UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN STRATEGIC STUDIES

Effects of Disarmament on Human Security In Baringo County, Kenya (1990-2010)

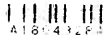BY

REG NO: R47/8915/2017

AMONI NAMBAIR

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR

THE POST-GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN

STRATEGIC STUDIES

MAY 2018

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DECLARATION

I, Amoni Nambair hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed.. Date...28 May 19....

Amoni Nambair

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor;

Signed.. Date...31/5/2019....

Supervisor's name and Full Titles: Shazia Chaudhry PhD

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife Chepsukun Amoni and children

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
ODA	Operation Dumisha Amani
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
UN	United Nations

ABSTRACT

The Kenya Government has undertaken disarmament initiatives in pastoralist areas of the country such as Baringo County where possession of illegal arms pose significant socio-economic and human security risks. However, there exists no systematic compilation of the history of disarmament in Kenya. The estimates range to more than 50 such disarmament operations in the past 100 years. The aim of disarmament has been on enhancement of human security especially in pastoralist areas. The objective of the study was to assess the effects of disarmament on human security in Baringo County (1990-2010). Three specific objectives were used; to establish the relationship between disarmament and the current conflicts in Baringo County of Kenya, to assess the effects of disarmament on human security and to identify the various challenges and interventions to disarmament in Baringo County. The study was based on the Human Needs Theory as proposed by John Burton. Qualitative approach was adopted. Both primary and secondary data collection tools were utilized. The findings were that though the disarmament exercise has been on-going since 1990 and throughout, it has increasingly posed significant challenges to the socio-economic, political and security risks of the people residing in the county. The insecurity situation after disarmament has attracted the attention of the local leaders and stakeholders who have petitioned the national government to conduct forceful disarmament in the county. Disarmament has had positive and negative effects on the security of residents in Baringo County. Disarmament exercises like ODA II was highly effective in reducing the civilian attacks and revenge attacks among the community targeted. The negative effects of disarmament included the lack of the promised security to the communities that cooperated and surrendered their weapons like the Samburu. The challenges of disarmament include the abject poverty and the struggling livestock economy. The feeling by the locals of marginalization from the rest of the country in a marginalized region leaves the people with the only recourse as armament to secure their livelihood. The study recommends that due to the continuous occurrence of conflicts in Baringo County, the disarmament efforts should continue in order to rid the area of illicit arms and ensure security of the local population. However, disarmament should be cautiously undertaken to avoid brutal consequences on human security that will act as a catalyst for the demand for weapons.

1.1   Background of the Study

The aftermath of violent conflict results in large numbers of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) in the hands of warring parties, and civilians. The flow of illicit arms contributes to an atmosphere of insecurity which further increases the demand for arms. Ex-combatants and criminals also take advantage of the lack of effective and functional security institutions to perpetuate crime and revenge attacks. The result is a cycle of violence which is a direct legacy of conflict and which presents significant challenges for post-conflict peace building, as well as the human security of the local population.[1]

Insecurity has been a major challenge in Kenya for a long term since independence leading to wanton loss of innocent lives and destruction of property. The cases of insecurity can be traced to both the internal and external related factors leading to high demand for Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW). Within Kenya a number of factors have been stated as the root causes of insecurity in the country ranging from socio-economic and political related issues. The presence of unending cases of armed strives and political upheavals in the neighbouring countries have been a major source of the continued proliferation of SALW in Kenya.

The contribution of the proliferation of SALW to the run-away situation in Kenya has had massive effects in the stability and security of the entire country. Pastoralist communities have had dire consequences as a result of cattle rustling that rely on the

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[1] Otieno, L.F.A (2013).disarmament in post conflict zones: comparative analysis of Mozambique and Sierra Leone. Unpublished Masters of Arts in International Studies of University of Nairobi, p 11.

supply of SALW through the porous Kenyan borders. The situation of cattle rustling and general insecurity is especially widespread in the North Rift, Upper and Northern regions of Kenya. The root cause of the rampant insecurity is the availability of illicit SALW to the warring communities.[2] The cases of the trade in illicit weapons and rampant insecurity are also prevalent in urban setups such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Garissa and Thika among many others.[3]

In attempt to fight the runaway state of insecurity in Kenya, the government has forged ahead with both voluntary and involuntary disarmament operations. This has specifically been design to confiscate the illegal SALW in the hands of criminals, cattle rustlers and bandits especially in the North Eastern and the North Rift regions of Kenya. In the last 100 years the colonial and post-independent governments have organized over 50 disarmament operations with the aim of collecting illegal weapons and attempt at restoring security of its people.[4]

During President Moi's 24-year tenure, it is believed that the head of state ordered over 20 disarmament operations among the Pokot alone. Coercive measures were, however, fraught with concerns about human rights violations, with communities and civil society actors decrying the excessive use of force and torture. Some disarmament efforts, such as

[2] Ndung'u, S. (2011). Context, Intervention and Impact: A Conflict Sensitivity Assessment of the Diocese of Maralal's CSA Pilot. Unpublished report. Maralal: Catholic Justice and Peace Commission pp 46.
[3] Wepundi, M. (2010). Study on Practical Disarmament for the RECSA Region. Unpublished report. Nairobi: Regional Centre on Small Arms/Institute for Security Studies. Pp31
[4] Kipsang, W. (2014). It's a miracle that I survived the Kapedo attack": "Kapedo named the Valley of Death" *Daily Nation.* www.nation.co.ke/counties/Kapedo -named-The-Valley- of-Death/- /1107872/2524556/-/2ipht9/-/index.html (accessed 13-11-2017)

the 1984 Operation in Wajir, have been described as massacres due to the number of deaths involved.[5]

The government modified its approach to accommodate human rights concerns and provide alternative livelihoods and options to the targeted communities by designing a disarmament and development programme dubbed Operation Dumisha Amani (Sustain Peace). This approach integrates development efforts such as rebuilding infrastructure and has an elaborate multi-actor strategy that involves local opinion leaders, civil society, and the media in confidence-building measures for disarmament. The first phase of this initiative began in 2005, and by 2006, 2,298 firearms and 4,418 rounds of ammunition had been recovered. The first phase did not achieve the targeted 50,000 firearms, and so a second phase began in 2010 with a voluntary phase in February of that year.[6]

Between February and August 2010 the operation had recovered 1,201 firearms, 1,665 rounds of ammunition, and 201 head of livestock (KNFP, 2010a). The persisting concerns about the inadequate provision of security and underdevelopment account for communities' unwillingness to surrender all of their firearms. Whereas the government embraced the disarmament and development approach to firearms collection, it implemented two forced disarmament exercises in Mt Elgon district, in Bungoma and Mandera counties. The one implemented in Mt Elgon was codenamed Operation Okoa Maisha (Save Lives), whereas the initiative in Mandera was dubbed Operation Chunga Mpaka (Guard the Border). The former netted 103 assorted firearms and 1,155 rounds of ammunition, while the latter recovered 48 weapons and 1,200 rounds of ammunition. The

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[5] Ndung'u, S. opcit pp 12.
[6] Ndung'u, S. Rynn, S. (2011).ibid pp12.

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two exercises were both bedeviled by claims of human rights violations by the security forces.[7]

Due to widespread incidences pertaining to insecurity and the proliferation of SALW in Baringo County, the government of Kenya undertook a disarmament exercise in 2014-2015. There was an appeal by the community leaders requesting the government to undertake an immediate forceful disarmament to improve the security of the population. It was the views of the leaders that the cause of insecurity witnessed in the county was as a result of the proliferation of SALW that has led to wanton killing of people, rampant plundering of people's property, forceful migration of people and the local children were unable to attend schools in search of education.[8] Though the disarmament exercise has been on-going in 2017, there have been mixed reactions from leaders and the general population of Baringo County. This has necessitated the need for the current study.

