IMPACT OF CONFLICTS ON DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN NORTHERN KENYA: THE CASE OF ISIOLO DISTRICT

BY: HALAKHE DIDA WAQO

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DECLARATION

This project paper is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other university.

STUDENT NAME: HALAKHE DIDA WAQO

SIGNATURE:

DATE: 6ᵗʰ AUGUST 2002.

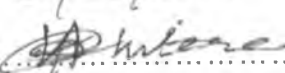This project paper has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

NAME: DR. ROBINSON M. OCHARO

SIGNATURE:

DATE: 6/8/02

NAME: PROF. PRESTONE O. CHITERE

DATE: 6/08/02

SINATURE:

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ABSTRACT

This project paper discusses the impact of conflict on the development activities of the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) working in Isiolo district. The document provides a typical case of what relations there are between the development initiatives by the NGOs and the process of conflict.

The paper focuses on activities of NGOs and how they have been influenced by the conflicts. The general perception is that conflicts have posed a major challenge to the provision of development in general and initiatives by the NGOs in particular. Therefore, its major thrust is on the impact of conflict on the development provided by the NGOs in this region.

Its overall goal is to establish the extent to which ethnic conflicts impact the development efforts made by the NGOs in Northern Kenya. The study is based on the fact that the low development process is an issue influenced by the insecurity status.

The study used the conflict theory as a theoretical basis for the study, and it adapted literature review and field interview methodologies for data collections.
Its findings have provided evidence of the relation of the two variables, that is conflict and development.
It had linked the two issues in as far as provision of development to the Northern region of Kenya and Isiolo in particular is concerned. The impact is therefore indisputable.

The study recommends land resource tenure, security sector reforms, development of relevant economic policy frameworks for the area and proper establishment of mechanisms for managing drought. The Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) also need to develop a clear and relevant stand on their level of programmatic and geographical coverage as well as their relevance in certain areas and involvement of International organisations at grass-root levels.

CHAPTER ONE: Background, Problem Statement, Goal, Rationale, Scope and Limitation of Study and the Definition of terms

1.1 BACKGROUND

This is the area, which was referred to as the *Northern Frontiers District (NFD)* by the colonial government. Today, some part of the so called NFD form the North Eastern province namely; Garissa, Mandera, Wajir and the new Ijara districts; and Northern part of the Eastern Province covering Isiolo, Marsabit and Moyale districts. Turkana district, which was once a part of the NFD, is in the Rift Valley Province.

For a period of more than three decades now, Northern Kenya has been undergoing turmoil of ethnic centred clashes, conflicts and armed wars. The area had also suffered repression by the Kenya government security forces especially in the late 1960s, which was resisting the secessionist attempt by some members of the Communities in the region. Isiolo suffered most. " *The security forces gathered all the livestock and fired artillery and bombs at them until almost all perished...many people died, livestock perished...children orphaned...The legacies of the wars are still manifested in the poverty status in especially, Isiolo district.*" Waqo, H.D. (1998:9)

The region is occupied by the pastoral society that practice pastoral economy as a means for livelihood. They are seen as hostile against each other especially, when it comes to sharing range resources such as pasture and water for livestock. Their relations have mostly been abrasive and their interactions turning volatile and violent on many occasions. The situations normally turnout to be antagonistic competition, frequent clashes and long-term rivalry which result to armed conflicts. The situations are normally so difficult and very delicate that, any peace-making initiatives undertaken are done with a lot of care and caution. These kinds of conflicts attract high amount of arms and weapons from outside the region, especially, the neighbouring countries such as Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, and mainly Somalia. The communities arm themselves continuously in readiness for attacks from their respective neighbours. This is done as a matter of building up *civil defence arsenals*.

The region is experiencing violent and chronic ethnic conflicts mainly caused by scramble for natural resources such as water and pasture. However, in many instances, the conflicts situations take the forms of identity and power struggles among the various ethnic communities occupying the area. The situations vary from one district to another as the issues of concerns are equally varied.

Isiolo district has uniqueness in that, even the districts that are bordering with the countries like Ethiopia and Somalia such as Mandera have been more peaceful in the North *"while spatially central but culturally diverse Isiolo may be the most violent in the recent years."* (Goldsmith, 1998:23)

The situations of conflicts, apathy by the state and the poor status of communication infrastructure has led to underdevelopment status of the region. In essence the people of this area feel deliberately neglected both by the state and the various development minded stakeholders such the NGOs, Bilateral agencies and Donors. The underdevelopment status is viewed widely as both legacies of colonial neglect and the current lack of relevant policies to address to the infrastructural development of the region as a whole.

This region has had Development agencies especially the NGOs coming in the 1970s. However, the Church based institutions have been there long before this period. In the 1990s, many local NGOs emerged in an attempt to address various problems by the locals of the area. Infact, by the late 1990s, the number of local NGOs has out done the International and the church based agencies and the total presence of NGOs arose more than ten times the number in the early 1990s.

The project involves studying how the status of chronic *Ethnic conflicts* is affecting the initiatives by these development agencies in the Northern Region of Kenya as whole and Isiolo district in particular.

The study based itself on how the conflict in the region has affected attempts made to develop the are by various development actors, especially the Non Governmental Organisations. The main focus is on the work of NGOs and the extent to which the situation of conflicts affect their activities either positively or

negatively. The study looked at how the normal operations and plans for intervention, implementation and monitoring are affected by the conflicts and related insecurity issues.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT:

The region in general and Isiolo in particular has been a hot bed of not only the persistent drought condition, environment degradation, poor social services, inadequate infrastructure, discriminative and marginalising government policies such as the livestock movement and quarantine policies. It has also been experiencing an intricate, complex and chronic ethnic clashes and therefore deplorable security status. The latter issue is definitely the most pressing as it does affect directly all the former issues mentioned.

For the last three decades and over, the entire Northern Kenya has been a battleground of resource based or related (pasture and water) tough competition by the pastoralist communities occupying it. This has led to frequent and fatal ethnic fights not only for the sharing of these resources but also occupation of certain highly resource endowed areas. This condition has also been perpetuated by the resource scarcity in most parts of this region.

Another important point to note here is the fact that these people move in search of pasture and water even if it posed to be available in the distant land of the

enemy. The relations of these pastoralists when it comes to the sharing of these scarce resources are quite abrasive.

The problem is far from loosing currency because even today, the communities are still not trusting each other and colliding over the meagre natural resources. It is actually part of daily social intercourse in areas like, Isiolo, Turkana, Marakwet, West Pokot, Samburu, Marsabit, Moyale, Mandera, Wajir, Garissa, Tana River and Lamu districts.

There are various causal factors among which is the land and land-based resources. Konchora Guracha writes (the Daily Nation of Saturday, May 20, 2000:5) that, *"According to the archaic Trust land Act, all pastoral land is held in trust for the people by the government, but security of tenure is difficult to ensure due to the nomadic nature of the pastoralists."* The land issue, which is centring on pasture and water, is often a major precursor to conflict and an important issue to note.

However, this is only one of the most important causes. Fr Carroll Houle of Lodwar Catholic Diocese says that, *"Certainly the pastoral peoples of Kenya are caught up in a whirlwind of conflicting pressures."* (PPA Newsletter,Jan.1999:6). Peoples' nomadic lifestyle coupled with the harsh environmental conditions is a major causal factor to this situation.

The Insecurity in the area is believed to be a major block or setback on many sectors of life. For example, *"Insecurity has taken its toll on the lucrative tourism industry, on which the Isiolo County Council depends. It earns more than sh80 million from the industry."(Daily* Nation, Saturday, May 20, 2000:5).

This status of affairs has not only affected the rate of economic growth and social development, but it has also frustrated the activities of the development agencies in the area.

The above issues have led to the holding of a negative impression of the area by the government agents as well as the communities from the other parts of Kenya. The people in this region are perceived and actually accused many a time as unfriendly and warlike. This has led to the continuous marginalisation of the area by both the government policies as well as the development support agencies such as the Non-governmental Organisations. One of the claims of these marginalising bodies is that the area is highly insecure and volatile to carry out development initiatives. This view has led to *"...neglect and continued marginalisation of the district in terms of infrastructure development giving insecurity and severe climatic conditions a reason for continued underdevelopment."* (Ungiti, 2000:36)

This study has sought to clarify the various issues that are pertinent in showing how the ethnic conflict does impact on the implementation and support of development activities in this area by the NGOs.

Therefore, the research questions raised are:

1. Is ethnic conflict an important factor in hindering of development initiatives of NGOs in Isiolo? How does it affect the activities or work of development agencies in the area?

2. Is it the main root cause to the current high insecurity status in this area?

3. What is the cost implication in containing insecurity to the communities, government, development agencies and the corporate sectors in this area?

4. What are the possible solutions to this problem?

1.3 GOAL AND OBJECTIVES:

1.3.1 Overall Goal:

The overall goal of this study is to establish the extent to which the ethnic conflicts impact on the development initiatives by the NGOs in the northern region of Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives:

The research aims to:

1. Establish the major ways in which ethnic conflicts and insecurity impact on the development initiatives in Isiolo district.

2. Establish the number of development agencies in the district whose activities have been directly hampered by the insecurity status of the area.

3. Establish the measures taken by the development agencies while undertaking programme implementation in the field.

4. Establish the cost implication on the NGOs as far as taking security measures while implementing their plans in the field are concerned.

5. To identify the appropriate strategies of curbing conflict and insecurity in the area.

1.4 RATIONALE:

The topic understudy is important to look at due to the following major reasons;

There has been a remarkably slow pace in the development of Northern Kenya in general and Isiolo district in particular. This has been blamed on issues like marginalisation by the government and other development actors' policies as well as the harshness of the area in terms of physical and social environments. However, there has not been any important study that separated the roles of

these different factors and more so, the role of socio-ethnic conflicts on the level at which the development agencies are involved.

Therefore, this study seeks to clarify the true role played by this issue, especially on the activities of the NGOs.

Secondly, there are many reports on the status of insecurity in Northern Kenya. However, none of these reports go beyond identifying the immediate causes, immediate outcomes and short-term solutions.

All these studies or reports fail to capture how the issue impacts on the development of social set-up, infrastructure and economy of the region in general and impact on the work and operations of various development agencies based in Isiolo district in particular.

