them faithfully. Some of the political leaders abuse the hallowed positions they occupy in their communities, thereby contributing to an increase in tension among the different communities. ¹⁴⁶

In Northern Kenya, the competition among political elites from pastoralist communities to consolidate political power has lead to boarder dispute. In which they have aim to increase their constitutions. ¹⁴⁷ There are also claims that members of parliament from Marsabit and Moyale Districts have been inciting their constituents. They are accused of arming their own people and inciting conflict between different groups at times these MPs are referred to locally as “warlord”. ¹⁴⁸ This is identified as one factor contributing to rising tensions and at times clashes between the Boran and Gabra in Northern Kenya. Although the political context in Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya are entirely different, the competitions for political representation among elites from pastoralist

¹⁴⁴ Ibid p48.

¹⁴⁵ Moran no more. The changing face of cattle rustling in Kenya. Report of Kenya Human Right Commission Published by Kenya Human Right Commission. Nairobi Kenya. P28.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid p. 28.

¹⁴⁷ A. K. Temesgen (2010) Climate change to conflict lesson from Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya Printed by Alikopi As Norwya P41.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid p 42.

communities produce. Similar results, heightened tensions, between groups and at times (particularly in Ethiopia) violent conflict.

Although the government is very much committed to solve the protracted conflict in the North Rift, it has been reported that some government agencies like administrator and security are reported to be colluded with politicians in order to manipulate the warrior institution during widespread post election violence and protracted violence in North Rift.

¹⁴⁹Both parties are known to have made strategic decisions in which they engaged warrior militias or did not adequately act against them.

In 1992 in the birth multiparty politics, Marakwet District in North Rift Region, Political Instigation of residence was more covert, prior to 1992 the larger Kalenjin community was firmly in KANU under the stewardship of the then president, Daniel Arap Moi.¹⁵⁰ However, as the politic of polurlalism swept across the country in the run up to 1992 first multi-party elections, the marakwet sub-group of the Kalenjin learnt towards emergent opposition politics, a stance that angered the Kalenjin block the Marakwet allege that ever since, their political stand has fostered hatred from other Kalenjin groups, raids were visited upon them by other Kalenjin, with government seemingly unconcerned.¹⁵¹

When political leaders publicly speak figuratively or otherwise, sometimes their statement are indicative of potential or actual conflict, especially when these border on

¹⁴⁹ J. Van den Broeck (2009) conflict motives in Kenya North Rift Region.

¹⁵⁰ M. Adan, R, Pkalya 2005. closed to progressive assessment of the socio-economic impact of conflict on pastoral and semi and pastoral economic in Kenya and Uganda Published practical Action. East Africa p.24.

¹⁵¹ Ibid 24

hate speech,¹⁵² often, public statements in the form of parables, metaphors and/or stories are made with view to shaping public opinion. In most cases the public is ethnically divided in opinion and this can feed conflict. When political secretive meetings that exclusively target given ethnically defined voting blocs, the implicit message is one of division rather than patriotic terms, most secretive meetings have aspect of incitement and this contribute towards accelerating conflict situation.¹⁵³ In Northern Kenya, some politicians are known openly support cattle rustling while others have been inciting ethnic or simply loss of assets, property and livelihoods, and hence no option but to join relief camps, hatred, yet no steps are taken by necessary government agencies to arrest and change some politicians in a court of law. To show seriousness in dealing with those who fan hatred and conflict, the government should be a firm and seen to be firm in the manner in which it deals with law breakers.

Migration

One of the leading causes of conflict among pastoralists is the competition for limited resources such as pasture, water and land.¹⁵⁴ Region occupied by pastoralists receive limited amount of rainfall and which limits the availability of pasture. To preserve their environment and ecosystems, pastoralists move from one place to another according to rain patterns in their localities and in search for scarce resources for their livestock. The movements occasionally take them and their livestock into other communities' territories and the rules of entry and sharing among the communities are not observed, conflict

¹⁵² National conflict mapping and analysis. Peace and conflict trends in Kenya 2011. Publication of National steering committee on peace building and conflict management p.39.

¹⁵³ Ibid p 40.

¹⁵⁴ F.K WAiragu (2007) Raids and Battles involving Turkana Pastoralists. In Paula Goldsmith in collaboration with H. Ahmed and M. Babiker . Fighting for inclyision conflict among pastoralists in Eastern Africa and the Horn. Published by development policy management forum p45

inevitably erupt. Soured relationships among communities may make the implementation of resource sharing rules impossible to implement especially where communities are unwilling to have dialogue; the option is usually the use of force as a way of accessing pasture and water.¹⁵⁵ Pastoral communities, in Northern Kenya generally follow their cattle across the region in search of green pastures and water.¹⁵⁶ The movement is not confined to Kenya alone, but transcends international boundaries into Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia and Uganda. This inter-regional and cross boarder movements oftentimes lead to conflict, over water and pasture. Consequently, a larger number of households are frequently displaced from their original settlement due to conflicts arising from cattle rustling and inter-clan disputes.¹⁵⁷

Migration of pastoral communities in Northern Kenya has been engineered by some situations like droughts, herder within and without their traditional territorial grazing regions including movement to and from neighbouring countries like Ethiopia and Somalia depending on the severity of the drought, and to safeguard their little and dwindling pasture and water resources, some communities are reported to be arming themselves in order to keep off outsiders heralding possible border dispute and internal community resources based conflict in the entire North and other arid and Semi-arid lands, in Kenya are beyond.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid* p.37

¹⁵⁶ A. Kumssa, J.F Jones and J. Herbert Williams (2009), Conflict and human security in the North Rift and North Eastern Kenya. In *International journal of social Economics*. Vol. 36 NO. 10 2009 p.1010.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid* p.1010

¹⁵⁸ Situation report (2011) volume 1. No.1 Drought and potential conflict scenarios in Northern Kenya and other Arid lands prepared by Armed violence and small arms reduction in Pastoralists communities project team, ALRMP 9Gok) UNDP p.3

A very large number of people have been displaced in the pastoralists, North frontier districts of Kenya. The highest numbers of those displaced are Turkana majority from Kakuma and Lokichogio divisions. Samburu districts come next with nearly 20% of the districts population displaced, although a majority of those displaced are Turkana from Baragoi districts have been severely affected with large numbers displaced due to conflicts. The large displacement from the region results from violent eviction or voluntary outmigration.

Effects of migration and displacement

The refugee camps are overcrowded and people suffer from lack of health care facilities, insect scorpions, snake bites are common and with nearest hospitals 5km away and no transport facilities, these often lead to health. Education facilities, when provided are inadequate for the number of children housed in each camp. The living conditions are far than hygiene, and there are no toilets provided, and camp inmates have to defecate in the open.

In Northern Kenya, the movement of animals is being determined by the weather. The movement of animals in different seasons is arranged to ascertain the availability of pasture throughout the years. During the rainy seasons, cattle stays close to the homestead or in designated wet season grazing areas, to give the dry season pasture located further away the opportunity to regenerate. When pasture closer to home dwindles, the cattle's are taken away from, feeding on the pasture thus has regenerated through the rainy season, and therefore conflict can easily start if young men travelling with their herds enter other group territories or farms without prior approval.

Migration has been linked to an increased risk of conflict, as often result in people encroaching onto the land of other tribes or groups amplifying social tensions migration, in conjunction with politically induced loss to socio- economic opportunities, may be a response of people whose livelihoods are undermined by climate change and may increase the risk of conflict in hot communities.

Population

In some areas of Northern in Kenya Population growth has led to increase competition over land and water e.g. through the reduction of land plot sizes.¹⁵⁹ Currently Boran are losing grazing land along the Ewaso Nyiro to Somalis from Wajir District, Somalis have expanded from 10% of Isiolo population to 35 percent between 1960 and 1989, while population of Meru agriculturists, following the water areas of Isiolo town have also grown dramatically. This population growth from both side. can cause competition over scarce resources, regulating inter-communal clashes.¹⁶⁰ Population data from Northern Kenya has historically been unreliable.¹⁶¹ The last three census exercises, in 1989, 1999 & 2009, all took place during drought periods when pastoralists had moved across international borders. The Kenya National Bureau of statistics now includes nomadic households in its sampling, but the timing and management of the census may still prevent pastoralists from exercising their right to be counted. Urban centres in Northern Kenya are increasing in number but in unplanned way. Population growth rates are generally higher in-towns than in rangeland. The population of the older settlements has

¹⁵⁹ M. Funder, Marie Cold-Ravanklide and I.Peter Ginsborg(2012) Report, Addressing climate change and conflict in Development cooperation. Experience from Natural Resource Management Publication of Danish Institute of International Studies (D115) Cepenagen, Denmark.P.19.

¹⁶⁰ A. Umar. (1997). Resource Utilization, conflict and insecurity in pastoral areas of Kenya. a paper for the USAID organized seminar on conflict resolution in the Horn of Africa, held at the Methodist guest House, Nairobi. Kenya. p14.