1.2   Statement of the Research Problem

Globally, the concept of human security has emerged in recent years as important debates due to renewed global threats and challenges to human beings. A major threat and challenge to human security is the proliferation possession and use of illegal arms especially by non-combatants. The challenges of averse of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) have been endemic in Kenya and are not only a human security challenge to the government, but also a problem of law enforcement. In many parts of Kenya and especially Baringo County and adjacent regions, SALW have been commonly

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[7] Ndung'u S ibid pp 12.
[8]   Https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000127501/baringo-leaders-call-for-forceful-disarmament-to-contain-rustling

used to perpetuate conflicts. The proliferation of SALW in Baringo County has had adverse effects on both the economic development and security of the citizens.[9]

The Kenya Government has undertaken disarmament initiatives in pastoralist areas of the country such as Baringo County where possession of illegal arms pose significant socio-economic and human security risks. [10]Sitima (2015) portends that the government of Kenya has conducted a several disarmament exercise with mixed results since independence. The results and achievements of the disarmament exercises have not been fully documented through comprehensive studies. Approximately, more over 50 disarmament operations have taken place before independence by the colonial government and after independence by the Kenya, Moi and Kibaki's governments. The general purpose of these operations has been on enhancement of human security especially in pastoralist areas.[11]

However, it is not always that disarmament efforts results to the intended results. The disarmament effort in Mount Elgon in 2008 had disastrous effects on the local civilian population ranging from rape of women and girls, increase in HIV/AIDS infections, increase in unwanted pregnancies and Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) among many such atrocities especially among the women.[12] The Kenya Army was also accused of committing human rights abuses than led to lack of trust and cooperation from the

[9] Sitima, A.M. (2015). Disarming belligerent communities in Africa: a case study of disarmament efforts in Samburu and Baringo communities of Kenya. Unpublished Masters Of Arts In International Studies of University Of Nairobi, p4.
[10] Ibid, pp 4
[11] Boyle, K. & Simonsen, S. (2014). Human Rights, Human Security and Disarmament. Human Rights and Human Security, *Disarmament Forum*, No. 1, pp. 39–47.
[12] Wachira, K., Muluka, B., & Wepundi, M. (2010). *Mt. Elgon conflict: a rapid assessment of the underpinning socio-economic, governance and security factors*. UNDP, Nairobi, Kenya. Pp14.

local population. The army was accused of using excessive force in its effort and crushing the SLDP militia that even harmed the local population.

Insecurity has created the pastoralist region in Kenya to remain underdeveloped due to rampant insecurity that has affected the human and socio-economic activities of the local population and curtailed potential investments from outsiders. In the more agriculturally productive areas of the county, frequent inter-ethnic violence aided by proliferation of SALW has become synonymous with every national election. For instance in the year 2008 the violence that followed the national elections triggered a new demand for arms in these areas. There are numerous disarmament efforts that have been undertaken in Baringo County and adjacent areas. However, few studies that have been undertaken to assess the effects of disarmament on human security and specifically in Baringo County. This study sought to fill this gap.

1.3   Research Questions

1. What is the relationship between disarmament and the current conflicts in Baringo County of Kenya?

2. Which are the effects of disarmament on human security in Baringo County?

3. Which are the various challenges and interventions to disarmament in Baringo County?

1.4   General Objective

The overall objective of the study is to assess the effects of disarmament on human security in Baringo County, Kenya during the period (1990-2010).

1.5   Specific Objectives

1. To establish the relationship between disarmament and the current conflicts in Baringo County of Kenya. Chapter 2

2. To assess the effects of disarmament on human security in Baringo County.Chapter 3.

3. To identify the various challenges and interventions to disarmament in Baringo County. Chapter 4.

1.6   Literature review

1.6.1   Relationship between disarmament and the current conflicts in Baringo County of Kenya

Sitima opines that the Government of Kenya has since independence not experienced large scale intra-state conflicts involving widespread participation of non-state actors.[13] As such, the country has not encountered a post-conflict situation that required demobilization and reintegration. Nevertheless, the country has carried out various disarmament initiatives to deal with the illicit arms menace. Disarmament of pastoralist communities in Kenya spans back a century ago to the colonial period. Wepundi posit that during the colonial period, the British in an effort to pacify the Karamoja region launched disarmament operations which were vehemently resisted by the local community and in response to the resistance the British applied a lot of brutality.[14] The colonial government also disarmed the Turkana in Kenya and left them vulnerable to

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[13] Sitima, A.M. (2015). Disarming belligerent communities in Africa: a case study of disarmament efforts in Samburu and Baringo communities of Kenya. Unpublished Masters Of Arts In International Studies of University Of Nairobi. P4.
[14] Wepundi, M. (2010). Study on Practical Disarmament for the RECSA Region. Unpublished report. Nairobi: Regional Centre on Small Arms/Institute for Security Studies. P 32

their hostile neighbors, prompting them to easily support the British in the Second World War with the intention of acquiring weapons to increase their military capability and to punish their neighbors.

The various operations that the British conducted to disarm civilians in Kenya during the colonial period included *Operation Tennis* in the 1920s that targeted the Turkana, which yielded little success since the Turkana managed to evade the colonial officers' patrols, thanks to the Turkana's nomadic way of life. A second one was in 1941 targeting the Dassanetch near the Kenyan Ethiopian border, and the third one was in 1950 in Baringo while the last disarmament operation during the colonial period dubbed *Operation Jock Stock* was in 1952 and targeted the Mau Mau freedom fighters. All of them were characterized by use of extreme force and brutality on the civilians.[15]

Recent disarmaments have been guided by international and regional instruments discussed above. Kenya on the other hand launched two coordinated disarmament operations dubbed Operation Dumisha Amani I (Operation maintain peace) in 2005 and five years later, in 2010 Operation Dumisha Amani II followed. Unlike previous disarmaments which were largely forceful, this time the government sought to incorporate development initiatives and also to involve the community and pursue voluntary disarmament. Development initiatives involved efforts like building dams, schools, branding animals and offering health aid to local communities. These development efforts were carried out by the military. After the 2005 operation Dumisha

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[15] Wepundi, M. (2010). Study on Practical Disarmament for the RECSA Region. Unpublished report. Nairobi: Regional Centre on Small Arms/Institute for Security Studies. Pp31

Amani which advocated for peaceful disarmament involving amnesty for voluntary surrender or arms and ammunition, a second phase dubbed Operation Okota *(Operation Collect)* in 2006 which was coercive and aimed at collecting weapons forcefully from those who refused to disarm voluntarily.[16]

Operation Dumisha Amani operations targeted a wide area of pastoralist communities namely Turkana, West Pokot, Marakwet, Samburu, East Baringo (Tiaty), Laikipia East and Trans Nzoia. Operation Dumisha Amani II is said to be still an ongoing operation. Under Operation Dumisha Amani operations, some success is said to have been realized as far as collection of arms is concerned. Nevertheless, the operations are said to have left some communities such as the Samburu vulnerable because they cooperated and disarmed. Consequently, communities have still been reluctant to fully cooperate owing to the feeling that the security provided by the state was still wanting and inadequate considering the gross security risks experienced in the areas in history.[17] Albeit the disarmament conducted, the communities would prefer to give out faulty or unserviceable weapons and tend to keep in hiding the serviceable ones.

Moreover, the forceful phase watered down the good will that communities had initially demonstrated. Most of those possessing arms could migrate to nearby inaccessible valleys like the Suguta valley which is hostile to both human and animal habitation. Concerning the strategies applied by the respective governments and decrying the high-

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[16] Ndung'u, S. Rynn, S. (2011). Lessons from the Frontiers: Civilian Disarmament in Kenya and Uganda. Nairobi: Saferworld, p11.

[17] Sitima, A.M. (2015).opcit Disarming belligerent communities in Africa: a case study of disarmament efforts in Samburu and Baringo communities of Kenya. Unpublished Masters of Arts In International Studies of University Of Nairobi pp 5.

handed nature that states sometimes apply in their disarmament initiatives, Wepundi point out the necessity of states to win the confidence of communities and enhance the representation of the communities.[18] According to them, peace building and development, coupled with dialogue and well organized voluntary disarmament efforts would enhance trust and confidence of states by communities which would be a good prerequisite for success in disarmament initiatives. They also highlight various goals that disarmament should pursue in area like Baringo County some of which include reduction of number of weapons in circulation, strengthening of security as well as enhancing of state confidence in its responsibility to protect and to have monopoly of the instruments of force.