Moreover, there are gaps in the number or the nature of population affected, specific impacts on all the sectors of life, effects on the influencing of the relevant government policies and the efforts of the various development actors in the area.

There is also a major gap in identification of roles and contributions of the local communities in exacerbating or controlling of these negative impacts on development of the area.

This particular study based itself on the situation as it currently is. But, it zeroed on the specific problems; Both short and long term that affect the development agencies' efforts in implementing their planned activities while facing the challenges posed by the conflicts in the area.

Thirdly, the previous reports have all centred on the socio-political and economic impacts. In the economic sense they only stress on the symptomatic problems that can catch the eyes and ears of the people who write them. Neither the extent of poverty on individual households nor the impact on the general development of the area has been given attention deserved by its seriousness.

Fourthly, the previous works also stress much on the issues of conflict causes and resolutions. This particular study identifies strategies in sustaining development even in the event where resolutions are not easily arrived at.

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY:

The study includes outlining of the nature and extent to which the conflicts have been affecting the development agencies and thereby development status. It looks in detail on how the conflict situations have affected or are still affecting the development initiatives in the area and possible panacea to this problem.

The study concentrated on the main problems faced by the development planners and the implementers in the affected region. The development workers under focus in this case are Non-Governmental Organisations, Religious institutions and also the Local Community-Based development initiatives. The focus is mainly on effect of conflicts on the past and the current implementation processes as well as on the forward planning practices.

Definition of terms:

These terms are used relatively to the circumstances of the situation of the study.

A. *Development Initiatives:* This refers to the social, economic and even political service provisions. It encompasses infrastructural facility provisions, enhancement of economic production, improved information access and sharing, enhanced provision of security.

The works of NGOs, CBOs and Religious organisations in providing support to the communities within this area are therefore referred to as development initiatives. These are in the areas of education, water, livelihoods and food security as well training and technological transfer through skill development.

B. *Ethnic conflicts*: These terms refer to the interethnic fights between the communities that occupy the area under study. These are the pastoral communities in Northern Kenya such as Borana, Somali, Rendille, Gabbra Samburu, Turkana, and the Meru. It is characterised by raids on homes and villages, killings of people, livestock rustling and property destruction.

C. *Impact*: This implies the effect made by the conflict on the area and its people. It is the resultant features or products of the conflict situations. Its indicators are degenerating economic growth, reduced efforts of the

development agencies' inputs for the sake of development and even departures of NGOs from the scene.

D. *Insecurity:* This refers to the lack of proper security. It means feelings of fear, danger and exposition to threats to life.

E. *Non-Governmental Organisations*: These are organisations, which are not affiliated or attached to the Government as the name implies. They are charities and service organisations, which provide development support to communities. There are international, national and community-based organisations, there are also bilateral agencies of other states and governments in the country, there are also religious institutions which support and provide social services to communities.

F. *Northern Kenya*: this refers to mainly the Former Northern Frontiers District (NFD) which covers the entire North-Eastern Province that has Garissa, Wajir, Mandera and Ijara as its administrative districts, the Northern districts of Eastern Province such as Isiolo, Marsabit and Moyale and some North Rift Valley Province districts, that is Turkana and Samburu.

G. *Pastoralists*: These are the livestock keeping communities of Northern Kenya. They keep cattle, camel, goats, sheep, donkeys, horses and mules. They are highly mobile people who move form one place to another in search of

pasture and water for their livestock. These communities occupy more than 60% of Kenya's total landmass.

H. *Nomads / Nomadism*: The term nomad will be used to refer to the frequent moving pastoralist and nomadism refers to this lifestyle of frequent movements in search of pasture and water by the pastoralist communities.

I. *Marginalisation:* This refers to a process of either exclusion from the main national development and policy issues or neglect by the policy makers in as far as provision of basic social amenities and infrastructure is concerned.

G. *Shifta:* This is an *Amharic* word that refers to bandits.

CHAPTER TWO: Literature review, conceptual framework and research assumptions

2.1 Review of Literature:

This section describes the various literature collected and analysed on the issue of conflict that affects the Northern Kenya and similar environment with particular focus on the programmes of NGOs.

2.1.1 Historical background:

The Northern Region of Kenya is characterised by banditry, tribal raids, inter-clan fights, highway banditry and cross-border wars that have put it on the map in a wrong way (Waqo, 1998). What one needs to understand about this fact is that it has a lot owed to the colonial rule. The pastoralists did not occupy discreet territories, but moved within fluctuating orbits that often intersected their neighbours. The colonial administration restricted them to tribal blocks within the separately administered Northern Frontiers District (NFD) (Goldsmith, 1998).

The colonial administrators had managed to disorient the pastoralist set-up by creating this unnecessary condition to suit their own interests at the expense of the pastoral people. The colonial government moved many groups of pastoralists from the areas they occupy in the name of avoiding conflicts among them and in

the end they managed to separate them for their own divide and rule interest. In the early twentieth century, this movement idea saw the Borana give up the wells of Wajir because the British wanted to avoid conflicts with the Somali, who were there in greater numbers. In compensation the Borana were given the current Isiolo district, which was the home of the Samburu people. The Samburu were moved farther west (Schlee, 1994; Sobania, 1979). But, in actual fact, these people have been staying together and sharing the resources over ages meaning that the colonial claim was just for their own administrative conveniences.

Though the Kenyan Northern region and the entire Horn of Africa communities have had inter-ethnic raids from the time immemorial, the colonial restriction policies are essentially the basis to the current conflicts arising from the claims made by these different communities on various parts of the region.

However, the last fifty or so years has seen a radical change on the nature of conflicts in the area. The drastic change has had drastic and enormous effects on the people - the civilians (Caritas Internationalis, 1999). The changes have been brought about by the neo-technology, neo-economic and neo-political faces of the conflicts of these recent decades. The conflicting parties use guns and not spears any more, the fights were explicitly over natural resources and today they are over complex multi-faceted issues, they are currently political based and not socio-cultural as in those olden days.

As a whole, the current issues are direct effects of the above historical factors that had played an important role in shaping issues in this direction.

2.1.2 Genesis to the modern conflicts in Northern Kenya:

The modern conflict in this area owes a lot to the past than the current. Marco Bassi (Hogg - ed., 1997) says that, *"The creation of concentrations of destitute pastoralists is primarily related to armed conflicts rooted in colonial and post-colonial state policies, recurrent droughts and competition over scarce resources"*. Shortly before independence, there was a referendum held by the British to get the stands of the people in this region (NFD) on whether they wanted a territorial integration with the newly independent Somalia or the future republic of Kenya. The majority of the people voted to join Somalia. But, the British did the contrary and placed the region under Kenya

(Schlee, 1994). This led to the Secessionist movement, which was termed, the *Shifta* wars that continued throughout the decade (Schlee, 1994). There ensued an emergency period.

The introduction of modern weaponry into Northern Kenya is a direct outcome of this post-independence war for Somali self-determination in Northern Kenya (Goldsmith, 1998).

The independent Kenya government had actually concentrated on suppressing the people of this region. They were marginalised from all the important things in the country including development services. Goldsmith (1998), maintains that the pastoralists are the least empowered people in the country but face the most

formidable obstacles to development. They have been marginalised and highly exploited. Large areas of the pastoralist land have been declared wildlife parks and game reserves, and tourist lodges have also been put up in the most strategic water sources denying the livestock entry to the water points.

The people in this region have been competing over various resources, especially, water and pasture. This forms the major motive force behind the fights among them (Schlee, 1994). In the recent years, the inter-ethnic conflicts are related both to national political processes and the international Aid policies (Hogg - ed., 1997).

There have also been a multiplicity of actors that have influenced the current situation into happening and these are, Local state, NGOs, development agencies and factors external to the people and the area. Development itself is factor in destruction of the pastoral way of life leading to cultural and environment changes in the area. This had led to the break down of the traditional means of peace-building and conflict management (Survival International, 1993; Kona, 2000).

2.1.3 Resource Access and Competition:

The pastoralist communities of the Horn of Africa in general and those in Northern Kenya in Particular live on the edge of sharp blade of socio-economic and political life. The physical environment has been harsh on the people of the

region. This is due to scarcity of water and pasture as well as the frequent drought conditions.

Land tenure has been the bone of contention in Northern Kenya (Ungiti, 2000; Ahmed, 2000). But the problem of Land tenure in the areas of the pastoral people are common in many countries as Ali Said (Hogg, 1997) says that even the Afar people in Ethiopia have been denied access to water and pasture by the state's refusal to recognise their land rights.

The above issue had led often to serious crisis and competition over the limited resources by the people mostly leading to violent clashes between them and serious danger of insecurity.

2.1.4 Involvement of the NGOs in the region:

There are various development agencies in the region that are involved in both integrated and peace-building initiatives. Their involvement is enormous and there contributions much, but the effects of the conflicts on them and their effects on the local communities are equally enormous. In general, many civil society groups have been involved in conflict resolution in pastoralist areas (Kona, 2000). Many local organisations, women groups, churches and International agencies have been active participants in this process. In Somalia, international agencies and the UN sponsored groups have been highly involved in the demobilising armed youth and rebuilding local government (Menkhause, Ken in New Routes, 1999).

The roles of these NGOs are quite marked in the heavy management of the conflicts, though the local and international agencies are seen to be involved at different levels and extents (Mwagiru, 2001). They are also involved in the big International issues such as the refugee problems which, vary from maintenance, services to repatriation and these are very expensive and involving projects. For example, the UNHCR and concerned national agencies in collaboration with the local administration assisted in repatriating 44,294 people from the Walda refugee camp in Northern Kenya (Moyale district) to Moyale district of Southern Ethiopia between 1992 and 1993 (Bassi in Hogg - ed., 1997).

However, the involvement is quite minimal as the NGOs have at times expressed fears that, the area is insecure for them to operate. But the Local NGOs and CBOs have been more involved and responsive (Ungiti, 2000; Caritas Internationalis, 1999). At times, the NGO partners conflict with each other over biases especially in the areas of intense conflict like Rwanda in 1994 and prompt donor pull out project sufferings (Dan Church Aid, 20000).