¹⁶¹ Vision 2030 Development strategies for Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands (August 2011). P.91

grown beyond the capacity of their infrastructure to support them, with the result that housing is inadequate and at times unaffordable, and public facilities very poor.¹⁶²

Economic pursuits coupled with increased population lead to a development crisis characterized by destructive and uncontrolled resources, environmental destruction, resources depletion, poverty, hunger, conflicts and social oppression.¹⁶³ This phenomena is common in Northern Kenya whereby people take pride in large herds. It is therefore crucial to explore and address the role of population and economic with regard to pastoralist especially the cost effective relationships between resource management, conservation cost of environmental degradation control and economic benefits on a long time basis.¹⁶⁴

Other Factors

Inter-communal conflict. Pasture and water are the major resources in pastoral areas that have at the centre of serious and frequent conflicts between communities.¹⁶⁵ Inter-communal conflict in Northern have historical, social economic, and political dimensions, for example the Boran and Gabra in upper Eastern Province, have been in a conflict the mid 1990s. The conflict escalated to a massacre in Torbi centre Marsabit District in July 2005.¹⁶⁶ It is claimed that the Boran of Northern in Collaboration with

¹⁶² Ibid p92

¹⁶³ A. Macharia (2009) policy imperatives to enhance climate change adaptation in Northern Kenya NEMA Magazine. P.14.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid p4

¹⁶⁵ H.A Mohamed (2007) conflict and pastoral livelihoods in the Kenya, Ethiopia, Somali borderlands, in Paula Goldsmithin collaboration with H. Ahmed & M. Babiker (ed) Fighting for inclusion conflict among pastoralist in Eastern Africa and the Horn Published by Development Policy Management Forum, Nairobi - Kenya. 4.

¹⁶⁶ A.K Temesgen. (2010) Climate change to conflict. Lesson from Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya. Printed by All kop Norway. P18.

Ethiopia joined forces has attacked the Gabra residing in Torbi centre fifty six people the majority of whom were women; children and elderly people, perished in this incident.

Inter-communal conflict

Inter-communal conflict poses a more serious challenge to the maintenance of peaceful relations in the arid lands as different socio- cultural system may be involved.¹⁶⁷ Drought and the ensuing scarcity of resources, as well as political skirmishes are the cause for a considerable number of conflicts and crimes. The competition over natural resources also poses major challenges for communities who have to co-exist in the same area communities have their own system that regulate the usage of pasture and water sources, but these may differ between groups. Given considerable number of the ethnic groups in the arid lands such as Somalis, Boranas, Samburus, Turkanaa, Pokots, Marakwet and others, disagreement over usage of natural resources are not uncommon.¹⁶⁸ These can lead to violent clashes at water points or to a series of revenge killing after an initial murder has taken place.¹⁶⁹

In Northern Kenya majority of the people in the area depend on relief arid provided by international organizations, non- governmental organizations (NGOs) and the governments. At the same time the high poverty level and easy access to illicit arms have engulfed the region in a spiral of inter-communal conflict, which has inflicted heavy damage to the region's economy infrastructure and natural resources.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ T. Chopra (2008) *Reconciling society and the judiciary in Northern Kenya*. Research Report published by Legal Resource Foundation Trust (LRF). Nairobi-Kenya. p10.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid* p11

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid* p.10

¹⁷⁰ A. Kumssa, J.F Jones and J. Herbert Williams (2009) *conflict and human security in the North Rift and North Eastern Kenya*. *International Journal of social Economic* vol. 36 No.10. P.1011.

Although droughts have become devastating for the population in the region, the link between resource conflict and drought have not been clear, the major question in this regard has been, "Do conflict mainly occur during or after droughts, or during dry seasons."¹⁷¹ There are two views on this regard, one view is that conflict occurs when pastoralists compete for scarce resources during drought.¹⁷² for example the conflict that took place in Isiolo District 2005 a case in point conflict erupted between pastoralists during drought lead to migration of approximately 10,000 herders with over 200,000 cattle to riverbed traditionally used for watering animals during the dry season. The customary regulation of the use of riverbed broke down under the immense pressure while regulated in violent conflict. The other views suggest existence of clear indications that violent incidences occur more often in rainy seasons and during relatively goods years, than in dry seasons and during droughts.

In Northern Kenya inter-communal conflict is not uncommon; further, East conflicts between Somali clans in Wajir have their root in competition for water and pasture. For example, the Ajuran and Degodia have for decades clashes over use and control of grazing resources and water point in the district, violence that often spill to the neighbouring districts.

¹⁷¹ Documentation of the social and economic implications of conflict in drought risk reduction strategies. Mandera County in Northern Kenya and Dolo, Ado, Filtu and huder Woreda in Southern Ethiopia (2011) Accacia Consultant. Pub p.10

¹⁷² M. Adan, R, Pkalya. (2005) closed to Progress. AN Assessment of the Socio-economic impact of conflict on pastoral and semi-pastoral economies in Kenya and Uganda. Publication of particle action. P15.

Cross boarder issues

Pastoral groups in Kenya living or grazing their livestock along the borders, often get into scuttles with those from neighbouring, Ethiopia, Somali, Uganda. ¹⁷³Turkana county revealed a high number of transnational raids by Tepeith from Uganda Micreillie from Ethiopia and Toposa from Sudan.

Kenya has experienced a steady increase in refugees over the last 5 years. protracted insecurity and prolonged droughts have created severe famine conditions and are leading to intra –region, cross boarder migration. These refugees are forced to trespass into resources used by Kenya pastoralist, wherein is the source of conflict that occur further inland and beyond boarder. ¹⁷⁴

The transit trade across the Kenya Somali border has a complex relationship to peace and conflict. ¹⁷⁵

In some instance Elwak, Bulu Hawa, Doble, and Kismayo it has a times been a source of tension and armed clashed. The mainly due to the fact that the new cross boarder commerce has introduced a new and lucrative new source of livelihood and wealth in a zone of extreme economic scarcity. ¹⁷⁶Northern and Northern Eastern Kenya are prominent livestock producing areas and are also transit zones for livestock from the rich rangelands of the Juba valley in Southern Somalia and the Borana Plateau in Southern

¹⁷³ Conflict Assessment Northern Kenya. Compiled by PARAGYA P.6

¹⁷⁴ Ibid P.6

¹⁷⁵ K. Menkhaus(2005) Keya –Somali boarder conflict analysis Report From USAID P46.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid p 46

Ethiopia.¹⁷⁷ This important role cannot be sustained in situations of extreme physical insecurity and rampant conflict. Despite the growth in livestock commerce between Kenya and Somalia and Kenya Ethiopia in recent years, numerous risk plague the sector. Although there have been long spells of peace and near tranquil situation in Northern Eastern Kenya, cross border conflict and physically insecurity critical issue in the area in Turkana, there are conflicts over another sort of resource, fish from Lake Turkana.¹⁷⁸ The Merille and Turkana of Loareng'ak and Todonyang find themselves embroiled in constant wrangling over the access to and control of fishing areas and fishing gear. This has seen numerous anglers from opposing communities killed and abducted in and around the Lake.

The cross boarder issues are normally characterized by scarcity of pasture and water. resources that are often found in disputed lands for instance most water points in Turkana districts are found in Loima and Lorengippi hills, both boarding Uganda and Sudan and West Pokot respectively. This has participated conflict over access and use to water in the area, frequently degenerating to bloody clashes in the district, and communities across the border.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ H. A. Mohammed (2007) Conflict and Pastoral livelihoods in the Kenya, Ethiopia, Somalia Border Lands In P. Goldsmith, A. Hussein & M. Babiker (Ed), Fighting for inclusion, conflict among pastoralists in Eastern Africa and Horn. Development policy management forum publication.

¹⁷⁸ A. Mohamud, R. Pkalya. (2005) closed to Progress An assessment of the socio- economic impact of conflict on pastoral and semi-pastoral economies in Kenya and Uganda Publication of practice action. Nairobi. Kenya p.15

¹⁷⁹ Ibid p.15

According to Teka underdeveloped livestock structure marketing in Southern and Southeastern Ethiopia trade in Live-stock continues to thrive.¹⁸⁰ This is mainly because of the existence of widespread social network system across the three countries, which local clans profitably manipulate. Boran and Somali relation in Kenya Ethiopia, Somalia borderland (KES) tend to deteriorate as time goes by the effect of this conflict does not seem to affect livestock trading on a large scale that would threaten life and expose a large segment of the population to livelihood deprivation sporadic clashes do occur on the border areas between the three countries, for example, Kenya and Ethiopia official were involved in the blame game as row erupted between the two side on allegation of Ethiopia involvement in communal clashes on November 30th 2000 in Wajir district in Northern Kenya.¹⁸¹

Cultural Practices

Cattle rustling

The origin of cattle rustling as a form of resource conflict among the pastoralist dates back to the colonial period where pastoral communities, such as Maasai and Kalenjins, were pushed out of their land through unfair treaties and/or by the might of the gun, making way for Rift valley based while highland.¹⁸²

The colonizing Europeans turned the fertile land previously owned by the pastoralist communities to the unproductive arid and semi-arid regions. With the establishment of

¹⁸⁰ H.A Mohamud(2007) conflict and pastoral livelihood in the Kenya, Ethiopia, Somalia borderlands in Pauld Goldsmith, H. Ahmed, and M. Babiker (ed) Fighting for inclusion conflict among pastoralists in Eastern Africa and the Horn published by Development policy management forum Nairobi.