1.6.2   Challenges and interventions to disarmament in Baringo County

Sitima stated that a number of obstacles have faced the disarmament efforts implemented in Kenya for the last few years. These have ranged from cultural insensitivity, use of excessive force, poor coordination, inappropriate approaches, discriminatory and internalized approaches, among others. Even where laws and regulations exists in dealing with the issue of eradication of SALW and are applicable in cushioning the disarmament efforts, the Government has in not managed to put in place tangible policy or laws on disarmament. It is only recently that the Government has developed a policy framework to deal with disarmament and development strategy.[19]

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[18] Wepundi, M. (2010). Study on Practical Disarmament for the RECSA Region. Unpublished report. Nairobi: Regional Centre on Small Arms/Institute for Security Studies pp 32

[19] Sitima, A.M. (2015). Disarming belligerent communities in Africa: a case study of disarmament efforts in Samburu and Baringo communities of Kenya. Unpublished Masters of Arts In International Studies of University Of Nairobi, p5.

The government has had a change in tact by deciding to deal with the internal root causes of the problem of insecurity in the marginalized areas. The government aims at elevating the issues related to the rule of law, causes of marginalization, cultural behaviours that are retrogressive the development agenda of the local people among many others. The government is seen to be using parameters in disarmament exercises in both the rural and the urban areas. The shoot to kill order is viewed as in effect in disarmament operations in the urban areas. While such policies manage to eliminate the targeted criminals and enable the recovery of the weapons, they completely fail to eradicate the root cause of the proliferation of small arms in urban setups.[20]

To make matters worse and especially in the rural areas which has borne the brunt of the violent confrontations, and specifically the pastoralist localities, disarmament efforts are called "operations," which have a military connotation, targeting communities believed to possess SALW. Whereas the urban located disarmament efforts have their targets as individuals, the rural disarmament interventions normally target the entire population. To add to this painful approach, the disarmament efforts are engulfed in secrecy leading to speculations and politics and in the process lessening their benefits to the communities involved. There are no consultations with the targeted communities which is a vital criterion for a successful disarmament.[21]

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[20] Kipsang, W. (2014). It's a miracle that I survived the Kapedo attack": "Kapedo named the Valley of Death" *Daily Nation.* www.nation.co.ke/counties/Kapedo -named-The-Valley- of-Death/- /1107872/2524556/-/2ipht9/-/index.html (accessed 13-11-2017)
[21] Kipsang, W. (2014). It's a miracle that I survived the Kapedo attack": "Kapedo named the Valley of Death" *Daily Nation.* www.nation.co.ke/counties/Kapedo -named-The-Valley- of-Death/- /1107872/2524556/-/2ipht9/-/index.html (accessed 13-11-2017)

Whereas disarmament interventions are meant to forge peaceful coexistence of the groups involved in the conflict, the forceful collection of arms from the civilian population has not minimally led to the reduction of the proliferation of the same arms they are meant to target. The disarmament efforts have only managed to collect and accumulate large quantities of weapons that are obsolete and in serviceable. The disarmament efforts have witnessed the amalgamation and use of heavy military equipment like helicopters and heavily armed forces that only serve to instill fear on the targeted population and hatred of the whole exercise. Additionally the deployment exercise only takes a short term without solving the genesis of the conflict and ultimately making the already bad situation worse.[22]

The belief from the Small Arms Survey is that disarmament operations can successfully lead to the total mop-up of all the illicit and illegal weapons in the possession of criminals. However, the Small Arms Survey acknowledges that accomplishing this task requires the concerted efforts all of the stakeholders due to the fact that there are constraints involved in doing it. The sentiments form the stakeholders in the disarmament campaigns is that the government has wholesomely opted to conduct the disarmament operations voluntary and involuntary rather than attempting to control the menace of proliferation of these arms. For the communities targeted, the process of mopping-up the illegal weapons has been a thorn in the fresh since it involves a lot of untold sufferings.

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[22] Sitima, A.M. (2015). Disarming belligerent communities in Africa: a case study of disarmament efforts in Samburu and Baringo communities of Kenya. Unpublished Masters of Arts In International Studies of University Of Nairobi, p6.

For these communities, the feeling is usually that the disarmament operations should be balance to ensure that no single community is left at the mercy of the neighbours deliberately omitted in the operations. The National Policy on SALW has even suggested that destruction of the netted arms should be done in the areas where confiscated to ensure that the same do not fall in the arms of rivals.[23]

In Kenya, challenges have accompanied the disarmament exercise including the lack of trust by the targeted communities on the security forces involved in the disarmament operations due to the excessive use of force. Another challenge is due to the vastness and the rugged terrain of the pastoralist areas where operations are marked or executed. Areas mapped for operations are mostly allocated with minimal government resources to maintain the welfare of the security units involved. The community membership usually accuses the security forces of deliberately refusing to cooperate in the recovery of the animals forcefully confiscated in raids by the government or rival communities.[24]

Often, the disarmament operations are quickly followed by rapid armament of the community that was targeted in the operations in order to maintain the balance of power with rival communities. The rapid rearmament usually defeats the whole logic of conducting the disarmament operations in the first place. The post disarmament rapid armament leads to a continuous cycle of an arms race where every community restock its

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[23] SIKOM PeaceNetwork for Development, (2010). Progress Report and In-depth Analysis of the On-going Military Disarmament in North Rift, Particularly in Pokot Region. Unpublished report prepared by SIKOM for stakeholders.
[24] Sitima, A.M. (2015). Disarming belligerent communities in Africa: a case study of disarmament efforts in Samburu and Baringo communities of Kenya. Unpublished Masters of Arts In International Studies of University Of Nairobi, p 6.

rank with the best weapons to prepare for the imminent raids from the rivals or to act as a deterrence for possible attacks from the already prepared adversaries.[25]

Sitima acknowledge the presence of obstacles in the disarmament operations in Kenya since they are generally bedeviled by a number of prominent challenges. The nomadic way of life of the targeted community is one challenge that disarmament initiatives have to contend with. The nomadic communities usually free from these operations willingly or unwillingly due to the fact that migration lifestyle sometimes make some of the clans to escape the disarmament dragnet. When these groups of individuals migrate in search of pasture, they are not reachable by the security forces to be disarmed since they usually hibernate to the neighbouring countries and are therefore out of the operations.

Another challenge emanate from the fact that the nomadic/pastoralist communities have shared characteristics that make it possible to freely mix with ilk men who enable them to freely escape the disarmament operations. It is for example possible for the Pokot tribesmen from Kenya to free to Uganda and intermingle freely with the Uganda Pokots when disarmament exercises are executed in Kenya.[26] Selective disarmament operations have also been a challenge to the whole idea of disarmament in Kenya. For example, the Moi's government frequently conducted the disarmament operations in the North Rift in selective districts with deliberate omissions of others. The target community usually fled the entire operations and escaped to safer grounds among the friendly neighbouring

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[25] Kipsang, W. (2014). It's a miracle that I survived the Kapedo attack": "Kapedo named the Valley of Death" *Daily Nation.* www.nation.co.ke/counties/Kapedo -named-The-Valley- of-Death/- /1107872/2524556/-/2ipht9/-/index.html (accessed 13-11-2017)
[26] Sitima, A.M. (2015). Disarming belligerent communities in Africa: a case study of disarmament efforts in Samburu and Baringo communities of Kenya. Unpublished Masters Of Arts In International Studies of University Of Nairobi, 5.

communities. Once the exercise was over, they would then return and continue with the cycle of cattle raids and impunity often associated with cattle rustling.[27]

In the effort to disarm the armed groups, the security forces had sometimes encountered hazardous terrain that often was rugged and inaccessible thus slowing down the whole exercise. For example, the Mt. Elgon disarmament operation witnessed the SLDF militia elements retreating to the caves at the higher ground s in the mountain which was often rugged and inaccessible. They also took advantage of the knowledge of the porous borders between Kenya and Uganda to slip away from the security forces.

1.7   Research Gaps

The literature reviewed has highlighted the essence of disarmament as constituting the attempt of government and other stakeholders attempt to maintain peaceful coexistence of communities through mopping up SALW. The study observes that most studies have focused disarmament programmes in relation to peace and resettlement among the affected communities. This study will seek to fill this gap by comparing disarmament programmes against human security in Baringo County.