2.1.5 Involvement Implication on the NGOs:

The involvement of the humanitarian agencies in this area's relief and long-term development work has had a profound impact on them. Siobhan O'Reilly of World Vision (World Vision - UK, 1998) while talking about the World Vision experience in Rwanda asserts that, this experience has shaken their corporate self-confidence quite a lot. This has been because the nature of the area and the extent of involvement have proved complex to the operation of the World Vision.

But, this has also taught the agencies to re-plan and reform their strategies of response to humanitarian sufferings. The NGOs, Community organisations, individuals and the governmental institutions have been forced to ally with each other and work closely to achieve the common goal of human development. This has restricted programmes within some organisations, which would otherwise be more involved on their own (Graham,k.- ed. in New Routes, 1999).

In many occasions, development agencies have faced frustrations of different kinds as their initiatives have been sabotaged, broken down and even delayed by the hostile socio-political environments. For example, this is what happened to many NGOs in Southern Sudan and Wajir peace development committee in Kenya in the 1990s (Ungiti, 2000; ThurfJel, in New Routes, 1999). The conflict periods normally reduce the NGO response rates and in many occasions, they are forced to discontinue their work due to high insecurity status of the area under conflict. In certain occasions they suspend and hold on to the area. But, worsened conditions mean evacuation of their staff in many instances (Caritas Internationalis, 1999).

The conflict situation may also catch the NGOs in a difficult situations as they may find their beneficiaries as targets and themselves involved against their wishes (Caritas Internationalis, 1999). This situation has also invoked a big problem on the nature of staffing among the NGOs. The situations demand in certain cases, local people to work these areas instead of international or people foreign to the area. In other instances, the local staff are mistrusted, suspected

and perceived to be biased against some community groups especially, when they belong to one of the parties in conflict (World Vision UK, 1998). The involvement in peace making and conflict resolution activities has been very costly to bear by these agencies. The role of relief and reconstruction in as far as the expensive costing is concerned is very enormous (caritas Internationalis, 1999). It has also been noted that one of the major setbacks has been trying to find an alternative means of livelihood for communities involved in activities like cattle rustling and the communities under emergency response situations (International Alert & Centre for Conflict Research, 2000). This relief strategies and at times feeding projects also lead to incapacitation of the community for survival and coping. Hence, the implication has been heavy dependence on the NGO responding thus, constraining the meagre resources further (Hendrickson et. al, 1998).

This status of affairs has had a devastating effect on the Northern Kenya region in particular. It has led to further neglect and continued marginalisation of the northern districts such as Isiolo in terms of infrastructural development service delivery and the general involvement by the development agencies based in the country. The basic reason claimed has been harshness of the area due to not only the environmental hardship but also, high insecurity (Ungiti, 2000).

In general , the scenario is that the nature of involvement by the NGOs has been impacted on in a big way by the situations in which they work. They also have posed more effects on the same areas as proved by their experiences.

2.2.0 Conceptual Framework:

The idea here is that the development efforts in the area under study is highly influenced by the ethnic conflict problems. The study has established the main facts underlying this idea and suggests possible ways of going about it.

The process of conflict is clearly a hindrance to the activities of NGOs as their objectives and goal attainments are made impractical on many occasions. The picture created is like someone on a trip with specific aims and objectives. Where he is going, he the villages are also aware of the coming of this person who will also bring some food and fruits to starving people. The person prepares for the journey before hand, begins the trip, but a strong force comes on the way and deters the movement. The people he is taking food to are somehow involved in provoking the occurrence of the force that blocks the way. Then, the person despairs, decides to go back and seek alternative benefactors. The villagers who were to benefit suffer, but watch helplessly. The person tries his best to defeat this force of impoverishment and also gets hurt in the process. Then the cycle continues.

The person with the goodwill gets tired, the people's participation is hindered, and outside forces look at the situation with mistrust and are kept off by the difficult status of issues.

Conceptual diagram
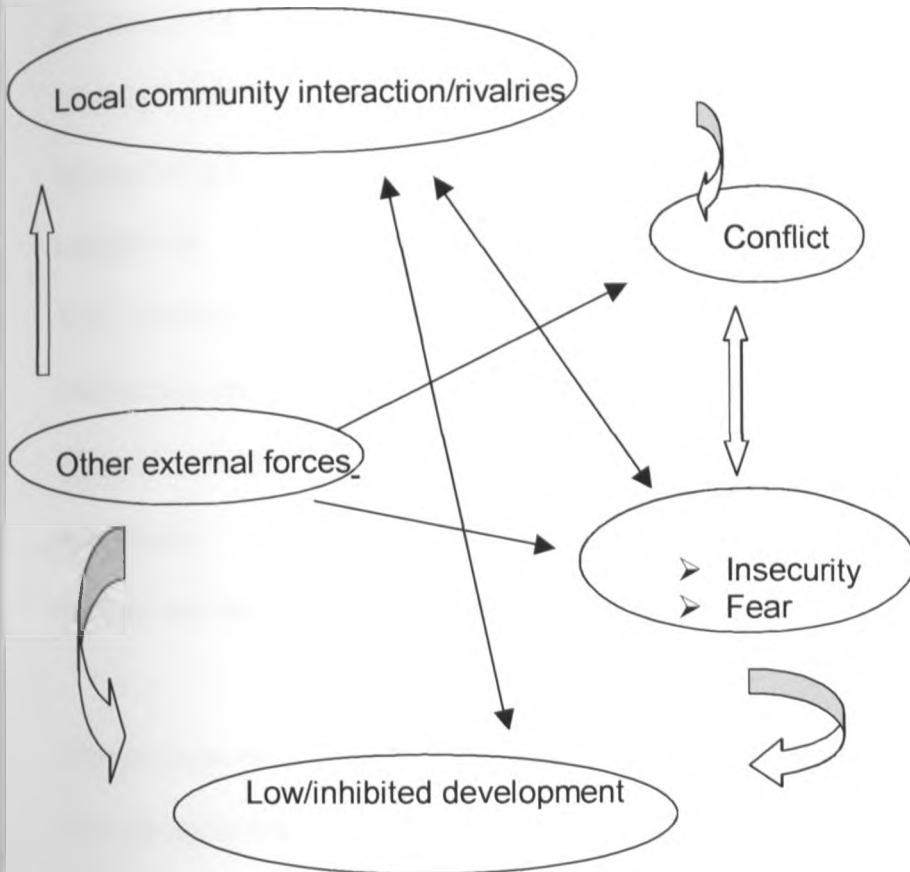
2.2.1 Conflict Theory

In the society, there are various changes and these changes are experienced in all daily interactions. These changes occur in languages, cultural practices and

also political activities. The social system as a whole is a process of change. Through this change, conflicting issues occur. According to Ralf Dahrendorf (Coser, 1967:4), *"All social life is a conflict, because it is change."* In this case, change is viewed as involving conflict throughout its course.

A Conflict is a process of social relationship and at every stage the parties involved interact socially. This is seen in the process of argument, antagonism, disagreeing and fighting where each party responds to the other and anticipates responses. These responses may be soft or harsh depending on the situations. The process involves two or more sides or parties and these sides are the interacting ones.

"A social conflict exists when two or more parties believe they have incompatible objectives." (Kriesberg, 1982:17) The objectives or interest of the conflicting parties are always at antagonism and incompatible.

The process of change in the society involves struggle of two contending parties. The struggle entails, according to Dahrendorf (1959:126), *"if social conflicts effect change, and if they are generated by social structure, then it is reasonable to assume that of the two interests involved in any one conflict, one will be pressing for change the other pressing for status quo."*

There are two main forms or characteristics of conflicts. These are violent where the disagreeing parties seek to destroy each other physically and the peaceful one where the conflicting parties do not involve violence as such. According to

Weber (1964: 132 – 133), *"The term 'peaceful' conflict will be applied to cases in which actual physical violence is not employed. A peaceful conflict is "Competition" in so far as it consists in a formally peaceful attempt to attain control over opportunities and advantages which are also desired by others."*

As a whole, conflict refers to a situation where two or more groups disagree in ideas or ideology, compete for a certain resource or influence, differ on a point or set incompatible objectives and each is determined to achieve his own goal in his own way. The daily social goings in the society is therefore a basis for conflict in this sense.

Today, we can see clashing interests of individuals, nations, and ethnic groups in social, political and economic spheres. In this case of NGOs in Northern Kenya, the scenario is that, the NGOs only happen to be victims of and involved in what is seen as competition, antagonism and interactions of *other parties* by virtue of their operational locations.

In the case of Isiolo district, the different communities' interests are at play. The issues conflicted over range from natural resources (land ownership for pasture and water access), economic resources like livestock and plots, social issues such as identity, political factors based on the electives seats such as the Local Authority and Parliamentary ones.

All the different groups of people struggle to out shine each other so that one group is seen as dominant. The conflict takes a collective effort form and the benefits are viewed as communal.

2.2.2 Theory of challenge and response

The social environment in which people operate is highly influenced by the physical one. The elements of physical environment that influence the human life to a great extent are climate, physical landscape and geomorphologic features. Natural resources such as soil, water, vegetation and the wind systems are the integral part of this physical phenomenon.

The environment initiates, supports and perfect the activities of man in this way. Man works hard to make his environment habitable by all means and at all times. Civilisations have been seen rising and falling. This is because man struggles to enjoy the fruits of the earth for maximum benefits. However, the difficulties in the environment poses more challenge and thereby more hard work. This provokes more action from man. Toynbee (1947:88) asserts that, *"Stimulus towards civilization grows stronger in proportion as the environment grows more difficult."* The environment demands self-determination and hard work so as to cope.

In case of the Nile Valley civilizations, it was the challenge posed by the waters of the Nile that provoked the Egyptians to innovate food production through irrigation farming. The slaves that were taken from Africa to America had cope

with the cultural challenge by adapting the cultures of the master. *"Some rose in the master's service until they became the responsible administrators of great estates."* (Toynbee, 1947:127)

Civilizations compete against each other so that they can out do and overtake each other. This leads to rivalry against each other and competitions that lead to fights, captures and defeats (Toynbee, 1947).

In the case of Northern Kenyan communities, the environment is a major factor in catalysing the conflicts and wars between the various ethnic groups. The scarce pasture, low rainfall input, diminishing land resources and encroachment by both sedentary communities and government led projects like wildlife sanctuaries and parks are among the major causes of conflicts. The scarcity of these resources prompt movements to enemy territories and abrasive relations at the end.