¹⁸¹ Ibid p.62

¹⁸² A. Omar (1997)Resource utilization, conflict and security in pastoral areas of Kenya, a aper for the USAID seminar on conflict resolution in the Horn of Africa, held at the methodist Guest House, nairobi 27-29 March 1997.

colonial rule, the government adopted a number of policies that favoured the white settler's plantation economy to the detriment of the local pastoralist communities.¹⁸³

The colonial government fixed borders from the different ethnic communities in Kenya by creating "tribal reserves" all in a measure to create more for crop farming. This had a significant negative effect on the pastoralists as their nomadic life style demanded that they move from one place to another in search of pastures and water for their cattle.

¹⁸⁴The establishment of the fixed borders meant that the pastoralists could not freely move and this in effect created social tension amongst the communities. The Pokot for example were displaced from their fertile land and restricted in less fertile area, which consequently lead to increased tension and pressure for water and pasture with their neighbours, cattle raid started to increase among the Pokots and their neighbouring communities as a restocking measure to replenish the stock that died due to drought.¹⁸⁵

Cattle rustling, which is embedded in traditional and cultural practices of pastoralists communities, is one of the main causes of conflict in this part of Kenya.¹⁸⁶ There are deep-rooted values associated with cattle rustling. Among the pastoralist communities raids and cattle rustling are undertaken to prove that young men are ready for manhood, as well as to acquire bride price. At this stage, the young warriors have to become independent and self-sufficient and are expected to tend to "themselves not through work, but by raiding other clans herd".

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Moran no more. The changing face of cattle rustling in Kenya (2011). Kenya Human Right commission. Published by Kenya Human right commission. Nairobi-Kenya. p12.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid p12

¹⁸⁶ A. Kumssa, J.F Jnes and J. Herbert Williams (2009), conflict and human security in the North Rift and Northeastern Kenya. International Journal of social economic vol. 36. No. 10.p 1012.

In the Rendile land, when young men turn 18 years, they are expected to raid as a rite of passage.¹⁸⁷ The circumcision and the subsequent raid are rituals that show that the young men are no longer "AYUD" 'youth' but have joined the class of Moran "warriors".

Traditional cattle rustling among the pastoral communities were executed under specific and controlled circumstances, for example where the social and economic base in which an individual without livestock could not actively participate in the socio-political affairs of the society, cattle rustling has however undergone irreversible transformation where it is now an organized violent commercial enterprise supplying meat to urban areas and for export. These entrepreneurs do not hesitate to use all possible means and ways to mobilize their community into conflict in order to create conducive environments to perpetuate their selfish exploitation of pastoralist resources.¹⁸⁸

Another issue of cultural practice is Laibons. Laibons are considered among the community members as the seers who are capable of predicting the future trends or events. Their role is to bless the raiders prior to participating in a raiding activity. Laibons benefit from raiding activities by receiving tokens in terms of livestock as thanksgiving from the raiders.¹⁸⁹

In Samburu traditional dances are performed in praise of the heroes. Special copper bangles are given to those who manage to kill the enemy. In Turkana, the heroes are

¹⁸⁷ A.K Temesgen (2010) climate change to conflict lessons from Smurter Ethiopia and Northern Kenya printed by Allkopi as Norway p.46

¹⁸⁸ M.J Kimani (2008). Access Management ownership. The water and pasture menu in pastoralist conflicts, in the greater Horn of Africa. Natural resource Conflict Africa is water the New oil? United Nations conference centres. Addis Ababa. ETHIOPIA.

¹⁸⁹ R. Pkalya, M. Adan, I Masinde. (2003). Conflict in Northern Kenya. A focus on the internally Displaced Conflict victims in Northern Kenya. Edited by Martin Karimi. Published by Intermediate Technology Development group. p24

giving arising welcome and are showered with praises through traditional dances. Their bodies are tattooed in special way in some Turkana clans those who manage to kill the enemy are given a new name ending with the suffix "moe"¹⁹⁰

Conclusion

It has been pointed out that nomadic pastoralism is practiced in areas characterized by hard and unreliable climatic conditions. The pastoralist has therefore adopted such coping mechanisms as migration over wide areas in search of water and pasture. While this was traditionally possible in the past, various developments such as population increases, land encroachment and appropriation has limited such movements. But, as much as the natural resource base has continued to diminish, there are still pockets where they are abundant. In other words, scarcity is usually a localized and not necessarily a national phenomenon. Even in times of severe stress, pockets, sometimes adjacent to the pastoralists, may have sufficient resources. Such areas may include national parks and game reserves, forest reserves, private ranches, military installations etc. These areas are however protected and, there are moral ethical questions of whether pastoralists should be allowed access to such reserves at the expense of, say, conservation of water catchment areas. The choice is difficult as one has to choose between degradation of the resource or letting large numbers of livestock, and sometimes people, starve to death.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid p10

CHAPTER FOUR

INTER-COMMUNAL CONFLICT OVER NATURAL RESOURCE: THE CASE OF NORTHERN KENYA.

CRITICAL ANALYSES

INTRODUCTION

Over the years, pastoral conflicts have become more frequent, highly unpredictable exhibit marked escalation in violence and geographical spread and increasing becoming more intractable, protracted and appear to defy win-win outcomes. The problem is aggravated by environmental deterioration that has invariably resulted in the decline of land productivity and an increase in natural resources scarcity. This persistence and deadlines of pastoral conflicts is further compounded by Massive armament and corresponding rise in civil militarism among the pastoral communities.

Emerging issues

- i) Climate change
- ii) Proliferation of small arms and light weapons
- iii) Resources scarcity

(i) Climate Change

In the recent years increasing attention has been paid to the linkages between climate change, and conflict or insecurity, prompted by concerns that the environmental effects of climate change, especially the depletion of natural resources, will create conditions that that increase the risk of violent conflict.¹⁹¹ The risk is most acute in those countries or regions which combine environmental fragility, been it low laying land vulnerable to

¹⁹¹ Brown and Crandford, (2009) , climate change and security in Africa published Cosderia.

flooding or arid land vulnerable to draught with fragile governance and security.¹⁹² Northern Kenya, which is a largely arid area, is particularly at risk. The recent severe prolonged drought has had a devastating impact upon natural resources, especially pasture and water in Northern Kenya.¹⁹³ Climate change, according to intergovernmental parties and climate change (IPCC) refers to “any change in climate over time, whether due to natural variability or as a result of human activity.”¹⁹⁴

The climate plays a key role in human insecurity, and is expected to do so even more in future as climate impacts, manifest themselves, but will it cause conflict? Some scholars argue that shared river basins and variables such as rainfall and temperature variability are positively linked to conflict, but others like Geditsch, seem to agree that it is unlikely that climate and environmental factors alone will lead to conflict, but will rather feed into or exacerbate existing social, political or economic drivers of conflict.¹⁹⁵ For example, the United States sponsored state failure task force found that the environmental factors can contribute to other variable which are already linked to conflict, pointing to the varied effects the climate may have on other conflict-related variables.¹⁹⁶ Raleigh and urdal also argue that political and economic factors related to the state may play an even greater role in conflict than in environmental factors, while they find the high population density at local level is a strong predictor of armed conflict.¹⁹⁷ The global climate must be

¹⁹² Ibid

¹⁹³ Conservation development centre, International Institute for sustainable development and safer world. Climate change and conflict lesson from community conservancies in Northern Kenya. 2009, Published by International Institute for sustainable development p.1

¹⁹⁴ Ibid

¹⁹⁵¹⁹⁵ A. Bronkhorst (2011) climate change and conflict. Lessons for conflict Resolution from Southern Sahel of Sudan Published by sih wicks, South Africa. p11.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid-P11

¹⁹⁷ Ibid -p11

viewed as operating within complex atmosphere/earth/ocean/ice/land system.¹⁹⁸ Any change of this system, resulting in climate change, is produced by forcing agents, the cause climate change; such forcing agents may be either internal or external. External mechanisms involve agents, acting from outside the climate systems, by contrast, internal mechanism operate within the climate system itself.¹⁹⁹

It is sometimes assumed that climate change will lead to the depletion of natural resources which will lead to increase demand for reduced supply which will in turn generate socio-economic tension leading violent conflict. However, none of links in this chain of causality is as straight forward as that suggested. Firstly, as noted above the impact of climate change will vary from region to region, in some cases there may actually be an increase in rainfall. Secondly, climate change is only one number of factors causing the depletion of natural resources, so it would be blinkered albeit perhaps politically convenient to ascribe all blame to this factor. Thirdly, it is not fast simple equation of supply and demand, crucially; it is how people manage their reduced supply which will determine if natural resource scarcity generates increased conflict. Lastly, despite the centrality of natural resources to many conflict in Kenya, this only one aspect in a complex web of conflict generating factors.