1.8   Hypotheses of the study

H_{01}: There is no significant relationship between disarmament and the current conflicts in Baringo County of Kenya.

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[27] Sitima, A.M. (2015). Disarming belligerent communities in Africa: a case study of disarmament efforts in Samburu and Baringo communities of Kenya. Unpublished Masters Of Arts In International Studies of University Of Nairobi, p6.

H_{02}: There are no significant effects of disarmament on human security in Baringo County.

H_{03}: There are no significant challenges and interventions to disarmament in Baringo County.

1.9 Academic Justification of the Study

The study observed that most studies have focused disarmament programmes in relation to peace and resettlement among the affected communities. This study filled that gap by comparing disarmament programmes against human security in Baringo County. In addition, this study endeavored to fill this existing gap by applying the human needs theory in the analysis of the disarmament programmes in Baringo County.

1.9.1 Policy Justification

Policy makers dealing with conflicts and disarmament will find this research valuable in contributing to the much needed research on issues pertaining to disarmament aspects. A human needs approach to disarmament is useful because if well pursued, then it will help reduce the demand for weapons and restore peace through humane disarmament practices. Even though the focus of the study is Baringo County, policy makers from the other counties with similar disarmament practices will find it useful.

1.10 Assumptions of the Study

The study assumed that there exist a relationship between disarmament interventions and security of the people. The study also assumed that the respondents would freely and honestly cooperate in provision of information that the study sought.

1.11   Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study was carried out in Baringo County, a region that has experienced some level of insecurity and where disarmament efforts have been undertaken. The focus of the study was on reaching those respondents that have knowhow on disarmament efforts in Baringo County. The study was on the effects of disarmament on human security in Baringo County. The study focused on the1990-2010 periods.

1.12   Theoretical Framework of the study

The study was based on the Human Needs Theory as proposed by John Burton. The study stated that the demand for arms among pastoralist communities in Baringo County is driven by the dire necessity for security which has remained unmet for several years. Human needs theorists' posit that human needs play a powerful role in shaping human behavior and social interaction. The satisfaction of human wants determines cooperation or conflict in a society. Conflict arises from unsatisfied human needs. Abraham Maslow had earlier proposed several things about human needs. One of them is that needs are hierarchical. In his pyramid, he places physiological needs such as food, water and shelter at the bottom. The need for safety and security come second, followed by love and belonging, then self-esteem and finally the need for self-actualization.[28]

Maslow further argued that the satisfaction of one needs lead to the pursuit for a higher level need in the hierarchy. The first four categories form the deficit needs while the fifth category comprises of the being needs. Lack of satisfaction of deficient needs causes the

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[28]   Boeree, C. G. Abraham Maslow (1908-1970): Personality Theories. Psychology Department; Shippensburg University. http://www.ship.edu/%7Ecgboeree/perscontents.html (accessed: 25-11-2017)

urge to satisfy them. The fifth category, self-actualization is however not critically essential for one's life and as such, one is pulled to satisfy it, rather than pushed.[29]

John Burton hypothesized the use of Maslow's need theory in addressing conflicts but agrees with Maslow's hierarchical presentation of the needs. According to Burton, satisfaction of needs does not follow a hierarchy but are rather sought simultaneously. According to Burton, unsatisfied needs lead people to seek alternative behaviors including conflict in order to satisfy such needs. Burton identified four needs that are of primary importance if peace negotiations and settlements are to succeed: security or safety which he defines as freedom from fear; identity defined as a sense of self in relation to others; recognition and personal development. To Burton, the above human needs are nonnegotiable. They have to be satisfied for conflicts to be resolved and peace to be realized.[30]

Fulfillment of the above needs occurs through the community or through the various policies as well as public goods and services that the state provides or ought to provide. The state therefore bears the major responsibility of ensuring that the human needs of its citizens are met in order to resolve or even to prevent conflict. Burton further posits that the perception of the reasons for conflict behavior among human beings determines the means pursued to resolve the conflict: A perception of needs satisfaction as the cause of conflicts leads to a long term conflict resolution process that aims at addressing the needs hence offering a permanent solution. On the other hand if conflict is perceived to be as a

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[29] Doucey, M. (2011). Understanding the Root Causes of Conflicts. *International Affairs Review*. Volume XX, Number 2.
[30] Boeree, C. G. Abraham Maslow (1908-1970): Personality Theories. Psychology Department; Shippensburg University. http://www.ship.edu/%7Ecgboeree/perscontents.html (accessed: 25-11-2017)

result of a naturally human aggressive behavior, then coercive means are pursued to control the conflict.

Unsatisfied needs are to some extent a manifestation of structural violence in a society which could then result to direct violence when people engage in violent conflict as they strive to satisfy their needs.[31] Pastoralist communities in Baringo County have suffered years of marginalization in the colonial and post-colonial periods. The area is considered insecure. As such, structural violence is inherent in the area. Inadequate state security provision has enhanced demand for arms. Direct violence manifests itself whenever there are violent attacks that lead to deaths, displacement and disruption of livelihoods. A vicious cycle of numerous unmet human needs ensues.

This study argues that most of the disarmament efforts in Baringo County has been pursued based on the assumption that the pastoralist communities living there are inherently aggressive, like engaging in conflicts and holding on to small arms as the instruments of waging confrontations. Consequently coercive strategies have been applied with the aim of containing and controlling the pastoralist communities. This has led to failure owing to lack of a clear focus on the root causes of the problem: the unmet security and safety needs. Hence, this study looked into the issue of disarmament from a human needs theory and notes that unmet security needs by the state have resulted in the communities resorting to arming themselves so as to protect themselves, their families, and predominantly their livestock which is the main source of livelihood and the channel to the satisfaction of basic needs such as food.

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[31] Ibid pp 56

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1.13   Research Methodology

1.13.1 Research Design

Research design is the overall strategy for integrating the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way. According to Cooper and Schindler, research design is a plan for assisting the researcher to have the necessary control over issues that may hinder the truthfulness of the results.[32] This is due to the fact that descriptive research aims at ascertaining the degree of the frequency of occurrence of given phenomenon in the study. The study's approach adopted was qualitative with the researcher taking an active participatory duty of acting as an observer, looking for emotional reactions and attitudes of the respondents. The design allowed the researcher to use a holistic approach of the selected social institutions to try to get a solution to the conflicts identified. Secondly, the approach give room for the application of research tools likes interviews schedules as well as focus group discussions among many other where required.

1.13.2 Research Population

A population is the larger group from which the sample is taken as per Sekaran and Bougie.[33] The study focus was in Baringo County of Kenya with attention and aim on the Kalenjin communities since most of the conflicts and disarmament exercises in the region is experienced by the communities. The target population included the elders, youth, women and state security organs in Baringo County constituted the sampling frame.

[32] Cooper, D.R., & Schindler, P.S. (2011). *Business Research Methods (10th Ed.).* New York, USA. The Irwin/McGraw-Hill Series, p34.

[33] Sekaran, U., & Bougie, R. (2009). *Research methods for business, A skill building approach* (5th Edit.). Chichester, West Sussex, John Wiley & Sons, Inc, p5.

1.13.3 Sampling Frame

A sampling frame is also defined by Welman, Kruger and Mitchell as a list of the source material or device that assist the researcher in selecting the requisite sample population for the study.[34] In this study there was no complete list of population but elders, youth, women and state security organs in Baringo County constituted the sampling frame.

1.13.4 Sample and Sampling Technique

Sampling is an integral component of data collection and as stated by Bryman and Bell is a constituency of the targeted population that is focused on by the researcher for the purposes of conducting the research.[35] This study used purposive sampling technique which is a non- probability sampling technique since it managed to offer he researcher the needed insight to the issues under investigation. The researcher therefore purposively selected respondent with requisite knowledge on disarmament efforts in Baringo County. The study had no complete list of sampled respondents; however, elders, youth, women and state security organs with knowledge on disarmament operations in Baringo County were interviewed.

1.13.5 Data Collection Instruments

Both primary and secondary data collection tools were utilized. The secondary data was drawn from journal articles, documentaries and government documentations on the disarmament operations in Baringo County.. Primary data was then obtained from key informant interviews (KIIs) and community members.