On the other hand, activities like proliferation of small arms, raids by other communities and laxity on the side of the government security apparatus have led to acquisition of firearms and subsequent raids. Poverty and poor political will to put in place a deliberate development plan for the area has also contributed to this problem.

The Non-Governmental organisations are faced with the challenge of responding to high poverty levels among these pastoral communities whose resources are diminishing as a result of frequent droughts and violent conflicts among them.

They are faced with moral challenges of support livelihoods to reduce sufferings and poverty, yet the forces of violence affect them negatively.

Research Assumptions:

This research focused on the following assumptions:

1. Ethnic conflicts may have led to the low development level in Northern Kenya.

2. Many development efforts in Isiolo district may have been frustrated and ground to halt by the chronic Ethnic conflicts in the Northern region of Kenya.

3. Insecurity in Isiolo district are viewed to be the cause of low access to divisions by development agencies for initiating projects for community development.

4. Many development Agencies in Isiolo district have abandoned their initiatives due to insecurity posed by the ethnic conflicts in region.

CHAPTER THREE: Research methodology

3.1 Methodology

The study is basically qualitative and exploratory that calls for an in-depth quantitative-cum qualitative research.

Study site

Isiolo district is one of the thirteen districts of the Eastern province of Kenya. The district was part of the former Northern Frontier District (NFD) with Isiolo town serving as the NFD headquarters at one point in time. It is a Semi-Arid district occupied mainly by nomadic pastoralists who keep cattle, sheep, goats, camel and donkeys for economic livelihood and social prestige. The communities that occupy the district are mainly Borana, some Somali clans, Samburu, Turkana as well as the Ameru who are urban residents.

The specific study sites are Central, Garba Tula and Merti divisions.

3.2 SAMPLING:

The sampling method that has been used to choose the specific administrative divisions is the Non-probability method. This has been chosen because the samples fall in a criterion that ensures a purposive bias (Peil, 1995). The divisions are considered as typical or outstanding examples of the variables that the research is concerned with. They represent the true picture of the

happenings in the region in as far as the conflict situation is concerned. Therefore the suitable system used is the *purposive* sampling method.

The process of choosing the respondents was based on the non-probability method as the sampling frame could not be easily enumerated or determined. In the case of selecting organisations and the key informants, *purposive* methods were used. In the case where useful individuals who top-up the information from key informants and also other respondents were interviewed, *accidental* methods were used to gather the necessary data in the field.

The unit of analysis is the organisation while the means of analysis is impact of conflict on their activities in the district. At the same time, the unit of observation was the Staff of the organisations mainly. However, community members and government officers were also been interviewed where necessary. In all these organisations, key informants were picked and interviewed.

The study locations are the Central, Garba Tula and Merti divisions of Isiolo district. These are chosen because the Central division is cosmopolitan and occupied by people of diverse ethnic groups; most of the development agencies and the government ministries are also located there. Garba Tula has been the most affected division by the goings of the ethnic fights mainly between the Borana and Somali communities. The division borders with two of the North-Eastern Province districts (Wajir and Garissa), both Kina and Maddo Gashe

divisions were curved out of the former greater Garba Tula division. Merti is a suitable site as there are various development initiatives, both locally and externally mooted. It is also bordering Wajir in North-Eastern, Marsabit in the Eastern and Samburu in the Rift Valley provinces.

There are forty-four (44) Development Agencies (NGOs, CBOs and governmental development organisations) registered to operate in the district. However, most of these registered organisations are either dormant or not open to the area communities. Others have neither resources nor capacities to implement development projects. The study purposely covered activities of Fourteen (14) organisations, one of which is a consortium of eighteen (18) CBOs (MELI). This is because some of them work directly in the divisions covered by the study, whereas others work in the entire district. And others have been picked on because they have worked in the area for so many years and therefore have full understanding of the security situations of the district while others were accidentally chosen.

The study put the organisations into four categories. These are International NGOs, National NGOs, Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) and Religious organisations.

Number and categories of organisations sampled

Category of Organisation	Total number	Percentage
International	4	28.6%
National	4	28.6%
CBO	2	14.2%
Religious	4	28.6%
Total	14	100%

Data collection

The researcher conducted direct interviews with representatives of various organisations, community members and held focus group discussion in the study locations. The process of interviews concentrated on key informants chosen on the basis of experience and working circumstances. The focus groups interviewed were field workers in development agencies and also religious institution workers. This involved visiting the area (sites) and meeting the relevant people to introduce the objectives of the study and support required from them. The process also involved perusal of various plans, reports and other relevant documents of these organisations for necessary details and information. Most of the data was acquired through qualitative methods.

Open-ended questionnaires were developed and used to gather information from the relevant respondents in the field. The researcher throughout the fieldwork period of the study administered the questionnaires.

The respondents were NGO and civil society workers, community members, government officers and corporate members.

The respondents were interviewed at times and venues agreeable to them which in most cases happened to be at their office or residential premises. The interview process was mainly a one to one direct process where the interviewer sat with the interviewee or interviewees and interacted for a period not less than

an hour. All the discussions happened in a free atmosphere without any disturbance by an unnecessary or unwarranted interference.

Data analysis

The data, which is qualitative was organised and analysed by the researcher. This was done in a scientific manner. The data organisation involved planning and putting together (grouping) information according to relevant sections of the intended report. The analysis was done more manually than with machine processing. This is because most of the outputs of discussions were recorded qualitatively. However, in the analysis of quantitative data such as mean and percentages, statistical computer package was used. The analysis was related to all the important components of the proposed study.

The data was then carefully organised and considered from the raw data, and it was also interpreted and explained in the most simplistic manner that will make the consumer understand the content with ease.

The researcher eventually did the report writing. This report is detailed, analytical and scientific in its entirety.

CHAPTER FOUR: Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

Introduction

This chapter provides the findings of the fieldwork conducted. It is a presentation of the data gathered through interaction with the people in the field and the synthesised information analysis.

The fieldwork covered the work of organisations working in the Central, Merti and Garba Tula divisions of Isiolo district. Most of the data was acquired through direct interaction with the staff of organisations, community members and government staff and also reference was made to some documents relevant to the study.

The Government of Kenya has undertaken various development and social infrastractural projects.

A Table of Social amenities in the District

Sector	Facility	Type / Number
Education	Schools	92 - Pre-primary 54 - Primary 6 - Secondary
Health	Hospital / Health Centres	1 - Hospital 2 - Health centres 11 - Dispensaries
Water	Bore holes / Dams	Over 10 bore holes
Roads	Road Networks / post & Telecommunication	1,041 KM - classified roads 779 KM - unclassified roads 7 - post offices Telephone services.
Energy	Electricity	Electricity supply for Isiolo town

Source: Isiolo District Development Plan (1997-2001)

4.1 Background Information on Organisations

The study covered a total of Fourteen organisations working in three administrative divisions in Isiolo district. These organisations are international, national, Community-Based and religious in status.

These organisations work in service delivery, capacity building and advocacy programme areas.

Organisation profiles and coverage areas

Organisation	Organisational status	Geographical coverage area	Programmes
Move to Empower Local Initiatives (MELI)	CBO	Isiolo District	♦ Member group mobilisation and sensitisation. ♦ Resource mobilisation ♦ Cultural heritage mobilisation
Waliyana	CBO	Garba Tula Location of Garba Tula division	♦ Income generation ♦ Handicraft making ♦ School fee payment
Al Falah Islamic Foundation	Religious	Isiolo district	♦ Children feeding ♦ Children orphanage ♦ Food security and agriculture ♦ School fees payment ♦ Health
Garba Tula Development Office (GTDO)	Religious	Garba Tula and Kina divisions	♦ Education ♦ Health ♦ Water ♦ Income

			generating ♦ Food security ♦ Emergency relief ♦ Community training and capacity building
Isiolo Diocesan Development Office	Religious	Isiolo district	♦ Education ♦ Health ♦ Income generating ♦ Food security ♦ Emergency relief ♦ Advocacy ♦ Peace-building and conflict management ♦ Water and sanitation ♦ Gender and women affairs
Maddo Gashe Development Programme	Religious	Sericho division	♦ Water ♦ Credit and income generating ♦ Emergency relief
Friends of Nomads International (FONI)	National	Isiolo district	♦ Peace-building and conflict management ♦ Advocacy ♦ Civic Education ♦ Minority rights
Waso Trustland Project	National	Isiolo district	♦ Advocacy ♦ Community mobilisation ♦ Pastoralists rights

Drought Preparedness, Intervention and Recovery Programme (DPIRP)	National (Phased out)	Isiolo, Marsabit, Samburu, Turkana, Mandera and Wajir districts.	♦ Drought management ♦ Emergency response ♦ Recovery programme ♦ Water
Semi-Arid Livestock Training and Livestock Improvement Centres in Kenya (SALT-LICK)	National	Isiolo, Marsabit, Laikipia, Kajiado, Turkana and Samburu districts	♦ Natural Resource harnessing and management ♦ Skill training
Merti Rural Development project, ActionAid-Kenya	International	Merti division	♦ Education and training ♦ Income generating ♦ Food security ♦ Emergency response ♦ Drought management ♦ Water ♦ Health and sanitation ♦ Advocacy ♦ Funding and CBO capacity building
Sericho Development Initiative, ActionAid-Kenya	International	Sericho Division	♦ Education ♦ Water ♦ Emergency response ♦ Food security ♦ Advocacy
Christian Children's Fund (CCF)	International	Central Division	♦ School building ♦ Fee payment ♦ Health and sanitation ♦ Income

			generating
SNV, Netherlands	International	Marsabit, Laikipia, Samburu, Isiolo and Moyale districts	◆ Pastoral ◆ Food Security ◆ Gender and Women empowerment ◆ Livelihoods ◆ Skill training ◆ Funding and CBO capacity building

4.2 MAJOR CAUSAL FACTORS OF CONFLICT AND INSECURITY IN THE AREA

There are many and complex issues that often lead to violent conflicts between the ethnic groups occupying this area. Although most of the cases of conflicts manifest ethnic dimensions, they are influenced by many other factors some of which are beyond the understanding of the conflicting parties on the ground.