Homer Dixon identified several types of environmental change that in turn could generate three types of violent conflict. Changing environmental conditions included greenhouse induced climate change, ozone depletion, degradation and loss of Agricultural land, and depletion of fresh water supplies among others. The three conflict types were simply

¹⁹⁸ Malik, A shok (2008) causes of climate change Rajat publication. Delhi India P21

¹⁹⁹ Ibid P21.

scarcity conflicts, conflicts caused relative deprivation, and group identity conflicts each conflict had its predicted conflict scope. for example, simple scarcity conflicts are more likely to emerge between states and would thus be considered international, whereas relative conflict deprivation conflict are more likely to arise domestically.

Conflict and climate change

The potential effects of climate change on conflict, conflict profoundly affect people's livelihoods. ²⁰⁰Physical assets may be evaded as infrastructure become unsafe or is destroyed as state capacity is undermined, and as homes and basic services are damaged. Natural assets may deteriorate through direct destruction, expropriation for military purposes, or conflictation by armed groups. Financial assets, are also likely to decline, eroded by job losses, high inflation forced migration and potential collapses of legal economic structures Collier and Hoeffler, estimate that it takes a country involved in a civil war an average of 21 year to reach grow domestic product (GDP) it would otherwise have achieved. Human assets suffered from violent conflict as people are killed and injured, schools are attacked, random violence abound people engage in fighting rather than produce five occupation's children suffer mental traumas and the number of orphans and widow increase. ²⁰¹

Climate change has resulted inter-communal conflict, in East Africa, for example Turkana in Northern Kenyan and Merrile in Southern Ethiopia. Climate in these two east African countries has been characterized over the years by increasing temperatures and

²⁰⁰ O. Rubin (2010) conflict and climate change in Dorte Verner (ed) reducing poverty, protecting livelihoods are building assets in changing climate social implication of climate change in Latin America and Cribbean Work Bank Publication P.221

²⁰¹ Ibid 221.

decreasing precipitation rates²⁰² Since 1960s temperature in this area have also risen about 20 f. along with increasing temperatures, an increase in the scarcity and frequency droughts in this areas has also been observed.

In 2011 Warmer than normal, surface temperatures were seen in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia, worsening the affect of the drought in these area. This reduction rainfall has added to-the already increased stress on people living in these area by “rapidly depleting water, graze, and browse in pastoral areas” long with resulting crop failure in the marginal agriculture areas.

Both the Turkana and Merille people depend highly on land and water for their survival and decline in Arable land can lead to crop failure and less grazing land for cattle.²⁰³ In order to survive both groups must migrate in each of better land and more reliable water resources. Here conflict ensues as territorial claims because these two groups to compete over livestock, land and water usage.²⁰⁴ Conflict and climate are related, using different warming scenarios the scholars finds which conditions will increase the livelihoods and/or intensity of conflict.²⁰⁵ They also attempt to establish pathways through which physical manifestation of climate may lead tp various socio-economic and political impacts and if not managed well, to violent conflict.

Hendrix and Glaser argue that conflict is more likely it climate acts as trigger (as a result of extremes in climate variability) rather than as a result of long-term trends (climate

²⁰² J. Creedy powers (2011) climate change and Turkana and Merille conflict.p6

²⁰³ Ibid P10

²⁰⁴ The World Bank group (2011). Population growth June 2011 P16.

²⁰⁵ M. Leroy and F. Gebresenbet. (2011). Climate conflict in the Horn of Africa in V. Gounden Fed) Conflict Trend Issue 2. 2011. Published by The Africa Centre for the constructive Resolution of Dispute (ACCORD). P12.

change). They argue that low rainfall in given seasons or year yields a higher probability of cause conflict in the following year than a continuously decreasing trend over decades.²⁰⁶

Climate trend

The general climate suggest in an increase in global surface temperature but climate data for the twentieth century shows that Africa is and will continuously be warming faster than global average scholars are certain that there will be no be generalized, single effect of climate change (variability on Africa because of long geographical stretch of the continent. According to the International panel on climate change finding, Northern and Southern Africa will become much hotter (Minimum plus 4⁰ C) and drier (about-10-20% less rain. In several more of regions will often suffer from droughts and floods.²⁰⁷

As International climate change negotiations under the United Nations Frame work convention on climate change (UNFCCC) draw attention to the need for adaption as well as limiting Greenhouse Gas emission, the united state of America, as the World, historical leading emitter of GHG, will have strategic choice to make about how to engage and respond. High income countries have been the leading contributors or cumulative GHF emission,²⁰⁸ however, emission in the emerging economies e.g Borazil, China and India, are project to grow much more rapidly than those in developed countries. In fact current projection indicates that the low and middle income countries will account for the bulk of cumulative global Alta emissions in the future.

²⁰⁶ Ibid P13.

²⁰⁷ A. Swain and F. Krampe. (2011). Tran boundary Rivers and climate change. African and Asian Rivers in V. Gounden ?9each conflict trend issue 2.1011published Accord P.19

²⁰⁸ Ibid

In 2007 the African Union and United Nation Security Council held their first ever debates on security implications of climate change.²⁰⁹ The security implications of climate change. The sentiment during the Au debates is best captured by the words of the Uganda president, Yoweri Museveni.²¹⁰ He labeled climate change an “act of aggression by the develop world” and demanded compensation. At the debate at New York the Namiban representative to the UN, Kaire Mbwende, equated the continued emission of greenhouse gases by the developed world with “low intensity biological or chemical war fare”. At the same meeting, Margaret Becket, former UK foreign secretary, recognized that the “consequences of climate change reach to the very heart of the security agenda.”²¹¹

Effect of climate change

Global warming is obviously also modifying natural maintain ecosystems and, in particular causing glacier and ice fields to retreat.²¹² Since 1912 the area covered by Mt. Kilimanjaro ice fields has decreased by about 80%.²¹³ It has been estimated that if current climate conditions persists, the remaining ice field are likely, disappear between 2015 to 2020. In Uganda, the Ruwenzori’s mountains ice cover has retreated to about 40% of the value recorded 1955, similar observations have been made at Mt. Kenya where the Lewis Alacier is rebidding leading to water shortages reduction in water quality and competition

²⁰⁹ America’s climate change: panel on adpting to the impacts of climate change. National Research Council. (2010) National Academics. Press. P.185.

²¹⁰ ibid p.225

²¹¹ A. Leroy and F. Gebre sentbet (2011) climate conflict in the Horn of Africa. p11

²¹² Ibid p 12

²¹³ J. Seitz W. Nyansena. 2009 economic impact of climate change in the East Africa Community published Global 21 consulting. France p 6

for water, water scarcity has already led to conflicts between large and small scale farmers and between humans and wildlife.²¹⁴

The real effect of climate change on the flow of river system in Africa is apparently unpredictable.²¹⁵ Specialist estimates that, the drier areas, a decrease in rainfall by 10% would have a severe effect on river system like Zambezi, Limpopo, and Nile in Southern Africa and Eastern Africa respectively. The Zambezi River will particular vulnerable to climate change, and already to causes contestation among its riparian countries particularly between Zambia and Zimbabwe.²¹⁶ The Nile basin is considered by many of having high potential to induce water conflict in the region, due to increasing water demand and the unequal distribution of water and power in the basin. In 1999, when the World Bank encouraged the Nile Basin states to form the Nile Basin initiative, there was hope and expectation that shared water resources would bring peace and cooperation in the basin. However, more than a decade later, that dream has not yet been realized.²¹⁷ Kenya has witnessed an alarming upsurge in the incidence and severity of extreme climatic events caused by climate change.²¹⁸ Floods, droughts, landslides have ravaged virtually all parts of Kenya. Deforestation, soil erosion and land degradation have wiped out thousands of acres of fertile land. In Northern Kenya, longer and more frequent droughts continue to ravage pastoralist population. It is now no longer in doubt that these multiple impacts are all directly attributable to the warming of the Earth's atmosphere

²¹⁴ Ibid P. 25

²¹⁵ A. Swain and F. Krampe (2011). Transboundary Rivers and climate change. African and Asian Rivers in V. Gunden(ed) conflict Trends, Environment climate change and conflict. Issue 2 2011. Accord Publication.