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[34] Welman, J. C., Kruger, S. J., & Mitchell, B. (2008). *Research Methodology* (3 Ed.). Cape Town, South Africa; Oxford University Press, p111.
[35] Bryman, A., & Bell, E. (2011). *Business Research Methods*, Third edition, Oxford University Press, p44.

1.13.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

The study analyzed the collected data using qualitative data analysis tools specifically the use of discourse analysis to analyze written and spoken responses. Discourse analysis was used to assess the coherent and sequential elements of the sentences recorded or written down with the inclusion of speeches, intonations and repetitions. The patterns of behaviours emanating from the respondents were analyzed using trend analysis. Individual case studies of disarmament operations by community members were also covered in the report. The analyzed data was interpreted and presented in narrative forms.

1.14   Chapter Outline

Chapter one introduces the topic of our research study, by first setting the broad context of our research study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, literature review, hypotheses, justification, theoretical framework, and the methodology of the study.

Chapter two provided the background of the relationship between disarmament and the current conflicts (from a global perspective), the effects of disarmament on human security and the various challenges and interventions to disarmament in Baringo County.

Chapter three analyzed the data captured in the previous chapter in the light of the hypotheses and theoretical framework already stated. Chapter four finally provided the presentation analysis of the study. Chapter five captures conclusion and recommendations and provides suggestions on areas for further study.

2.1   Introduction

The chapter comprise of an analysis of disarmament efforts in the global perspective. The focus is on concept of human security that leads to disarmament efforts, successful and failed disarmament outside the African continent then a sample of the efforts from African countries.

2.2   Concept of Human Security

The idea of human security came into existence in early 1990s immediately after the end of the cold war. The end of the cold war ushered in a number of complex conflicts that were characterized by both military and non-military threats that necessitated the need for efforts to restore normalcy. The idea of human security was thus born and it mostly focused on the need to foster human rights, protection against violence and sustainable development of people in their dwelling places. Human security was also seen from the need for governments to be responsible for the welfare of its citizens and wherever the lives of citizens were threatened by the government, it was the responsibility of the international community to protect them through such measures like disarmament and other related interventions.[36]

The ideal of the concept of human security that requires interventions through disarmament efforts is anchored on the principal of dignified living for all humankind.

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[36] Schafer PJ. (2013). Human and Water Security in Israel and Jordan. *Springer Briefs in Environment, Security, Development and Peace, 3,* 5-18.

This has given birth to the belief that there is no human security without giving credence to the security of the citizens. As stated, the trends of the current global conflicts is more intra-state than inter-state. Thus the need for security in terms of the welfare of humankind is paramount. From this understanding, it is vital to note human security is embodied with human rights and development and is enshrined on the need for protection of individuals through empowerment.[37]

The United Nations had stated that human security is a multidimensional concept involving the ideals of people-centred, comprehensive, multi-sectoral, context specific, comprehensive and prevention-oriented.[38] Centrality of human beings is an important feature in focusing at the divergent security threats confronting human dignity and security threats. It also calls for the will-power to prioritize human wellbeing, welfare, dignity and human life in general. Comprehensive focuses on the broad understanding of human security threats and the multidimensional causes of insecurity. The multi-sectoral approach of human security portrays the need of an integrated and multidimensional response to diverse security treats. The prevention-oriented aspect of human security denotes the need to respond to insecurities at their context.[39]

The above characteristics of human security points at the significant responsibilities placed by human beings on individuals more than the state. Mwagiru stated that human-

[37] Schafer PJ. (2013).Human and Water Security in Israel and Jordan". Springer Briefs in Environment, Security, Development and Peace,3:5-18.
[38] UN (2009). Human Security in Theory and Practice, Available at: http://www.tr.undp.org/content/dam/turkey/docs/newsfrom- new-horizons/issue-41/UNDP-TRHSHandbook_ 2009.pdf, Accessed on 2 May, 2018
[39] Siradag, Abdurrahim, (2012). African Regional and Sub-Regional Organizations' Security Policies: Challenges and Prospects". *Journal of Academic Inquiries, 7*(2):231-255.

centred security is crucial for national, regional and global stability and security.[40] Further, the concept of human security involves the aspect of freedom from fear and freedom from want characterized by the absence of violence and war and absence of hunger and diseases among human beings.[41] These are some of the issues that have fuelled the conflicts in the Horn of Africa necessitating the entrance of the international community and nation states in protecting human security through disarmament efforts.

2.3   Trends in Conflict in the African Context

The African continent has witnessed numerous conflicts which has endangered the security situation of the citizens. Interstate and intrastate conflicts have occurred severally leading to injuries to the innocent civilian population. One of the major causes of the intra and extra conflict in Africa is the incursion of the colonialism as perpetrated by European powers leading to conflicts and human security. Pan African Movement was the first movement to spearhead for the safeguarding of human security in the continent. Later on the Organization of African Union (OAU) to strengthen the achievements of the Pan African Movement as witnessed by the emergency of new conflicts in the continent. The African Union was later established to cater for the challenges of human security and issues of the 21st Century.[42]

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[40] Mwagiru M. (2008). Human Security: Setting the Agenda for the Horn of Africa, Kenya: Africa Peace Forum, p22.
[41] Mwagiru M. (2008). Human Security: Setting the Agenda for the Horn of Africa, Kenya: Africa Peace Forum, p22.
[42] Murithi, T. (2008). The African Union's Evolving Role in Peace Operations: The African Union Mission in Burundi, The African Union Mission in Sudan and the African Union Mission in Somalia". *African Security Review 2008; 17*(1), 70-82.

The Organization of the African Unity was establishment for the purpose of supporting collective struggles for liberation.[43] Accordingly, OAU had played a great role in the liberation of the continent and the development of a common identity and unity in the continent.[44] Due to the preoccupation with liberation related issues, it was unable to efficiently deal with addressing the interstate and intrastate conflicts in Africa. More so, the OAU had respect to the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference of other nation's affairs. This way, it was mostly a silent observer to intrastate conflicts among its members with interstate conflicts being seen as a reclusive responsibility of members.[45]

It was out of the weaknesses of the OAU that African heads of states decided to establish the African Union (AU) in 2002 in the Durban, South Africa inaugural meeting to deal with the challenges of 21st century facing the continent. The concepts of human security of the AU were widened to encompass the concept of human rights, good governance, accountability, democracy and political openness.[46] This was a dramatic shift from the narrow angle taken by the OAU to a wider view of human-centred security by the AU dedicated to the rights and interests of the citizens. Where the rights and interests of

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[43] Abubakar A. (2008). Regional Dimensions of Peace Support Operations in the 21st Century: A Case Study of Horn of Africa, Herald Press, p233.
the African Standby Force Concept, Available at: http://cdn.peaceopstraining.org/theses/aliyu.pdf, Accessed on 11 May 2018.
[44] Siradag, A. 2012). African Regional and Sub- Regional Organizations' Security Policies: Challenges and Prospects". *Journal of Academic Inquiries 2012; 7*(2), 231-255.
[45] Siradag, A. (2012). African Regional and Sub- Regional Organizations' Security Policies: Challenges and Prospects". Journal of Academic Inquiries 2012; 7(2):231-255.
[46] Solomon A. (2011). *The African Standby Force: Its Role and Potential as One of the AU's Response Mechanisms*, in "The State of Human Security in Africa: An Assessment of Institutional Preparedness", eds. Sharamo, R. and Ayangafac, C., Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, p55.

citizens were concerned, intervention measures such as disarmament were applicable.[47] The principle of intervention as stipulated by the AU charter underscores this tenet.