In this area, the conflict groups are mainly the Pastoralist communities who commonly clash over natural resources like territorial expansion (land), pasture and water.

Ethnic Mistrust and suspicion

Mistrust among these various groups of communities (i.e. Borana, Gabra, Somali, Samburu, Turkana, Rendille and Meru) is one of the strongest factors that contribute to the frequent clashes among them. The mistrust is basically some that does with resource and territorial access, use and ownership as well as *ethnic recognition* and show of *military might*.

It also has a lot to do with the community relations along the district borderlines, for instance, Borana-Somali on Isiolo-Garissa, Isiolo-Wajir, Marsabit-Wajir and Moyale-Wajir districts' borders; Meru-Somali-Borana-Samburu-Turkana on Meru North-Isiolo border; and Borana-Gabra-Rendille-Samburu on Isiolo-Samburu-Marsabit districts borders.

Historical Rivalry among the ethnic groups

The long-term ethnic rivalry and chronic revenge activities have contributed a lot to the situation. The revenge activities have been in form of a cycle of events as one community after the other is seen revenging for a past case. For instance, in 1999, some Somali people between Banane market and Garba Tula town stoned a Borana man from Garba Tula to death. This was said to be due to the fact that he killed a Somali in revenge of his father's earlier death that was caused by the Somali attacks. This death sparked a concerted war between the Garba Tula Borana and the Somali people in the neighbouring areas.

In may 2000, an Assistant Minister for transport and Communication who is also a Member of Parliament for Isiolo North (Mr. Mokku, a Borana by ethnic clan) was sacked from his ministerial job due to allegations of supporting his Borana people against the Degodia Somali clan, Borana took it as an offence to them as a community and the clashes intensified further.

Unfavourable Land policies

Another important thing to note is the role of land and range resource ownership and access as well as the frequent drought situations as causes or promoters of the conflict between the communities.

There is lack of clear government policy on the land tenure. Most of the arid districts of the North are Trustlands managed by the county councils on behalf of the local communities. The policy is unclear and vague, while the ownership policy is totally unclear. The management of this land is not as good as desired. The use of resources is a major cause of worry. Moreover, the Trustland areas are under the mercy of the state as any purported national activity could be apportioned parts of it without consultation or consent from the local communities. Furthermore, the president has the prerogative to allocate it for any use.

Most of the National parks, game reserves and wildlife sanctuaries are also hived off the Pastoralist lands (Trustlands) reducing the high potential areas and wetlands for livestock uses.

Poor Attitude of the Security enforcement Officers

The government security apparatus is seen to be defective and wanting as a whole. There seem to be high inefficiency among the security service personnel, ill equipment of the same personnel especially in the area of transport and

communication facilities and lack of motivation for the security officers working in this hardship zone of the country. In many instances, the security officers are said to be corrupt and seeking bribes to involve in most of the security operations. There is a feeling of cases of favouritism and bias in their services too. In general, laxity is cited on the side of the government as far as provision and enforcement of security in the area is concerned.

Free flow of illegal fire arms

Proliferation of small arms and easy access to the arms and ammunition has been sited as one of the major causes of insecurity in this area. The country as a whole and the region in particular has been a great haven for the small arms marketers. The status of the arms in the neighbouring states such as Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia is an important thing to note, as these are the main sources of illegal arms in Kenya. The Northern corridor has been the main gateway for these illegal arms for a few decades now. The government security system has also failed to curb this problem either due to lack of capacity or insensitivity. There is a major laxity and marked apathy on the side of the government relevant machinery.

4.2.1 Other Contributing factors

There are other important issues that are seen to be either, causing, contributing or influencing the status of insecurity in the area.

Institutionalised banditry

Chronic banditry activity is seen to a serious contributor to the insecurity status of the region in general. Since the years of the *shifta* wars (1964-1968), the banditry or *shifta* activities have persisted in the area. This entails abrupt attacks, vehicle and traveller ambushes, killings and looting by armed bandits who practice the hit-and-run techniques.

Rising cases of crime

There are also cases of individually mooted and executed crimes. This issue is gaining currency and becoming rampant especially around the urban centres like Isiolo town and the likes.

Commercialisation of banditry activities

Economic factors are also cited as one of the important things to look at. There are cases of commercialised banditry and livestock theft that has contributed to high loss of livestock among the Pastoralists. Commercialised banditry refers to a condition where livestock are rustled for not simple ownership or prestigious purposes but are targeted for economic purposes such as sales at market centres. It also refers to looting of the victims of their properties especially money. This has also led to frequent attacks on people as livestock taken from one area is ferried to another for a quick sale at a throw away price (generally referred to as *AFCO* in the North). This case is gaining currency and getting more lucrative.

Poverty

High status and the rising poverty situation is seen to be another reason for the escalation of lawless banditry and deteriorating security status. Many families are getting stockless as the days go by either due to raids and stock theft or frequent and hard-biting droughts. The aftermath of these is the high number of poor people who are left with nothing but whichever way possible to fend for themselves. With easy access to arms, therefore, the easiest means to resort to is the banditry activities.

Coupled with this is the high unemployment status among the youth. The area also has a low level of literacy and awareness among the people.

Politics and ethnic power game

Political recognition and fights for access and control of power among the communities and the leaders of various groups is also an important thing to note. This has led to clashes among the communities on many occasions as seen in areas like Isiolo North Constituency.

The civic and parliamentary seats are important issues over which long lasting ethnic rivalry and conflicts have occurred.

4.3 The Impact of Conflict on the Development of the Area

It is evident that, Conflict has a major contribution to the status of development in Northern Kenya in general and Isiolo in particular. This issue is seen as an important factor as far as the slow pace in development of the area is concerned.

It has been noted that *peace* is not only important but, a base on which the idea of development can stand and thrive. Where there is no peace, therefore, there cannot be development.

In this area, the constant conflicts among the communities and the related situations of insecurity have had devastating effects on the process of development.

The above situation coupled with apathy and lack of proper area-specific security policies have affected the process of development in the ways enumerated here after.

Retarded Economy

The area business investment and the cash economy has been seriously affected in that investors are scared away by the status of insecurity they are subjected to. The situation has seen various business premises closed down in town centres and certain trading centres collapsing down or abandoned, For instance Skot closed down in 1987, Rabsu in 1992 (revived later) and Kom in 1996-99. Garba Tula collapsed in the 1990s and Isiolo town is facing retardation since May 2000. And this happens because businessmen are moving to other secure places. Properties have been destroyed and resourceful persons have

also been killed over the years. Many other static and immovable properties such as houses have been abandoned and wasted. It is also difficult to take goods out of Isiolo town to other destinations especially the other divisions. People move in convoy and this delays the movements by hours and even days as it requires detailed arrangements.

Livestock movement to market centres is highly affected. Isiolo being the market centre and also other centres like Meru and Maua are hardly reached due to insecurity while on transit from areas like Merti, Sericho, Garba Tula, Kina and Oldonyiro divisions. The livestock traders are risking ambush on the roads and loss of their stocks to the bandits. This situation is quite common to the people in this region.

Unstable food security base

The status of food security at household level has also been highly affected as people could accumulate some amount of food that is on many occasions snatched by the bandits at any time. Livestock, which is the backbone of the region's economy, is under threat as the people ownership levels dwindle highly due to frequent raids and rustling activities. Families have been reduced to the status of paupers by the raids, lootings and chronic livestock theft.

As a matter of reaching to a means of self-defence, people tend to spend their meagre resources on purchase of arms and ammunitions.

The livestock sector is highly affected as people fear to graze in certain rangeland areas. For instance, Bisaan' Adhi area is not grazed by both Borana and Somali People (it is along Isiolo-Garissa districts border) and Komu and Sabarwawa areas not grazed by Borana, Rendille and Samburu peoples (along Isiolo-Marsabit-Samburu districts borders) to name some. In general, the grazing patterns are highly interfered with.

Restriction on free movement of people

Communication flow and means of transport are curtailed and made unstable. There are instances where radio communication systems have been blown-up as in the case of GTDO supported community radio at Sericho in 1994. Roads are blocked and at times diverted as well as rounding-up of people for deliberate delay of information that may reach out to the government officials or other sympathisers who could help the people under problems.

Coupled with this is the road barriers meant either for security checks or movement control by the government security agents. There are a total of fifteen (15) police barriers in the district. Out of the total 15 only one is a gazetted barrier whereas many of hem are temporary. This number is not fixed, it is highly flexible and the government security forces can decide to erect one at any place and time.

List of Police Road-Barrier points

1. Isiolo town (3), on Marsabit-Isiolo, Isiolo-Ngare Ndare and Isiolo-Meru-Nanyuki roads.

2. Gachuru, on Isiolo-Kula Mawe- Garba Tula road.

3. Kula Mawe, on Isiolo-Garba Tula road.

4. Boji, on Isiolo-Garba Tula road.

5. Garba Tula, on Isiolo-Wajir -Meru road.

6. Kina, on Garba Tula-Meru road.

7. Eel-D'eera, on Isiolo-Maddo Gashe road.

8. Maddo Gashe, on Isiolo-Wajir-Garissa road.

9. Malka D'akha, on Garba Tula-Sericho road.

10. Bisaan Biliqo, on Isiolo-Merti road.

11. Bulessa, on Isiolo-Merti road.

12. Merti, on Isiolo-Yamicha-Wajir road.

13. Kom, on Isiolo-Merti road.

Destruction of Social Amenities

Many social amenities are affected by insecurity problems. These are facilities like schools, hospitals, and water boreholes to name a few. Many of these facilities are destroyed or abandoned, for example the Skot primary school was closed in 1987, Kom primary school closed in 1996, Kom dispensary in 1996, Garba Tula high school was closed this year (2001) citing the issue of insecurity as one of the causes of its many woes. Many other facilities like primary schools and health centres have also been closed down in 2000.

This situation has led to high dropout and low participation in schools. This means that many idle minds are created and thereby increasing the number of young people who engage in this undesirable activities.

The issue has also contributed to deterioration in health status of the area not only due to the closures of various health facilities, but, it has also increased the incidences of HIV/AIDS in the area. This happens especially when infected bandits rape their victims especially in and around Isiolo town.