²¹⁶ Ibid p. 19

²¹⁷ Ibid p.19

²¹⁸ Ministry of Environment and Mineral resources National climate change Response strategy republic of Kenya 2009. p5

with over 70% of Kenya depend for their livelihoods in Agriculture, the long term health of the country's environment and natural resources are critical to its very survival.²¹⁹

Climate change stress on resources often causes the inhabitants of the particular areas to migrate in search for the same resources as water and foods.²²⁰ Communities such as the Turkana in Northern Kenya have been hard hit by drought caused by escalated by climate change. This has caused civil unrest and war since higher population flock to small capacity water sources in order to sustain their cattle and themselves from the brink of death.²²¹

Climate change included migration that can promote conflict in areas receiving migrants. The intensity of which varies in chaotic cases.²²² The process leading from migration to conflict works through two channels, which may act concurrently. In this conceptual model conflict is more likely when two or more of the following channels work together, facing certain auxiliary conditions: competition - the arrival of environmental migrants can burden the economic and resource base of the receiving area, promoting native-migrant contest over resources. Pressures are expected to rise with the number of migrants and residents, particularly when resources are scarce in the receiving area and property rights are underdeveloped. The excess demand for resources may also generate lateral pressure, expansion of economic and political activities beyond the regions or state's borders in order to acquire resources which increase the risk of conflict.²²³

²¹⁹ Ibid -35

²²⁰ Africa Partnership forum (2007) climate change and Africa Berlin Germany APF p 10.

²²¹ Ibid p 15

²²² R. Reuveny (2007). Climate change induced migration and violent conflict. *Journal of political geography* 26. published by Elsevier Ltd. P 659.

²²³ Ibid 659

Ethnic tension-when environmental migrants are residents belong to different ethnic groups, the migration may promote tension. Resident may feel threatened, host countries may fear separatism migrant may attempt to return their home country, and resident may respond aggressively. Situation involving long-standing ethnic disputes between migrant and resident are likely to be particularly prone to conflict.²²⁴

Climate change related increases in the health burden of malnutrition and diarrheal and other infectious disease could lengthen the time required to achieve development goals by increasing resources needed to treat and control these health impacts, reducing workers productivity, and impairing childhood development. Improving health protection programs (e.g. malaria surveillance and control, increased attention to maternal and child health and reduce risk of malnutrition) would increase the capacity of countries to avoid prepare for, and cope with any changes in diseases burdens.²²⁵ Climate change increase the frequency and intensity of natural disasters.²²⁶ The chaotic condition that follows in the wake of natural disasters may provide opportunities to rebel groups to challenge the government's authority an authority that may already have suffered because of inadequate disaster response. A power vacuum in the affected regions would provide recruitment opportunities for militant groups of people find that the opportunity costs of retraining from engaging in conflict become negligible.²²⁷

²²⁴ Ibid p 59

²²⁵ Americans climate change. National research council. Adapting to the impact of climate change, National Academies Press. P. 187.

²²⁶ O. Rubin, Conflict and climate change in Direction in Development. Reducing poverty, protecting livelihoods and building assets in a changing climate social implication and climate change Latin America and the Caribbean. World Bank Publication.

²²⁷ Ibid-p224

Climate change induced migration climate change conflict nexus is that of migration. Statistics reveal that, in 2008, 1.4 billion of the world's inhabitants in developing countries alone relied on Agriculture for their food production and income generation.²²⁸ Close to 98% of the same group were employed in the agriculture sector. The climate change hazards either lead to the destruction of land resources, through flooding or desertification, on the one hand, and shrinkage of available ecological resource like water on the other hand.

This has a direct impact on food production and income-generation efforts, while also reducing employment opportunities for the majority of people living in developing countries. Increased food shortage and the reduction of the employment opportunities as a result of diminished farm based activities have been a cause and source of rapid outward migration in Africa.²²⁹

(ii) Small arms and light weapons

The origin of the proliferation, of any access to, illegal small arms can be traced to specific periods of instability in the borderland region. Notable among these included the raid on Moroto barracks following the collapse of Idi Amin's regime in Uganda in 1979 by Matheniko subtribe of the Karamojong Mengstu's regime collapse in Ethiopia, the collapse of Tito Okello, regime in Uganda, in 1986 leading to the raid on Lotido barrack by the Jie and collapse of Siyal Barre's regime in Somalia. The internecine civil war in the Sudan has also had its contribution to make to the vicious cycle of all illegal arms in

²²⁸ W. Tsuma (2011) Climate change-conflict Nexus. Framework for policy oriented Action. In V. Gounden (ed), conflict trend, environment climate change and conflict issue 2. 2011 published by Accord. South Africa p7

²²⁹ Ibid-p 7-8

the region. Fleeing soldiers and ex-combatants engage in widespread illegal gun trade.²³⁰

The relative ease acquisition of how costs of these illegal guns enables the pastoralists guarantee a sustained market for them while the exact number of modern automatic weapon in the hands of pastoralists, is difficult to ascertain, there is not much gain saying that the threat posed by them is enormous.²³¹

The question of small arms among the pastoral communities must be situated within the boarder content of the conflictual situation in the Horn of Africa.²³² Since 1950s Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Somalia has experienced devastating intermittent conflict. While illicit weapons have permeated the region, the previously legal arms have become illicit. Some were legitimately imported by states to preserve their security while other were bought in ostensibly to serve the ideologically opposed functions during the cold war. The former case is particularly true with Somali and Ethiopia who received large quantities of arms from the former Eastern bloc during the cold war.²³³

In Sub-Saharan Africa, countless. Militia, claiming different ethnic ideological or purely profiteering motives that perpetuated a state of violence and insecurity that is to significant measurers the cause of under development of the continent, small arms which can be carried and operated by one to three persons, are more useful and lethal in the kind of guerilla wars fought in Africa, small arms are also very convenient for criminal gangs as the can be easily concealed and transported.

²³⁰ Ibid -P 40

²³¹ Ibid-p40

²³² L. Cheruiyot and K. Sabala (2008)_. Human security and the control of small arms. In Makum Mwangiri (ed) Human security setting the agenda for the Horn of Africa. Published by Africal peace forum Nairobi. Kenya p.78-79.

²³³ Ibid p.79

It is estimated that there 30 million small, arms in Africa of which 79% are illegally in civilian hands, followed by the military at distant 16%, police 3% and the insurgent 2%. Over the past decade, small arms have proliferated in East Africa with disastrous effects. The state has emerged as the primary source of illegal fire arms.²³⁴

Contributing factors leading arms proliferation

Regime collapse- the fall of Idi Amin of Uganda (1979), Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia (1991) and Siyal Barre of Somalia (1991) witnessed the proliferation of small arms within the civilian population as centre's of authority and system scrambled.²³⁵ For instance when Idi Amin fell in 1979,²³⁶ members of the public raided the military barracks, took away guns some of which are being used illegally in the ongoing cattle raids in the sub- region. The proliferation and use of illegal small arms and light weapons has called up the severity and frequency of violent confrontations in pastoralist areas in the Greater Horn of Africa (GHNA). Arms are already available from the many civil conflict, but in addition, government have also provide training and inadvertently created armed militia among the pastoralists, Kenya Police Reservists in Kenya, vigilantes in Karamoja where local warriors are engaged in the recovery of stolen livestock's.²³⁷

²³⁴ A. Mohamud, R. Pkaly 2005 closed to progress. Assessment of the socio economic impact of conflict on pastoral and semi- pastoral economies in Kenya and Uganda. Practical Action Publication East Africa, P.47

²³⁵ Ibid. P 47

²³⁶ L. Cheruiyot and K. Sabala. (2008). Human security and the control of small arms. In Makumi Mwangiru (ed) Published by. Africa Peace forum. P 79.

²³⁷ M. J. Kimani (2008) Access Management Ownership. The water and pasture menu in pastoralists conflict in the Greater Horn of Africa. Natural Resources conflict

The process of globalization (a post cold war phenomenon) also contributed to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons.²³⁸ The advent of the era of global interconnectedness in-terms of trade, internal finance and commerce and developments on the aviation and shipping industries have enabled arms dealers to procure and transport small arms and light weapons illicitly across international borders, to weak state with forms boarders and weak or absent state control system.²³⁹ This arms trade is often financed with resources from conflict ridden but resource rich states.