To further and maintain the course of peace and security in the continent, the AU introduced the power of intervention in domestic affairs of member countries whenever the rights and interests of the citizens were threatened. This was especially on cases related to genocide and severe violation of human rights of citizens in member countries. To confront the escalating incidences of intrastate conflict that threatened human security, the AU introduced the principle of intervention especially to the experiences and lessons learned from Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone and many other countries that had witnessed large scale violations of the rights of citizens.[48]

2.4   Disarmament operations in global perspective

Globally, conflicts and the weapons used have greatly metamorphosed in the last century or so. By the end of the 19th century, few countries had the capacity to maintain vicious armies with deadly weapons whose effects could be noticed outside the battlefields. The 19th century's wars had most of the casualties as members of the warring groups with minimal effects on players outside the battlefields. However, the 20th century's wars have

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[47] Bayeh, E. (2014). Human security in the horn of Africa: Trends and Challenges. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development, 1(7),* 341-346

[48] Siradag, A. 2012). African Regional and Sub- Regional Organizations' Security Policies: Challenges and Prospects". *Journal of Academic Inquiries 2012; 7*(2), 231-255.

normally had effects on whole population and world with the World War 1 and World War 2 as related examples.[49]

The First World War had a catastrophic casualty level of approximately 8.5 million combatants killed and 10 million civilian's deaths.[50] The Second World War led to the death of more than 55 million people with entire cities and populations annihilated and engulfing almost the entire world. Weapons of mass destruction were developed and used aimed at inflicting maximum casualty on the opposite side. The Second World War used new types of weapons such as chemical and biological weapons and atomic bombs that were used to annihilate the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[51]

The end of the Second World War ushered in the Cold War and related phony wars such as wars of independence, inter and intrastate wars, genocides and other such wars. These wars left in their wake a casualty level of between 60-100 million of mostly civilian's death. The collapse of Communism and the Berlin Wall in 1989s brought a relief to the arms race with a general reduction of tensions globally with a substantial decrease in military spending. However, this situation lasted for a short period since by the end of the 1990's the military budgets skyrocketed with approximately 45% by the year 2009.[52]

[49] Muggah, Robert and Keith Kraus. (2009). Closing the Gap between Peace Operations and Post- Conflict Insecurity: Towards a Violence Reduction Agenda, *International Peacekeeping, 16* (9), 3-4.
[50] Giustozzi, A. (2012). Bureaucratic façade and political realities of disarmament and demobilization in Afghanistan. *Conflict, Security and Development, 8* (2): 169–192.
[51] Ndung'u , J.(2010) *Analysis of Disarmament Approaches in Kenya and How to Make them Effective,* Paper Presented during RECSA Practical Disarmament Validation Workshop in Mombasa Kenya, p11.
[52] Robert M. (2009). Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. In: Robert Muggah. *Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. Dealing with Fighters in the Aftermath of War.* Routledge Global Security Studies, New York, p233.

Presently, majority of the global conflicts are intrastate with the largest number of casualties as the civilian population. These conflicts have small arms and light weapons (SALW) as the weapons of choice among the combatants. On average, the casualty levels from these intrastate conflicts is approximately 250, 000 casualties annually.[53]

Globally, the number of interstate and intrastate skirmishes has drastically reduced by 40% since the end of the Cold War in 1989. Most of these conflicts have taken place in developing countries with the exception of the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria and mostly involving small groups of poorly trained and equipped militias.[54] Globally, the casualty levels of armed violence are estimated to be about 740,000 deaths annually with approximately 490, 000 deaths occurring outside the war zones. The effects of armed conflicts engulf entire populations and in the processing acting as an impediment to people's human and socio-economic developments. As previously stated, the precursor of these conflicts is the readiness in the availability of SALW especially to the combatants.[55]

The approximate number of SALW in circulation globally is difficult to come by, but official sources put the number at 875 million arms. The Small Arms Survey states that about 1,200 companies in about 90 countries in the world are directly producing these weapons. Most of the SALW are manufactured in 30 countries led by United States of America, Russia and China. SALW have become prevalent in global conflicts since they are light, easy to use and hide, cheap to procure and transport to the conflict zones. The

[53] Muggah, Robert and Keith Kraus. (2009). Closing the Gap between Peace Operations and Post- Conflict Insecurity: Towards a Violence Reduction Agenda, *International Peacekeeping, 16* (9), 3-4.
[54] Giustozzi, A. (2012). Bureaucratic façade and political realities of disarmament and demobilization in Afghanistan. *Conflict, Security and Development, 8* (2): 169–192.
[55] Ndung'u , J.(2010) *Analysis of Disarmament Approaches in Kenya and How to Make them Effective,* Paper Presented during RECSA Practical Disarmament Validation Workshop in Mombasa Kenya, p11.

business of SALW is poorly regulated and least transparent with shadowy organizations involved in the sale of these weapons. Almost all the embargos on sale of SALW by the United Nations has been glossy violated.[56]

The availability of SALW has a downward trend by enhancing insecurity among the civilian populations and in the process creating more demand for these weapons. The Small Arms survey attributes 60-90 percent of deaths arising in violent conflicts as directly related to the availability of these weapons. Most of these deaths are not on the combatants in the conflict but on innocent civilian population especially women and children. The use of SALW has caused more human rights abuses than any other weapon globally. Conflicts caused by the use of SALW have led to civilians fleeing their homes leading to food insecurity, rape of women and girls among other such atrocities.[57]

The largest effect of the use of SALW has been seen in countries and populations in Sub-Saharan Africa, South East Asia and Latin America. Attempts have been made by the United Nations to combat the use of SALW in conflicts globally.[58] The United Nations programme on prevention and eradication of the use of SALW was adopted in the year 2001. It encourages the membership of the United Nations to participate in efforts aimed at legislation and destruction of these weapons. Disarmament efforts have also been initiated by the United Nations in such countries as Afghanistan, Colombia, Liberia and

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[56] Nguli, M, (2008). Small Arms and Light Weapons" Proliferation in Parts of Kenya, (Nairobi: PEACENET Kenya, p40.
[57] Melissa, G. (2009) Disarmament; A Basic Guide; United Nations, New York, p11.
[58] Ekuam, A. (2008). An Overview of the Status of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Areas Affected by Post-Election Violence in Rift Valley Province, Nairobi: UNDP Kenya, p33.

Sierra Leone. Such and many others measure have been put in place to eradicate the use of these efforts in global conflicts.[59]

2.5   Disarmament operations: Colombia's Serial Search for Peace

The Colombia 42 years conflict witnessed the attempts by each president of winning the war militarily or through peace negotiations. Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) formed the basis of disarmament process in the Colombian conflict. From August 2002, DDR of membership of the militia groups commenced as a reinforcement effort for the Government's Democratic Security Policy (DSP), whose aim was to bring to an end the conflict. This approach which combined the use of the military effort and DDR led to demobilization and disarmament of 50,000 combatants.[60]

For Colombia, the DDR programme has ushered in a community-led reintegration process for the armed groups to make a voluntary choice on demobilizing while negotiating individually for peace thus ending the conflict. The DDR process in Colombia has yielded success since most the government and the armed groups chose to confront the violent nature of the conflict without further violation of the principles enshrined in a democratic process. By 2010, 51,000 combatants from the armed groups have been demobilized with approximately 31, 000 of the demobilized ex-combatants coming as a result of the peace talks of 2003-2006.[61]

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[59] Nguli, M, (2008). Small Arms and Light Weapons" Proliferation in Parts of Kenya, (Nairobi: PEACENET Kenya, p40.
[60] Kathleen M. Jennings, (2010). Unclear Ends, Unclear Means: Reintegration in Post-War Societies – The Case of Liberia. In: *Global Governance, p41.*
[61] Robert M. (2009). Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. In: Robert Muggah. *Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. Dealing with Fighters in the Aftermath of War.* Routledge Global Security Studies, New York, p23.