4.2A Social Amenities affected

Facility	Totally Destroyed	Partially destroyed	Abandoned / Re-opened	Closed completely	Year
Skot Primary school				✓	1887
Kom Primary school			✓	✓	1996 / 2000
Garba Tula High school			✓		2000-2001
Kom dispensary			✓		1996 / 2000
CCF dispensary			✓		2000 to-date

Malka D'akha water project			✓		mid 1990s
Sericho borehole	✓				1994
Yamicha borehole		✓			1994
Kom shallow wells				✓	1996
Wach'u Qote borehole		✓			1996 - 1998
Urura borehole		✓			1996 - 1998
Duma borehole		✓			1994
Isiolo Central water projects	✓	✓	✓	✓	1998 — 2000

High Financial cost

The Government annual budget for the area is said to be highly dominated by security expenditures. Infact, most of the government expenditures in the Provincial administration and internal security is on the security issues such as

escort, meetings, fuel and contingency issues. Many development funds have also been diverted to support of the security sector. However, the local communities view this diversion of funds as a conspiracy by the government officers to create strategies for misuse and misappropriation of funds.

Restriction of NGOs' activities

Many NGOs and development actors have either been scared away or restricted to operating around and from Isiolo town. This happens to many agencies, for example, the ILO-UNDP project which was undertaken between 1998 and 1999 did not work beyond the areas perceived secure (Isiolo central mainly). The insecurity status has restricted the movements of development agencies and hampered community outreach programmes in many occasions.

Misdirected community efforts and resources

Apart from the issues mentioned earlier on, the communities are kept very busy fighting and therefore made to forget their own development as an issue. They are never given the chance to think, map out and strategise on the ways of developing themselves as they have little time to settle and plan. Therefore, there is no leeway to them for development initiative.

4.4 How NGOs have been affected by the conflicts

The NGO operations have been hampered by the status of security of the area. The area is perceived to be insecure for the organisations as their movements are highly restricted, however much they could ignore the insecurity issue.

This means that they cannot move freely or as desired for implementation and monitoring of their projects. For example, the ActionAid's Sericho project finds it difficult to monitor its activities in Eel' D'eera location due to fear of attacks or ambush by bandits on their ways. This implies that any mistakes done in the process of implementation are not easily identified and rectified.

In January 1994, a Garba Tula development office (GTDO) vehicle was ambushed on its way from Meru to Garba Tula and some people were injured. In September the same year, an ActionAid vehicle was ambushed on its way from Isiolo to Merti at a place known as Malka Tumtu along the Waso River. The organisation lost two computers and other accessories to the bandits. Some of these facilities were recovered form the suspect in Wajir district, a month later. On 8th of April 1997, another ActionAid-Kenya vehicle was ambushed, but no one was hurt.

In 1998, a Drought Preparedness, Intervention and Recovery Programme (DPIRP) vehicle was ambushed between Kina and Korbessa in Isiolo South. Two of its officers were injured; a chief and an administration policeman were killed. This issue delayed the restocking project the organisation was undertaking at the time by many months.

In the year May 2000, the Alfalah Islamic Foundation had a vehicle (Suzuki Samurai) burnt down by the warring community groups in Isiolo town.

Other forms of operations are also highly tampered with. For example, the staffs are involved in the issues that are outside their plans to respond to the immediate needs of the area whenever there are attacks.

The fear of movements within the area and lack of proper access to the interior division have actually contributed to the slow activity implementation paces.

Semi Arid Livestock Training and Livestock Improvement Centres in Kenya (SALT-LICK) which is a natural resource harnessing organisation has had devastating effects on its tree gum collection operations. It cannot collect enough quantity; neither can it sell the desired amount to earn income. This organisation has had its relations with the buyers and market points abroad due to delay in delivery of their products.

Organisations have also been affected by people's displacement in events of attacks and the rising number of orphans. And this kind of a situation demands emergency response that is constraining resources and operation processes. This may involve diverting funds meant for direct implementation of development programmes.

Therefore, the budgets of the organisations are highly interfered with by these circumstances.

The organisations have also been asked to supplement the government efforts to contain and enhance security in the area thereby straining their annual budgets further.

The organisations have also been spending a lot of money on CBOs and community groups for training and facilitating security meetings instead working on development of amenities like schools, health facilities and water, which are paramount for the basic needs of the people in the area.

In 1994-95, ActionAid-Kenya's Merti programme restocked many families in the division. However, the residents of Kom location lost their stock to bandits entirely in 1997.The same fate befall the beneficiaries of the Oxfam restocking project at Malka D'akha during the earlier decade and the Garba Tula Development Office restocking beneficiaries of 1994-95.

The organisations have also suffered very much due to abandonment and destruction of the facilities in various places. In 1994, ActionAid-Kenya built a school at Kom trading centre. In 1997, this school was closed down, though it was reopened in the following year. In 1996-98 periods, boreholes at Wach'u Qote and Urura in Merti division were vandalised prompting ActionAid to redo the work all over again.

The Catholic diocese of Isiolo had its water projects at Mugur Nanyore, Masharkuata (shallow wells) and pipeline in Game village in central division as well as the shallow wells in Kom abandoned.

The Garba Tula development office had to close down its projects at Maddo Yaqa and Rabsu due to displacement of the people. The same organisation had its projects such as Malka D'akha water, abandoned. Bandits also burnt down the Sericho water borehole panel in 1994.

In August 2000, the Christian Children Fund (CCF) was forced to close down a community dispensary that it was operating at the Milimani area of Isiolo west location, Central division. This is due to the bad status of security of the area and fear of banditry attacks. The area community also had moved away in fear of the same. This facility remains closed to date while the organisation is trying to serve people from its office site in Isiolo town. In this same year, one of the social workers of the project was attacked by bandits who took away facilities like the project camera (recovered later on) and other personal effects. The SALT LICK training centre at Merille had instructors moving away to stay in town due to insecurity and this delays the training programmes.

Infact, experts have also been scared away on various occasions and not only this SALT LICK situation.

In certain occasions, the some communities view the organisations as supporting certain warring groups. At times they are forced to close down their offices and move to more secure sites. For example, Waso Trustland Project closed down its

offices in 2000 and moved to a safer site in fear of attacks from bandits who perceived them as siding with another warring side. Between May and June 2000, SALT LICK closed down its office citing insecurity as a reason. During the same time period their partner and supporting agency, SNV of the Netherlands withdrew their staff from the project for the same reason. It was in this same period that the SNV of the Netherlands closed down its regional offices and moved to Nanyuki, which they perceived as more peaceful and calm to operate from.

Organisations have also faced attacks at their office premises or working processes on various occasions. In December 1992, the Garba Tula catholic mission had its parish priest house looted. In October 1997, the Garba Tula development office accountant was attacked and the organisation lost Kenya shillings five hundred thousands (Kshs. 500,000.00) to them. In 1998, the director of Waliyyana project in Garba Tula, Sr. Matilde was attacked at unknown amount of money was looted. This prompted withdraw of support and hasty handing over of the project to the catholic parish of Garba Tula because she had to run away from the area. This project is now on the verge of death.

In the year 2000, the staff of Friends of Nomads International (FONI) and a group of elders on a peace-making mission between the Borana-Ajuran and the Degodia ethnic groups was ambushed on their way back to Isiolo town and one elder was injured and lost one of his eyes completely.

The organisations have developed fear for investing in some areas. These are areas that are viewed as insecure and dangerous for equipments and facilities to install. For example, ActionAid-Kenya Northern region's Sericho Development Initiative is scared of installing a VHF communication radio in fear of destruction or vandalism or even looting by bandits from the neighbouring North-Eastern province.

The organisations have also faced cash flow problems due to fear of transport large sums of money to their field offices in the divisions. To make the matters worse, the only bank in the district, Barclays Bank of Kenya Limited, was closed down in November 2000. This implies that they move even a farther distance to Meru town for financial and banking services. This has proved more risky than the previous situation.

The organisations have also faced a material supply challenge as many suppliers are either facing material shortages or even closing down their businesses and moving away to safer areas.

4.4.1 Cost Implication on the Organisations

These organisations have experienced huge unplanned and unforeseen costs and also huge losses in projects implemented and abandoned.

The status of security of the area had prompted the organisations to carry armed escort along with them on most of their travels. This means that they budget some money for this purpose every year. For example, ActionAid-Kenya's Merti

programme alone had budgeted a colossal amount of Kenya shillings Three Hundred Thousands (Kshs. 300,000/=) for this purpose in the year 2001 alone. This is maintained for the purpose of safety and security guarantee, which is an expensive venture. This problem has restricted most of them to longer routes, which are seen to be safer. This costs time that could otherwise be used for implementing field projects.

The organisations have lost various logistic facilities such as computers had other facilities like vehicles damage, and at times beyond repair. In 1994 ActionAid-Kenya lost two computers and accessories while the Merti Catholic Mission had its new Toyota Land cruiser engine shot and damaged by the bullets of bandits in 1996. The people in the car, who were missionaries, lost hundreds of thousands of foreign and local currencies. In 2000, the Alfalah Islamic Foundation got its vehicle, which was valued at more than Half a Million-Kenya shillings burnt down completely.

Many implemented projects are abandoned prompting re-doing or wasted of the funds and resources that have been put or invested in the projects of this kind. Many a time these agencies are faced with the problem of undertaking similar or same projects in a different site for the same people.

In many instances, facilities are destroyed either partly or wholly. For instance, Eel' Gafarsa in Sericho which was a project of GTDO was destroyed in 1996, Yamicha and Duma Boreholes, which were projects of ActionAid-Kenya's Merti programme were destroyed in 1994-95. The Catholic Diocese of Isiolo had its water project highly affected between 1998 and 2000. The diocese had spent an

over One Hundred and Fifty Thousands Kenya shillings (Kshs. 150,000) on shallow wells and over Eighty Thousands (kshs. 80,000) on the pipeline and abandoned tank projects in Isiolo central. This issue, to a greater extent has also affected schools and health centres such as Kom, which were built by ActionAid-Kenya and Italian CEFA organisations respectively.

Many restocked families and groups had lost their stocks to bandits rendering the implemented projects by the organisations useless. In some instances, emergency programmes had to be run. This implies either straining the scarce resources or diverting funds meant for long-term development.