The proliferation of small arms and light weapons is essentially a post- cold war problem, while large quantities of small arms and light weapons were transferred into the developing world during the cold war: it is ironic that the problem of proliferation intensified as a result of its termination.²⁴⁰ In Kenya, social-economic, and political causes have contributed political demand for and proliferation of small arms. Long political instability and armed conflict in the countries neighbouring Kenya have also contributed to the small arms challenges facing Kenya, given its long and porous border.²⁴¹ Poor and corrupt policing of the boarders between Kenya and its neighbours has facilitated the influx of large qualities of small arms into Kenya. In Northern Kenya, the law is not enforced by Kenya police in their marginalized region.²⁴² The only option they have to arm themselves for personal, clan, communal or larger family defense

²³⁸ M.J. Kimani (2008) Access Management ownership, the water and pasture menu in pastoralists conflict in the Greater Horn of Africa. Natural Resources conflict in the Africa is water the new oil. United nation conference centre. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 13-14 Nov. 2008p.7

²³⁹ A. Stemet (2001) Regulating Small arms and light weapons.The African experience. Published in African security Review Vol. 10 No.3 2001. P10

²⁴⁰ Ibid P11

²⁴¹ M. wepundi, E. withiga, E. Kabuu, R. Murray and a. Alvazzi de frate (2012) Availability of small arm and perception of security in Kenya, An assessment published by the small survey. Geneva, Switzerland-p21.

²⁴² "Safer world submission on E u county strategy paper for Kenya prioritizing safety security & conflict prevention" fully 2006 p7

requirement. They do this as a defensive measure against bandits and other clans as well as to advance their own interest as they define them.²⁴³

Small arms and light weapons present an enormous challenge with the call for change has come from within the communities affected by these arms. Respondents to these cells from Albania to Mali, from Kenya to Cambodia, UN agencies International, National, Non-governmental organization, are working with communities and individuals who want to find alternatives to an armed response to their situation²⁴⁴ concern about the spread and use of SALW has developed rapidly since the mid-1990s. Initially stemming from increasing international involvement in peace keeping operations in intrastate conflict, various concerned group have raised issues related to SALW in a variety of situations and for variety of purpose ranging from major armed conflict to criminality.²⁴⁵

Beyond conflict zones, small arms gain currency as commodities, sometimes these weapons from the basis of a lucrative trade whereby corrupt members of the constabulary or armed forces steal weapons from armories, transferring these criminal groups as occurred in PNG-during 1990s. 2 Experienced in exploiting weak willed and corrupt authorities, organized crime groups transfer these weapons to generate revenue contributing to these profitability, as they do with other commodities, such as narcotics, diamonds²⁴⁶ and timber consequently official forgo opportunities to collect taxation

²⁴³ Ibid p8

²⁴⁴ Inter- agencies standing committees(2000). A programme of Action to Address the Human cost of Small arms and light weapons. p3

²⁴⁵ Bourne. (205). The proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Krahmnn Elke (ed0 New threats and new actors inInternational Security. Palgrave Macmilan Publication P. 155.

R. Damien 2005. Post internationalism and Small arm control Ashgate Publishing groups USA. P. 65

²⁴⁶ R. Damien (2005) Post internationalism and small arm control. Ashgate publishing group USA. P. 65

revenues further, impeding governmental capabilities to administer human development projects.²⁴⁷

UK and Russia were criticized transferring small arms to Africa. The UK government, was alleged transferring small arms that contribute to violent conflict, in the same vein as it criticizes other controversial exports for example it would have been assumed that a presumption of denial, would have been assumed that a presumption of denial, would have been in operation in 2003-04 with regard to arm export to, Morocco, given the violent political conflict over control of west Saharan. Thus UK government's licensing of over 300 small arm to the Moroccan government.

It has also begun assessing Russia and Chinese involvement in the arms trade more closely. It argue that Russia small arms²⁴⁸ transfers to Ethiopia and Eriteria prior to and almost immediately after on-year UN embargo announced in May 2000, as well as transfers to Syria, which the US and Israel suspect of being diverted to Hezbollah forces in Lebanon, raise concern that Russia export control are not in line with international standards and that the Russia government has had qualms about selling arms to any state that seek to purchase them. Therefore there is a need for shared international standards of controlling arm trade.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ Ibid p. 65

²⁴⁸ Starrianakis, Ann (2010) Taking Aim at the arms Trade. NGO's, Global civil society and the World military order. Zeed book publication. USA p. 140.

²⁴⁹ Ibid p. 140

Impact of small arms- and light weapons

Small arms are a major factor in facilitating, prolonging and intensifying conflict and armed violence. They are used arbitrarily and indiscriminately to kill or injure, to threaten people and drive them from their homes.

Small arms and light weapons, in the wrong hands have acute immediate impact on personal, economic, social civil and political rights which translate into longer-term effects that prevent development.²⁵⁰ Human development depends on peace and personal security, sustainable development therefore is a diction of insecurity. Poor development indicators usually go alongside insecurity and conflict. The UN Millennium development goals grew out of the millennium summit of September 2000 that focused the effort of the world community in achieving significant, measurable improvement in people's lives.²⁵¹

Insecurity-in this regard, with increasing insecurity and inter-ethnic conflict, small arms have become essential household assets.²⁵² Mostly the youth are the ones who carry and use deadly weapons to demonstrate their heroism by raiding and killing members of the other communities.

Armed violence, facilitated by availability of arms that SALW proliferation provides can deter investment and hinder or reverse sustainable development.²⁵³ Child soldiers –the

²⁵⁰ M. Apollos (2012) conflict transformation published by centre for conflict Resolution. Nairobi-Kenya p. 92

²⁵¹ *ibid* p 293

²⁵² A. Kumssa, J.F Jones and J. Herbert William,(2009) conflict and human security in the North Rift and North Eastern Kenya. In International journal of social economic vol. 36 No. 10. 2009. Published by emerald Arms Ltd. p. 1012.

²⁵³ M. Baure (2005) the proliferation of small and light weapons. In Krahnemann Elke, New threats and New actors in International security. Palgrave Macmillan, Publication USA P. 157

situation particularly applies to children who, during a war situation, become involved in conflicts are forced to fight.

The extreme emotional stress of child soldiers is owned to the fact that they are not only victims of violence but also its perpetrators. They may be forced to kill people, often under the threat of being killed themselves if they fail to adhere to the instruction.

After such extreme traumatic experience it is exceptionally difficult to return to the normal life of other children. In addition, families and social communities often no longer want children who have committed such atrocities to live within their midst, they even them. Furthermore, former child soldiers do not have access to official demobilization campaigns because as minors they were not officially soldiers.

Excessive or inappropriate arms purchase.²⁵⁴ The basic problem is that excessive or inappropriate arms purchase is drain on social and economic resources which developing countries cannot afford.²⁵⁵ Such purchases increase the risk to developing countries of debt, corruption and were of resources. More specifically irresponsible arms transfers drive up defense-spending in developing countries, and impose opportunity costs through the diversion of resources, away from education, health care and social development.²⁵⁶

Conflict and cattle rustling in the arid lands have escalated with easy access of firearms, which are traded across the adjacent borders of war- torn neighbouring countries.²⁵⁷ The

²⁵⁴ Starriankis, Anna(2010). Taking Aim at the arms Trade NGOS, Global civil society and the world military order. zed book publication .P. 117

²⁵⁵ Ibid p 282

²⁵⁶ Ibid p. 117

²⁵⁷ T. Chopra.(2008) Reconciling society and the judiciary in Northern Kenya. Published by legal Resources foundation Trust (LRF). P10.

ready availability of firearms has permitted cattle rustling to be conducted on a larger scale and fostered the increase of highway banditry.

The state has made few attempts to adequately address the issue of small arms. Pastoralist communities now provide. The largest market for small arms from local circulation and from areas in the region undergoing civil wars.²⁵⁸ Many pastoralists who pasture near Ethiopia, Sudanese borders have been victims of livestock theft. In order to defend their herds, pastoralist are increasingly acquiring the AK 47 guns the relative ease of acquisition and low cost of these illegal guns enable the pastoral communities to guarantee a sustained market. While the exact number of small arms in the hands of pastoralist communities is difficult to access, it is clear that the threat posed by them is enormous.²⁵⁹

(iii) Resource scarcity

Resource based conflict- arise out of competition for possession of the same resources. when they are not fairly distributed or when they are scarce and not enough to go around.