A key component of the Colombian DDR programme was the use of Justice and Peace Law for the reintegrating of the displaced population. This process was able to gain a great balance between justice and peace without impunity for the combatants and the displaced civilian population. The implementation of this process has not been smooth for the Colombian government although it has striven to make it as ideally good as possible. The international community has regularly been invited to create ways for the DDR programme to be effective.[62]

2.6 Disarmament Operations: Afghanistan Case

In Afghanistan, the Afghan DDR programme was put in place by the government of Afghanistan to attempt at disarming and reintegrating 90,000 ex-combatants into civilian life. Phase one of the programme took place in Kunduz, Khost and Bamyan provinces. By 2005, the programme had managed to disarm and reintegrate 50,000 soldiers.[63]

From the estimate of the Afghan government, around 1,870 armed groups existed comprising of tribal based militias, war lords, and criminal groupings amongst many others with an approximate membership of 129,000 members. The Afghan authorities established the Disband Illegal Armed Groups (DIAG) programme in June 2005. The process proved to be a difficult one with the efforts interfered with the militia groups members resisting the government's efforts.[64]

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[62] Melissa, G. (2009) Disarmament; A Basic Guide; United Nations, New York, p11.
[63] Giustozzi, A. (2012). Bureaucratic façade and political realities of disarmament and demobilization in Afghanistan. *Conflict, Security and Development, 8* (2): 169–192.
[64] Giustozzi, A. (2012). Bureaucratic façade and political realities of disarmament and demobilization in Afghanistan. *Conflict, Security and Development, 8* (2): 169–192.

The DDR programme came to an end in July 2005 with tangible success of over 63,000 former militia group members disarmed and demobilized and with a reintegration of 53,000 others. The DDR programme managed to provide technical skills such farming techniques to ex-combatants to enable them reintegrate in the civilian life. To support the DDR programme, the Japanese government donated US$2.35 billion to support the programme through Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA).[65]

Another success of the DDR programme in Afghanistan was that it managed to demobilize the Afghan Military Forces (AMF) that were initially a loose network of poorly trained and armed military units scattered all over the country. This was aimed at restoration of public safety in order to rebuild the country under one centralized government.[66]

2.7   Disarmament Operations in Africa

Numerous UN peacekeeping operations exist in the African continent with the aim of disarming the warring groups, and others to reintegrate militants into the civilian lifestyles. Globally, Disarmament Operations, Demobilization and Reintegration Programmes (DDR) abound in countries like Haiti and Afghanistan. However, most of the DDR programmes since 1992 have occurred in the African continent. There was unprecedented high rate of failure in the initial DDR programmes in Somalia and Liberia

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[65] Robert M. (2009). Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. In: Robert Muggah. *Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. Dealing with Fighters in the Aftermath of War.* Routledge Global Security Studies, New York, p33.
[66] Giustozzi, A. (2012). Bureaucratic façade and political realities of disarmament and demobilization in Afghanistan. *Conflict, Security and Development, 8* (2): 169–192.

due to the vagueness of the mandate given by the UN and this has acted as awake up call leading to the development of focus based interventions from 2005.[67]

This is witnessed by the newly established DDR programmes in Sierra Leone, Cotedivore and Democratic Republic of Congo which have been quite successful especially on disarmament of hundreds of thousands of militants. However, lack of sufficient funding and inadequate research on the areas engulfed by conflicts are challenges that limit the full achievement of the mandate of these disarmament programmes.[68]

South Sudan is one case where the local leadership is in consultation with the National DDR Commission with the intentions of implementing of a new DDR chapter of programme. The mutual discussions and agreements by all the stakeholders in the South Sudan civil war inclusive of the government, civil society and international NGOs are essential for the final success of the DDR programme.[69]

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[67] Kathleen M. Jennings, (2010). Unclear Ends, Unclear Means: Reintegration in Post-War Societies – The Case of Liberia. In: *Global Governance, p41*.
[68] Macartan H. & Jeremy, W., (2009). Demobilization and Reintegration in Sierra Leone: Assessing Progress. *Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*. New York.
[69] Kathleen M. Jennings, (2010). Unclear Ends, Unclear Means: Reintegration in Post-War Societies – The Case of Liberia. In: *Global Governance, p41*.

CHAPTER THREE

DISARMAMENT AND HUMAN SECURITY IN BARINGO COUNTY (1990-2010)

3.1   Introduction

In this study Baringo County is used to refer to the county in the former Rift Valley province bordering Turkana, West Pokot, Samburu, Laikipia, Nakuru, Uasin Gishu, Elgeyo Marakwet and Kericho Counties in Kenya. Baringo County is one of the counties in Kenya renown for conflict related incidences, cattle rustling, and insecurity. The persistence and endemic violence, insecurity and proliferation of arms remain some of the issues to deal with in Baringo County.

3.2   Human Security Conflicts in Kenya

The cases of insecurity in Kenya may be traced back to when illegal arms fell in the hands of illegal groups and criminals starting from the pre-colonial era to the period after independence. Before colonialism, Kenyans especially the pastoralists had the freedom of openly carrying weapons for many decades in their grazing and other pastoralism-related activities. The pastoralist acquired these weapons from gunrunners from Ethiopia and from Arabs and Swahili slave traders, poachers and gun merchants. Gun markets existed in Maji south-western Ethiopia way back before the 1835 partition of the African continent. By 1888, the East African coast had was a conduit of approximately 37,441 assorted firearms.[70]

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[70] Mburu, N. (2010). The Proliferation of Guns and Rustling in Karamoja and Turkana Districts: The Case for Appropriate Disarmament Strategies, p.4-5, Online: www. peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/Guns.pdf (Accessed 30th April 2018)

As far back as 11920, the Turkana community in North Eastern Kenya exchanged ivory for guns with the first real disarmament operation undertaken among the community and the Karamoja of Uganda by the colonial government dubbed "Operation Tennis" in 1920. The operation was poorly coordinated and was not fully successful and it came to characterize subsequent disarmament efforts by the colonial government. Although many communities in the region had illegal firearms, the targeting of Turkana community with the exclusion of the others weakened this community on the face of rivals. The operation was thus discriminatory and poorly coordinated.[71]

The colonial government in 1954 attempted an initiating the 1954 firearms act occasioned by the anti-colonial struggle led by the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya. The hallmark of this legislation was the hanging of Dedan Kimathi the Mau Mau leader. The legislation was also occasioned by the fact that over 660 fire arms had been stolen or captured from the British forces in Kenya introducing the start of the modern-day menace of illicit arms in Kenya.[72] The Mau Mau uprising accounted for the initial period of circulation of firearms in Nairobi.

The phenomenon of collapse of nationhood has been a major cause of the upsurge of civil strife in the Horn of Africa. The collapse of Idi Amin regime in Uganda in 1979, witnessed the looting of the abandoned armory in Moroto barracks by the Karamoja community of Uganda. The fall of Mengistu Haille Mariam regime in 1991 in Ethiopia

[71] [71] Mburu, N. (2010). The Proliferation of Guns and Rustling in Karamoja and Turkana Districts: The Case for Appropriate Disarmament Strategies, p.4-5, Online: www. peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/Guns.pdf (Accessed 30th April 2018), pg. 12

[72] Kilonzo S. M., (2008). *Terror, Religion or Socialism? The Faces of Mungiki Sect in the Kenyan Public Space*, (Yaounde: CODESRIA, pg. 23-25.

and Siad Barre in Somalia in 1991 witnessed the looting of firearms by civilians that continued the menace of illegal firearms in the Horn of Africa.[73] The illegal firearms from the mentioned incidents and other in the region have continued fuelling conflicts leading to widespread threats to human security.

The demands for firearms have continued to threaten the security, human rights and interests of citizens in the Horn of Africa. The factors fuelling proliferation of illegal firearms include feeling of insecurity among entire communities especially where rivals possess these weapons, emergence of organized gangs and criminal outfits, the culture of gun ownership, and the conflicts between agricultural and pastoral communities among many others.[74]

On the other hand, the supply factors leading to proliferation of illegal firearms in the Horn of Africa includes the history of civil conflict as witnessed in Uganda, Somalia, South Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan and Ethiopia, exposure to illicit arms as a result of ivory trade in East Africa, the incursion of the First and the Second world Wars in the East African soil and the remnants of the supplies of the cold war. Other factors include the collapse of regimes in Horn of Africa as well as the liberalization of international arms markets that has created a conduit of illegal weapons into the region.[75]

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[73] Kilonzo S. M., *Terror, Religion or Socialism? The Faces of Mungiki Sect in the Kenyan Public Space*, (Yaounde: CODESRIA, 2008), p.3
[74] Mueller, Susan (2008). The Political Economy of Kenya's Crisis in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* Vol.2 No.2 pp.185-210
[75] Mueller, Susan (2008) 'The Political Economy of Kenya's Crisis' in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* Vol.2 No.2 pp.185-210