The organisations incur high costs in running peace-building projects. The OXFAM GB Wajir project for example, spends a lot of money to move people from Wajir to Merti in Isiolo district, while ActionAid moves many more from Marsabit and Samburu districts to Merti for the peace-making purposes.

At the same time, the administrative and overhead costs are far too high than budgeted. This is especially in terms of high expenditures on telephone and means of communication.

The CCF has been renting a room for Three Thousands Kenya shillings

(Kshs. 3,000) per month, in the name of a clinic. It also has been hiring vehicles to run a mobile clinic service so as to reach out to people previously served by the closed dispensary. This is a typical example of diversion of funds for unintended purposes.

The local contributions, which are normally raised by the local communities, are undermined as their capacities and potentials are weakened due to disruptions of their economic activities such as livestock production and small-scale enterprises.

The organisations have been subjected to loss or injuries of human personnel. In 1999, two of DPIRP staff members were injured seriously while on the way to a field station. The organisation spent a lot of money for treatment of its staff and also lost many productive man-hours as the officers were on sick leave for more than three months.

In the year 2000, while on its way back from field, a team of elders and FONI staff were ambushed and one elder was injured, this cost the organisation dearly both in terms of finance as well as the community mobilisation and Peace-building activities.

These insecure exposures and unfavourable field conditions is also denying the area much expertise and human resources from external areas to some extent. This is because some people fear to work in the area due to perceived insecurity and hostility.

The issue has cost some organisations financial support and working relations. For instance, SALT LICK had its donor and partner pulling away its staff due to perceived insecurity. Since it could not gather and deliver their gum products on

time and expected quantity, the same organisation is risking loss of customers and market points abroad.

4.4.2 Organisations' status and coverage influence on the impact of conflict

The organisations are categorised into four types; International NGOs, Local (National) NGOs, Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) and Religious agencies.

These organisations have differences in terms of coverage scope, both programmatic and geographical, resource capacity as well as ownership and identification basis. These different statuses had affected them differently.

The International NGOs are more prone to movement restrictions, attacks on transits, property destruction and waste of funds as there coverage areas are more both in programmatic and geographical aspects. They face the challenges of implementing projects only to be abandoned shortly due to insecurity. They are also affected by their own policies, which may not conform to the local environment status or needs because they are controlled from somewhere else. That means they are not easily adjusted to the local demands.

The Local NGOs and the CBOs are less affected when it comes to movement problems within fieldwork areas. This is because their geographical coverage is mostly confined to smaller localities in comparison to the huge International NGO

operations. They are however affected when it comes to moving outside their locations. These organisations are also locally owned.

This gives them the advantages of being known to people, understanding the social environment most and tuning their policies and operations to the demands of the environment.

The religious organisations are also less affected because most of their operations are decentralised to different localities. They are also not very frequent travellers and command some level of respects. However, they still suffer huge losses in terms of property destructions and lootings.

CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.0 Conclusion

The study covered Isiolo district mainly. However, the divisions that were picked out for focus were Central, Merti and Garba Tula. This is because they are the ones affected mostly by the conflict and insecurity problems. They also form typical examples of what is happening in the entire Northern Region of the country.

The study confirms that the status of development in the area is minimal and the pace of development is indeed slow. It has been found out however, that the

conflict and insecurity of the area is not the only cause of the problem. There are other important contributing factors to this issue. These are factors like deliberate marginalisation by the development policies and policy makers, poor infrastructure and lack of adequate rural access as well as the inefficiency, laxity and poor attitude of the government officials to enforce security in the entire region.

The region has lagged behind in education and its facilities are not only scarce but also deteriorating in status. The school drop out rate is very high, the enrolment levels are decreasing and the educated people are not employed. Water for both livestock and human consumption is quite scarce. The road network is very poor with most of the highways in the region being earth or murram roads. The region's main economic activity, which is the livestock production, is the only major economic activity in the country without a policy guideline. There are many other untapped resources in the region due laxity on the side of the policy makers on promotion and harnessing of the same.

The study has revealed that, ethnic conflicts and rivalry is not a root cause to insecurity in the area but just an important promoting factor. Other issues that are actually more important to note are; inadequate security provision by the government, small arms infiltration from the neighbouring countries, poverty and impoverishment, growing unemployment of the youth, frequent drought conditions, political power games and very importantly, lack of proper political and economic policies for the development of the people of this region.

The conflict in the area has had very high and undisputed impacts on the development agencies that are based in the area. The organisations have been subjected to unplanned problems, which in many occasions contributed negatively to the status of development of the area. Their programmes have been disrupted, their facilities damaged, staff injured, operational movements curtailed, funds diverted and sometimes depleted. The some organisations have been suspected by certain warring groups as siding with and support their rivals, making them susceptible to attacks and insecurity. They on many occasions are forced to involve in peace-building and emergency response programmes that may be against their policies and planned activities.

The agencies have also been burdened by the call by both the government and the local communities to supplement the government development efforts that are minimal and dwindling.

The restrictions of movements, disruption in programme activities, irregular cash flow and inadequate supply by contractors have posed a serious challenge to their programme implementation plans. These have delayed their plans on many occasions, meaning that they are not delivering accordingly.

The cost implication on these organisations has been very high as many projects are implemented repeatedly, others are abandoned after completion and the unlawful bandits destroy other project and facilities deliberately. The

organisations are also forced to pay high sums of money to the security escorts and this money could be used for development projects.

In general, development agencies in Northern Kenya and Isiolo district in particular have been affected by the conflict in the area. However, it is not the only factor attributed or contributing to the low level of development in the area. There is a high status of insecurity resulting from other factors such as inefficiency of the government security system, rising poverty scale, low level of education among the people, land and lad-based resource access and use, drought related catastrophes and easy availability of arms in the region.

The region therefore, is facing imminent development problems and neglect blamed on insecurity and this lead further deterioration of its development status.

5.1 Recommendations

In view of the above conclusions, I would like to make the following broad recommendations.

Security

The region needs a more realistic security policy than the one that is currently in place.

The government should come to a realistic term that it cannot provide security required by its people unless it changes the policy. There is a need to involve the local communities in the security provision and enforcement in the region. Infact, localising the policing activities of the region will be the most feasible idea. The

local communities need to be properly armed to support the government security personnel in enforcing security in the region.

There is also a need for localising the heads of security programme in the region. These are officers such as the Provincial and District Commissioners, Chief Police and Armed forces heads and Intelligence Officers.

There needs to be proper checks and control of the small arms flow in the area. The government needs to focus beyond the Kenyan border if a realistic answer to the arms flow may be acquired. This means interaction with other states and International bodies such as the United Nations Organisation (UN) and Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to fight for a lasting solution. The role of Somalia in this factor is very important and needs to be addressed promptly by the International community.

The government should also train and equip properly the security personnel that are serving in this region.

The government should take a national approach in solving the arms flow and security issue through a well-developed national security legal framework.

Land and Resource Tenure Policies

There needs to be a streamlined and clear land and resource ownership laws. The current Trustland Act, which is the basis for resource management in the pastoral areas, needs to be seriously reviewed. This is because this law has

brought about inconsistencies and management problems, often leading to clashes and long term conflict over resources by the local communities.

The management of land and its resources need to be more localised and this should also include the wildlife occupied areas and related resources.

The current system whereby the District commissioners and other government officials are the main managers of the land should be critically reviewed and be replaced by the community management programmes.

The land ownership and resource access policy should go hand-in-hand with legalised community resource ownership statuses. This will ensure less movement and clashing over resources by the pastoralist communities.

Community-Based Peace-Building and Conflict Management programmes

There needs to be a long-term and continuous peace-building education programmes run by the communities, civil society and the government so as to impart the understanding and reasoning for having lasting peace.

The programme should focus on the role of the indigenous institutions in cultivating peace in the society. These institutions need to be recognised, strengthened and supported by all the stakeholders.

The communities should be made to understand why they appreciate and accommodate each other for harmonious and peaceful co-existence. They also need to understand their role and contribute to the peace and harmony of the area.

The peace education projects should involve every segment of the community especially women, youth and particularly bandits themselves or their sponsors where possible.

There needs to be establishment of a multi-ethnic and multi-clan core-local group, which is charged with the responsibility of peace-building and community education. This has to be a firm group that cannot be thinking on the trivial ethnic lines, but broad harmonious and prosperous society basis. The group should work without fear or favour and be ready to take up challenges and responsibility with full support from the communities, government and other stakeholders.

Community Education

The area needs concerted effort in provision of formal education for skill training and also massive civic education. The formal education will help skill build-up for the area and it will also provide a source of employment for the population.
The civic education will ensure general awareness raising and participating in various development activities by the people.

Poverty Reduction and employment Creation

The government and the other stakeholders need to address the issue of poverty of the area. This issue is not only real, but also rising.

There is a need for an innovative entrepreneurship and income-generating programme for this region. The situation demands a National focus and commitment to avert more catastrophes. It also calls for a diversification of economic means of production by the people in this region.

There is a need to revitalise the traditional social security systems that are dying out, for example, the Borana clan based "*Buusa* and *Gonofa*" system of emergency response, restocking and rehabilitation. All the other ethnic groups have similar ways of catering for the unfortunates among themselves.

The government also needs to involve all the relevant stakeholders in mapping out a viable employment strategy to address the unemployment problem as it does contribute a lot to the escalating incidences of insecurity. The youth are the main manpower as far as the ethnic conflicts are also concerned.

Livestock Sector Improvement

This being the main economic activity of the area, the government and other stakeholders need to provide support to its development. There is a need for enactment of a policy that governs the livestock economy in the pastoral areas.
As a matter of economic productivity of the area, there needs to be enhancement of the livestock marketing system for the area. The developed livestock marketing system means economic growth at both local and National levels,

provision of employment for the people especially the idle youth and reduction of the poverty status of the area.

Animal health improvement is also an important thing to take care of in as far as livestock industry in this region is concerned.

Development of Infrastructure

There is need for developing infrastructure such as roads, railways, schools and health facilities. This will ensure easy movement and access to most parts of the area.

The water for human and livestock consumption is a need as movement by the pastoral communities from one area to another in search of this scarce commodity is a major source of conflict among them.

Also important is provision of communication facilities such as the VHF communication radios. This will help establish efficient information flow and quick passage of information in case of an alarm.