Homer Dixon established that under situations of environmental scarcity (scarcity of renewable resources such as agriculture land, water etc group affiliation aids survival.²⁶⁰

Likewise intergroup competition on the basis of relative gains is likely to increase. In this case different ethnic groups and cultural groups are propelled together by circumstance of

²⁵⁸ M. Babiker (2007) in P. Goldsmith in collaboration with H. ahmed and M. Babiker (ed) fighting for inclusion, conclift among pastoralist in Eastern Africa and the Horn Published by Development policy management forum. Nairobi Kenya p. 107

²⁵⁹ Ibid p. 107

²⁶⁰ M. Apollos (2012) conflict Transformation. Published by centre for conflict Resolution Nairobi-Kenya p.

deprivation, or inter-group hostilities in which a group while emphasize its own identity while discriminating against and attacking outsider.²⁶¹

The relationship between resource scarcity and social outcomes, including conflict both national and international is likely to be non-linear.²⁶² Much of the literature linking resources to conflict suggest that conflict occurs where resources care relatively scarce. It is important to note that conflict over scarce natural resources such as water and pasture has been a common phenomenon among pastoral communities since time immemorial. Competition over scarce resources, shrinking economic opportunities for the people also cause violence in the region. Given fact that animal rearing is the main source of income competition over, and access to natural resources such as pasture and water have contributed to violence among pastoralist communities. These scarce resources are increasingly under pressure.²⁶³

Human Dixon undermines his case by building political factors into his definition of environmental scarcity. More rebuts conclusions concerning the effects of environmental trends on violent are made possible only by clearly disentangling the physical sources of such conflict from its political economic and social determinants.²⁶⁴ Moreover, argument, that are based on scarcity as a source of conflict have based their cases on the dependent variables, leading to issues of selection to bids.²⁶⁵ Collier has argued that discourse within

²⁶¹ Ibid p27

²⁶² F. Mark Giordano, A. Neredith Giordano, T. Aaron wolf (2005). International Conflict and mitigation. In Journal of peace research Vol. 42 No. 1 published –sage Publication. Ltd. P. 50

²⁶³ A. Kumssa, J.F Jones & J. Herbert William (2009) Conflict and Human security in the North Rift and Northern Kenya in International journal of social economic vol. 36 No. 10. Emerald Group Publishing p.6

²⁶⁴ P. Tamas (2003). Water Resource Scarcity and Conflict: Review of Applicable indicators and system of references. Published by potential conflict to co-operation potential (PCCP). P.5

²⁶⁵ Ibid p5

conflict zones is heavily dominated by stories of grievances. The discourse of perceived scarcity, whether of physical resources or political and social resources, is a huge part of the language of conflict.²⁶⁶ Theory of scarcity, people who support this view argue that conflict in the Horn of Africa are fought because individuals or groups have different values, needs and interests, but also because most resources are not available in unlimited quantities, and so access to them must be controlled and fought for.

Causes for resource scarcity

Climate change induced Natural resources scarcity. According to the international panel on climate change 2007 report places special emphasis on water by irking at water system, floods and water sources. The report recognizes that water scarcity has increased and is predicted to continue to increase in the future. This can be argued to be an outcome of unusual erratic rainfall patterns, prolonged dry spells and drought.²⁶⁷ For example, flooding as a climate change hazard reduces the amount of land available²⁶⁸ for food production and other farm-based activities, while droughts due to erratic and irregular rainfall reduce the water available to communities that depend on rainfall-fed agriculture and animal rearing for their livelihoods.²⁶⁹ This can be driver for social tensions and violence in some context-especially those prove to resource based conflict. Human activity has dramatically altered and damage much of the regions ground cover, reducing the carrying capacity of the land, predictably, this has led to an increase in communal conflict over access to increasingly scarce resource for example harvesting for acacia

²⁶⁶ Ibid p5

²⁶⁷ S. Bahta, 2008. Equitable Resource Management and Regional Security in the Horn of Africa, in Makumi Mwagiru (ed0. Human security setting the agenda for the Horn of Africa. Published by Africa Peace forums. Nairobi-Kenya p 160.

²⁶⁸ W. Tsuma (2011) climate change –conflict Nexus. Frame work for policy oriented action. p 7

²⁶⁹ Ibid P.7

trees for commercial export of charcoal or for fire-woods has led to heavy erosion and rangeland degradation in the southern half of the border area, from Dadaab refugee camp to the coast.²⁷⁰

Increased human population larger livestock herds, and inappropriate placement of boreholes, have for decades resulted in severe overgrazing in some areas.

The growing human population in African necessitated the raising of increased numbers of livestock to feed the teeming masses. The combined surge in human and livestock population led to overgrazing, unhealthy agricultural practices, intense fishing and pollution of the water sources forcing the resources to dwindle, leading violent conflict.²⁷¹ The decrease or removal of vegetation from the earth, surface tends to increase surface run off and consequently reduce the infiltration capacity of the water, although this may depend on other factors such as the nature of landscape .Furthermore, the increase of surface run-off may increase of surface runoff may increase soil erosion and hence the amount of eroded material that is transported and deposited in the rivers and streams.²⁷² This in turn, results in the decrease of water storage capacity of rivers and streams consequently natural water resources may become seasonal, flowing only during the rainy season.²⁷³

²⁷⁰ K. Menkhaus. (2005). Kenya Somalia Boarder Conflict analysis. Development Alternatives. Inc. Nairobi-Kenya. p15

²⁷¹ Ibid p. 15

²⁷² F.C Onnuoha.(2010) Resource overuse in the Lake Chad are implication for human security in the North-East Zone of Nigeria. In Donald Anthony Mwiturubani and Jo-Ansie Van Wyk. Climate change and natural resource conflicts in Africa. Institute for security studies p.28

²⁷³ D. Anthony Mwiturubani. (2010). climate change access to water resources in the Lake Victoria Basin in D. Anthony Mwiturubani and Jo-Ansie Van WYK. Published by Institute for security studies. p69.

Impact of natural resource scarcity

The scarcity of resources with one community leads it to search for resources elsewhere. In this process, that community breaches not only territorial borders, but extends the search for resource to its frontiers.²⁷⁴ When drought occur communities across both territorial borders and international frontiers to the other areas and countries. In the case of the Turkana, traditional water points and pasture have increasingly become inaccessible due to conflict, resulting to frequent crossing, into Uganda territory in search of pasture and water consequently, this has elicited skirmishes not only between them and the Karamoja community but also between them and Uganda's military. In most recent incident, the Ugandan military is said to have bombed a section of Turkana herdsmen who had crossed the border into Uganda killing scores of them.

Human wildlife conflict has been a serious problem in many parts of Kenya since the early twentieth century following colonial settlement. These conflicts includes loss of human lives to wild animals, as well as predation on livestock and crop destruction by wild animals, Elephant buffalocs and monkeys are biggest menace to crop production in the affected areas.²⁷⁵

Owing to human – wildlife conflict wild animals population have been decline at a high rate in the different parts of the world. In the late 1980s for, example, Adamson point out that, there were only 20% as many elephant in Kenya as there were before the Second World War, the black rhinos suffered even worse. By 1970 there were about 200,000

²⁷⁴ F.K. Wairau. 2007 Raid and Battle Involving Turkana Pastoralists in P. Goldsmith, H. Ahmed and M. Bubiker (ed) fighting for inclusion, conflict among pastoralists in Eastern Africa and Horn, Published Development Policy Management forum 10. W2

²⁷⁵ M. Apollos. (2012) Conflict Transformation published by centre for conflict resolution. Nairobi-Kenya P. 252.

rhinos but by 1980s they had reduced to level below 500, 17 scarcity of natural resource leads to clashes between pastoralists groups and with settle farmers. When pastoralists more cattle into areas considered private property, such as wildlife reserves or cattle ranges, tensions, are heightened.²⁷⁶ Similarly tensions rise when different pastoralist groups coverage on a single area seeking to graze their cattle on the same pasture. Social and political implication. The social and political implications of differently types of environmental scarcities were important contributors to the violent conflict in Rwanda during the 1990s.²⁷⁷ These scarcities, which become acute in 1980s, were the result of complex interaction between demographic pressure, inequitable access to and shortage of land resources, and resource depletion and degradation. The resulting degradation of ecological capital forced rural inhabitant to a vicious cycle of poverty, thereby compounding their dissatisfaction with state.²⁷⁸ The government's failure in knowldeging and addressing such grievances promoted political dissesension and presented opposition leaders with an opportunity to wage war against the regime. When the country becomes deeply entangled in the war, radical politicians were able to re-centre the dialectic from rich versus poor to Tutsi against Hutus.²⁷⁹ Scarcities of resources encourage livestock theft. The effect of drought and famine leads to the death of hundreds of livestock, and for this reason, the pastoralists desire to engage in rustling as a way of increasing their wealth or as conduits for unscrupulous businessmen out to make a quic kill from the miseries and hardship of the pastoralist.

²⁷⁶ Report conflict sensitive approaches, climate and conflict, lesson from community conservancies in Northern Kenya. Published by conservation Development Centres International Institute for sustainable development and safer world p4.

²⁷⁷ J.K. Gasana (1999) Natural Resource Scarcity and Violence in Rwanda. P.2003.

²⁷⁸ Ibid p.203

²⁷⁹ Ibid p. 203

The resource conflicts have been growing more severe as evidenced of militarization of the Northern Pastoral part of the county.²⁸⁰ The number of the incident have been growing rapidly, the number of victims for raid, had gone up, and whole 'tribal' groups numbering hundred and thousand are becoming involved.²⁸¹

They are claims that leaders including entire councils and parliament Arians as well as traditional elders are involved.

The undefined free for all defects policy of land tenure in the northern pastoral areas has led to large scale recent migration of clans in winner-take all struggle by the military strong groups to take over grazing lands.

Land Based conflict- The eruption of disputes and violence as a result of access to land as resource has been a common place in the world.