Drought Management

There is a need for highly developed drought management mechanisms in place. The area being under frequent experiences of fatal drought conditions, it needs

properly developed early warning quick response measures and well developed emergency mitigation systems.

The scarce pasture and water as well as the droughts have necessitated movement by the people in search of better places. This had resulted in fights over pasture and water resources. It further leads to more armed struggles among the people of the region, occasionally turning out to be long-term ethnic clashes and sustained conflicts.

NGOs' Operations

The NGOs need to assess their positions critically and put forward strategies that are feasible for their operations in the area.

The International Organisations need to look at how far this issue is affecting them and recognise the efforts and roles of the local people in running their own development affairs. In this case they may look at ways of empowering the local initiatives other than direct involvement through funding and capacity-building support. This ensures reduced overhead costs and administrative expenditures. They also need to learn trusting the local capacities and potentials for self managed development programmes.

It also imperative for the International agencies to learn the fact that the local organisations and institutions are locally owned, acceptable and more accessible to the harsh local environments. Infact, Nothing can deter them from involving in the development processes.

This International Agencies need to refocus their policies on the realities of the local field environments and adjust accordingly. They should be able to identify the most relevant strategy and entry points for implementing their projects without delay and destructions. They need to assert themselves in the community and cease top be foreign development agents and rather identify a point at which they are transformed into the local operations and social systems.

The Local NGOs, CBOs and the Religious Organisations need to be looking at their own capacities to involve in the development issues. The question of moral authority, integrity and acceptance from the community need to be taken care of with seriousness. They should be more assertive and well entrenched in the community to earn acceptance, appreciation and more recognition.

In general, the Development agencies as a whole, should not shy away from addressing the security and peace-building issues directly. They should invest in this project and if all is properly done, it will be a concrete base for running development in a more acceptable and relevant manner. The peace, harmony and co-existence of the communities with which they work will help them achieve their goals and visions of development.

These organisations should also work without bias, fear or favour if good results of their planned activities are to be achieved.

Knowledge and Data

A full blast research that may look deeply into the specific issue about the economic cost of conflict in Northern Kenya is a priority. This should be a continuation of this study by this researcher for a high academic degree (at Doctorate level).

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ANNEX 1

FIELDWORK QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NGOs' STAFF

Personal Information

1. Name:..

2. Position in the Organisation:..

Organisational Information

3. Name of Organisation:...

4. Type of the organisation: (International NGO, Local NGO, CBO, Religious

   Organisation)..   ⅔

5. How many years has your organisation been in the area?.....................

6. What is the extent of your coverage area geographically?....................

7. What is your coverage area programmatically?....................................

Role of conflict in development

8. In your view, is ethnic conflict an important factor in slow pace of

   development in Isiolo?:..

9. How does it affect?:..

10. What is the root cause of insecurity in this area?:............................

11. What are the other contributing factors to insecurity and

    conflict?;..

12. How does conflict affect the works of   NGOs?..............................

13. How far has it affected your organisation in

    particular?:..

14. What is the cost-implication to your organisation?.......................

15. How have you coped with the situation?...............................

16. What are the possible ways in which the conflict and security problems

    can be addressed?..

ANNEX 2

QUESTINNAIRE FOR COMMON PEOPLE

Personal information

Name:...

Place of residence:.....................................

Information on impact of conflict on NGO activities

How many NGOs are in your area?...............................

What kind of organisations are they?.............................

What are their coverage areas?..................................

What are their programme activities?.............................

Do you agree that there is conflict in your area?................

What are the major causes of conflict in this area?..............

In your opinion, does conflict affect the status of development in this area?...........

How does this status conflict affect the work of development organisations in this area?................................

What is the evidence to support this view?...

ANNEX 3

Questionnaire for focus group discussion

Name of Group...................................

Nature of the Group:.............................

Activities undertaken..............................

Information on impact of conflict

What is the operational area of your group?...........................

How are do you understand the status of conflict in this area?.............

How does if affect you and how are you involved?.......................

What are the major causes of conflict in this area?................................

How does conflict inhibit development in this area?..............................

How does it affect the activities of NGOs in this region?........................

What are the key evidences to prove the above arguments?................

ANNEX 4

LIST OF DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES BASED IN ISIOLO DISTRICT

1. EWASO NYIRO NORTH DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (ENNDA)
2. ACTIONAID-KENYA (AAK)
3. SALT-LICK
4. AL-FALAH ISLAMIC FOUNDATION
5. CHRISTIAN CHILDRENS' FUND (CCF)
6. KENYA CHILD WELFARE SOCIETY
7. ILO/PPEP
8. CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY SERVICES (CCS)
9. CATHOLIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME - ISIOLO
10. CATHOLIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME – OLDONYIRO
11. FRIENDS OF NOMADS INTERNATIONAL (FONI)
12. SAVE THE CHILDREN
13. SOCIETY TO TRIUMPH IN EMPOWERMENT OF PASTORALIST (STEP)
14. GARBA TULA DEVELOPMENT OFFICE (GTDO)
15. DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT OFFICE (DDO)
16. DISTRICT SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OFFICE
17. SAVE LIFE TODAY
18. LIFE MINISTRY
19. IMAMS' COMMITTEE
20. AFRICAN INLAND CHURCH (AIC)
21. WASO TRUSTLAND PROJECT
22. SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST (SDA)
23. DEDHA FORUM
24. COMPASSION / METHODIST CHURCH
25. COMMUNITY CHURCH
26. PEACE BUILDING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION OFFICE

27. KENYA LIVESTOCK MARKETING COUNCIL (KLMC)
28. WASO DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
29. MERTI DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
30. CATHOLIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME – MERTI
31. EAST AFRICAN PENTECOSTAL CHURCH (EAPC)
32. PEPO LA TUMAINI JANGWANI
33. MOVE TO EMPOWER LOCAL INITIATIVES (MELI)
34. COUNCIL FOR HUMAN ECOLOGY
35. AL-HARAMAIN FOUNDATION
36. PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
37. GOSPEL REVIVAL CENTRE
38. KILIMANI CHILDRENS' HOME
39. NOMADIC COMMUNITY INTEGRATION PROGRAMME
40. HONGERA WOMEN GROUP
41. WORLD VISION INTERNATIONAL
42. SNV NETHERLANDS
43. NORTHERN LEGAL RESOURCES FOUNDATION
44. WALIYANA PROJECT
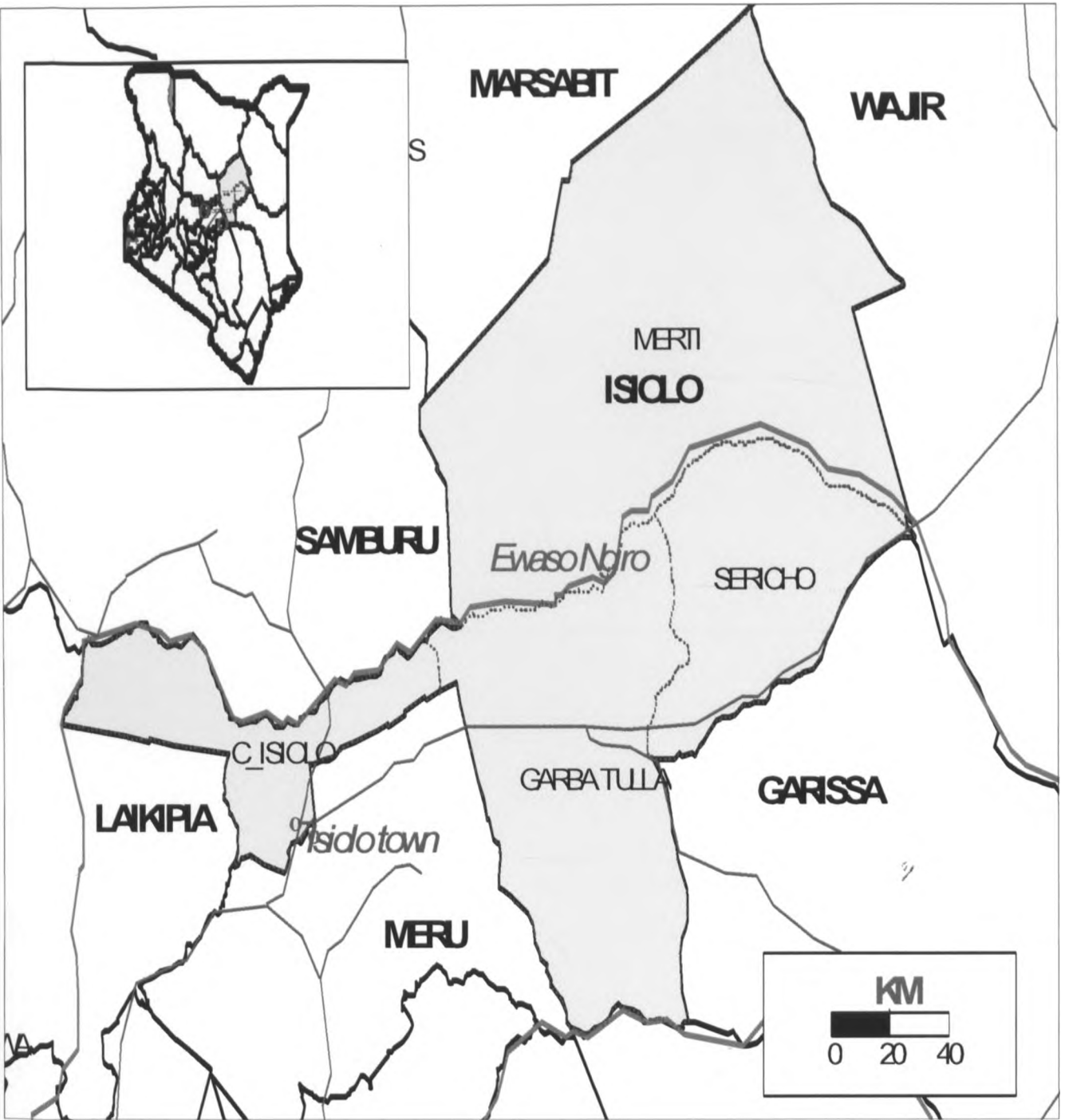
ISIOLO DISTRICT MAP

Source: Arid Lands Resource Management Project