International wars have been fought over access to land and water since Biblical time, the link between environmental resources and the outbreak of conflict has been recognized by many. What separate modern day analysis on environmental conflict is the recognition of the role that population growth plays in causing these conflicts and the distinction between non renewable and renewable conflict.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ Moran No more. The changing face of cattle rustling in Kenya. (2010) Kenya Human right commission. Nairobi-Kenya. p 21.

²⁸¹ A. Umaw. 1997. Resource utilization, conflict and insecurity in pastoral areas of Kenya a paper for USAID organized seminar of conflict resolution in the Horn of Africa-held at Nairobi –Kenya p-13-44

²⁸² Ibid p-13-14

Conclusion

Pastoralist is an adaption to marginal environments characterized by climatic uncertainty and low grade resource. It has considerable economic value and latent potential in the dry lands and is central to the livelihoods and well being of millions of the world poor, but state of knowledge regarding this sector of the economy is weak.

Pastoral communities seem to be arming themselves for several reasons. First, they need to protect themselves against being plundered by hostile groups. Second, the weapons are used to defend their animals against other pastoralist communities. Third, arms are used forcefully to steal stock from other pastoral communities. Guns are an economic investment.

CHAPTER FIVE.

CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

Pastoralists are marginalized and impoverished in Northern Kenya and indeed throughout much of the Arid and semi-arid and semi-arid in the Horn of Africa. They are also vulnerable when droughts or other developments limit their already restrictive to water and nature. Moreover conflicts involving pastoralist are increasingly widespread and damaging. The patterns of the conflicts and the factors contributing to them are complex. There are many ways in which the governments can assist in preventing and reducing conflicts. Involving pastoralist in Northern Kenya. They require systematic and concerted attention, and the development of appropriate and effective and effective partnerships between government, the private sector, pastoralist and other communities involved, and broader civil society.

It is becoming clear that existing policies and measures relating to pastoralist in Northern Kenya, and greater Horn of Africa are inadequate. Efforts to prevent and reduce conflicts need to be fully integrated into local and national development policies as well as into regional cooperation and integration programmes. Due to absence of an institution eager to enforce "pasture lines" unauthorized mechanized schemes encroached into grazing lands cutting vast tracts of nature lands disrupted pastoral routes, and blocked access to watering point with narrowed and blocked routes and corridors, incidents of and damage intensified disputes between farmers and pastoralists. Local authorities also ceased to issue orders sanctioning pastoral movement.

Unfettered tribal intermingling and pastoral competition and conflict weathered unlearned in the high potential areas. The influx of strangers, contributed to the appearance of widespread banditry, which has become strategy for improvised pastoralist to recoup herds ever since pastoralist conditions deteriorated consistently

Finding

The study found that most district in Northern Kenya are the poorest districts in Kenya in all the development indices, school enrolment rates are far below the national average majority of the people in the region depend on relief food and are malnourished.

The study found that, rights of the displaced people has been grossly violated. There is a strong correlation between displacements and increased rape cases, physical assaults, prostitution, growing number of street urchins and child labour, most of displaced were disenfranchised by the conflicts making them unable, even to exercise their constitutional right by fearing to vote during election period.

The study also found that, borders between Kenya, Uganda and Sudan not demarcated and huge tracts of land disputed, the so called traditional occupation of these lands by the Turkana is contested. This brings about cross border conflicts in which primarily Toposa, Nyangatom, Dassanetch, Dodoth and Turkana confront each other. Especially, the disputed Elemi triangle. The government needs to respond urgently to pastoralist conflict: replacing its reactive strategy with a more proactive one that seeks to equip its security forces, train them and instill in them a sense of urgency and responsibility in handling incidents of pastoralist conflict. For instance the government can ensure increased and effective surveillance of border areas through provision of powerful

communication equipment, increased presence of personnel and strengthening communication systems and infrastructure. The government could also implement a policy shift for arid areas like Turkana that helps to tap into the livestock resource in the district. Such a policy shift could entail the establishment of a branch of the Kenya Meat Commission in Lodwar and Garissa. This would help to create a ready market for livestock and livestock products for the people of northern Kenya.

The level of education is perhaps the single most important factor in development. No society in the history of mankind has progressed without a strong educational foundation. To reduce conflict in northern Kenya and the surrounding districts, deliberate policy of compounding education must be implemented. The free primary education policy is a step in the right direction.

Recommendations

The following policy recommendations are considered crucial in the efforts to address the underlying causes of pastoralist conflict in northern Kenya

It has been recommended, that livestock theft must be treated as a serious criminal activity and that all those who are either complicit or implicit in this vice should face the full force of the law. To this end, the Government should start by investigating the serious allegations that some powerful government officials as well as businessmen are the key drivers of the perennial “conflict among the pastoralist communities as they are the main beneficiaries of livestock theft”²⁸³. All those found to be either aiding or abetting

²⁸³ Moran no more. 2010. changing face of cattle rustling in Kenya. Kenya human right commission

the culture of livestock theft under the guise of cattle-rustling must be fully dealt with in accordance with the law.

That the issue of proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons must be addressed both at the national and the regional levels. The Governments of Kenya and her neighbouring states should collaborate in order to curb and stem the menace of the proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons in the region.

At the national level, the Government must investigate claims that some politicians from the ASALs are known to arm their constituents as part of a political strategy to gain votes. Stern action must be taken against any politicians found to be behind any arming activity in the ASALs.

The Government should adopt and implement measures within its national legal framework (which should be in tandem with regional and international standards) aimed at ensuring that the problem of livestock theft is adequately addressed.

That the Government, civil society and other stakeholders jointly address the issue of poverty and under-development in the affected areas by initiating and supporting development projects and alternative livelihood programs so as to economically empower the pastoralist communities.

That peace-building programs and conflict resolution initiatives be undertaken by the Government and the civil society, both at the grassroots and national level to raise awareness on the adverse effects of conflict by bringing the combatant communities together so that they may develop a deeper understanding and appreciation of each other.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁴ ibid

At the policy level, the government should rethink its strategy of arming Kenya Police Reservists (KPRs) as a counter force to armed cattle rustlers. It has been proven that KPRs are actually part of the insecurity problem in northern Kenya and elsewhere. The government should provide arms carefully because KPRs are neither properly trained to handle weapons nor remunerated for the service they provide to the community. Many of them get killed by raiders during cattle rustling missions when government remunerated police officers abandon them and flee to preserve their own lives. One way forward would be to disband KPRs and to let the police and other security agents who have the right to

possess and use arms handle security. An alternative to this policy would be to assess areas in which KPRs can be retained through a thorough vetting process to ensure only highly disciplined people with an acceptable level of education are recruited. Once recruited, the government should train and remunerate them on a monthly basis. Uniforms, whistles, jungle boots, berets and other appropriate "tools of trade" should be made available to them. In addition, the KPRs should be placed under the command of the regular police force to ensure continuity and consistency in their operations. Then, some of the security loopholes will be greatly minimized.²⁸⁵

A lot of ground has already been covered in the war against the proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons (SALW). The Nairobi Protocol, a regional legal instrument to which all governments in the region are signatories, stipulates measures that signatories should put in place to ensure control of proliferation of SALW. There are national institutions that have been developed as a direct product of the regional protocol

²⁸⁵ M. Apollo, 2012. Conflict transformation. Published by. Centre for conflict resolution- Kenya p49

such as the National Focal Points on Small Arms and Light Weapons. I recommend that there should be synergy between the two national focal points of Kenya and Uganda in addressing the small arms menace in Northern Kenya and Eastern Uganda respectively. Only a regional approach can effectively address the problem. Recent attempts to disarm the pastoralist have failed, as did efforts by the Uganda government a few years ago to disarm the Karamojong. These failures have been attributed to lack of commitment by both governments to address pastoralist conflict and its root causes as a regional problem. If factors such as: insecurity, poverty, arms races between communities and cattle rustling are addressed, the war against illegal small arms would be won.

Grassroots peace-building initiatives like those being undertaken by organizations such as Riam Riam, Practical Action and the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) help control the spread of pastoralist conflict in northern Kenya and along Kenya's borders with Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda. These efforts should be solidified through increased funding to these and other organizations doing similar work. It is also important for these organizations to network and collaborate with each other to avoid duplication and foster teamwork. Thus identifying common problems and designing and implementing common peace building projects would yield far better results than working in isolation from each other. Community based organizations that have local acceptance like Riam Riam need to be strengthened both in-terms of human and material capacity. Riam Riam's peace building project on the border areas between the Turkana and the Dodoth is a very good example of an effective conflict prevention and peace building action. Through this project, Riam Riam and its partners built a water pan in a strategic point along the common border between two communities. This pan is

accessible to both communities. Over the last one year since the pan was built, there has not been a single incident of conflict.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁶ K. Francis wairagu. Raids and battle involving Turkana pastoralist. In P.Goldsmith in collaboration with H. Ahmed and M. Babiker. Published by development policy management forum. P48

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