The political history of Kenya as a country is characterized by the existence of numerous organized criminal groups that are a precursor to threats to human security. The existence of these groups is due to manifestations of several factors that favour their emergence. These factors range from the desire to maintain the peace and security of members through combating crime especially in poor urban neighbourhood. In the late 1990, the *Taliban* is one such militia that was established in Kariobangi to maintain peace and security among the residents.[76]

The *Mungiki* was another group that was established in Mathare North to protect the community from the desires on fairness in distribution of land and land ownership. The group later metamorphosed to criminal gang with extortions and money protection as other expanded forms of operations. This group later went into other activities like control of public passenger service vehicles (matatu termini) in Nairobi, Central Kenya and Rift Valley. The gang with many others like-minded groups were taken over by politicians as recourse to political campaigns that led to wanton destruction of property and loss of human life.[77]

Other illegal organized groups that have at one time or another threatened the human security situation in Kenya include the Sabaot Land Defence Forces (SLDF), which at its pick was the fiercest insurgent group in Western Kenya region. The death of its leader

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[76] Alson, A. (2009). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions: Mission to Kenya*, Advance Unedited Version, 26 May 2009, p.8-9. In the report, the special rapporteur implicates the Mungiki for murders inasmuch as the police are equally accused of extrajudicial killings of Mungiki members

[77] Philip Alson, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions: Mission to Kenya*, Advance Unedited Version, 26 May 2009, p.8-9. In the report, the special rapporteur implicates the Mungiki for murders inasmuch as the police are equally accused of extrajudicial killings of Mungiki members

Wycliffe Matakwei through the confrontation with the Kenyan security forces led to the diminishing in the prospects of this group. Other similar organized criminal gangs include the Chinkororo and Amachuma in Kisii which are vigilante groups formed to combat local crime and witchcraft, but which have been used politically to intimidate opponents.

There Baghdad Boys in Luo Nyanza was formed in 1990 by a gang of 15 young men disillusioned with the state. It has essentially been most active during elections and goes back into hibernation right after. In Nairobi there has been the Jeshi la Mzee (Kamjesh), Kosovo Boys, Taliban, Jeshi la Embakasi, Jeshi la King'ole, Geri ya Urush, Brotherhood and Ghetto Boys. In Western province, there was the Angola-Msumbiji (in addition to SLDF and FERA).[78]

However, the group that has continued to unleash the greatest security threat to the interests of the Kenyan citizens and to the entire Horn of Africa region is the Al-Shabaab terror group in Somalia. The group has led terror campaign that has left a shill in the entire region through bombing and other terror-related activities. The reaction of the Horn of Africa has seen the deployment of AMISOM troops in Somalia to combat and contain the terror group.

Several disarmament programmes have been undertaken by the government of Kenya aimed at tackling the run-away incidences of insecurity and human suffering in Baringo County. This chapter examined the effects of disarmament on human security in this

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[78] Kilonzo S. M., *Terror, Religion or Socialism? The Faces of Mungiki Sect in the Kenyan Public Space,* (Yaounde: CODESRIA, 2008), p.3

county. It sought to establish the relationship between disarmament and the current conflicts, the effects of disarmament on human security and the challenges and interventions to disarmament in Baringo County.

3.3 Relationship between disarmament and the current conflicts in Baringo County of Kenya

The relationship between the disarmament operations and the current crises in Baringo County has its genesis in the various past disarmament practices that have been conducted in Kenya. The failures of the post-2000 disarmament efforts will give the basis to the current conflicts.[79]

3.3.1 Post-2000 Kenya Disarmament Efforts

The International Standards and Practices of Disarmament were operationalized in 2000 after the realization by the global community of the dangers and devastation posed by proliferation of small arms. Emphasis was made for bilateral, regional and international cooperation in an effort to eradicate the small arms menace. Ultimatums were made for civilian disarmaments to constitute of amnesties and voluntary surrender of arms. At this time, the government of Kenya was still grappling with the issue of illicit arms and banditry among the pastoralist communities by the turn of the century in 2000. An amnesty was granted by President Moi in 2000-2001 aimed at voluntary surrender of

[79] Wepundi, M, et al. (2012). Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of insecurity in Kenya: An Assessment. *Small Arms Survey Special Report, June 2012*. Geneva. Small Arms Survey, p33.

illegal firearms from the pastoralist communities in West Pokot, Marakwet and Baringo.[80]

The exercise failed since the communities felt that surrendering of arms would lender them vulnerable to attacks from the neighbouring communities especially the Karamanjong from Uganda. By the expiry of the amnesty no weapon had been recovered leading to an extension of the same in January 2002, including the threat of forceful disarmament led by the military but again, there was little gains.

By the time the government was planning for the forceful disarmament, the campaign for the December 2002 started. The disarmament programme was somehow shelved. Through the guidance of international standards and practices of disarmaments and the effort to correct the past extremely painful and unfruitful methods of disarmament, the government of Kenya attempted to incorporate development in the disarmament programme. This gave birth to *Operation Dumisha Amani.*[81]

With this in mind, the government of Kenya implemented two disarmament operations in 2008: *Operation Okoa Maisha* (save lives) in Mount Elgon and *Operation Chunga Mpaka* (guard the border) in Mandera. *Operation Okoa Maisha* (save lives) was aimed at eradicating the Sabaot Land Defense Force (SDLF) a militia constituted to forcefully address the issue of land in Mount Elgon region. The SDLF was a security threat and had halted the daily activities of the local population leading to closure of business and

[80] Mkutu, K. A. & Wandera, G.(2013). Policing the Periphery: Opportunities and Challenges for Kenya Police Reserves. *Small Arms Survey Working Paper 15.* Geneva. Small Arms Survey, p19.
[81] Musau , B.M. (2016). *Rethinking Disarmament in the Horn of Africa: A Comparison of Initiatives in Kenya and Uganda.* Master of Arts in International Studies Project, University of Nairobi, Kenya, p 6.

schools. In this operation, 103 guns and 1,115 rounds of ammunition were collected and the operation was a success since the militia and its leaders were exterminated.[82] Positive developments were witnessed in the area with free medical treatment from the military, new roads were constructed with old ones repaired, businesses and schools that were previously closed were re-opened. In order to secure the area a permanent military base was established.[83]

However, accusations of excessive use of force and gross violations of human rights were documented. The operation led to collection of 103 fire arms and 1,155 rounds of ammunition and was hailed as being successful in crashing the militia group and restoring order.[141] Moreover, some positive changes was effected: free medical care was offered to the residents by the military medical team which had been deployed there, new roads were constructed and old ones repaired, businesses and schools that had been closed reopened and in a bid to enhance security, a permanent military base was established. Nevertheless the security forces were accused of severe brutality with gross human rights violations reported.[84]

The *Operation Chunga Mpaka* in Mandera aimed at enhancing the gross security concerns due to inter-clan wars resulting from competition for water and pastures. Accusations of extreme use of excessive force and torture on locals were reported. The success in this operation included the netting of 48 weapons, 1,200 rounds of ammunition

[82] Wepundi, M., Ndung'u, J., and Rynn, S. (2011). Lessons from the Frontiers: Civilian Disarmament in Kenya and Uganda. *Saferworld, p33.*
[83] Musau , B.M. (2016). *Rethinking Disarmament in the Horn of Africa: A Comparison of Initiatives in Kenya and Uganda* Master of Arts in International Studies Project, University of Nairobi, Kenya, p7.
[84] Wepundi, M, et al. (2012). Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of insecurity in Kenya: An Assessment. *Small Arms Survey Special Report, June 2012.* Geneva. Small Arms Survey, p33.

and 600 detonators were captured in transit to Mandera.[85] A new round of flaring of inter-communal clashes in Isiolo in November 2009 prompted the Kenyan government to launch another disarmament exercise.

The operation commenced with a call for voluntary disarmament with the local chiefs tasked with the duty of facilitation and collection of weapons from their localities. A total of 700 weapons and 4,000 rounds of ammunitions were collected from the local population in Isiolo. However, the Samburu community failed to hinder the call for disarmament due to the previous experience they had encountered where they voluntarily disarmed leading to continuous attacks from their neighbours who were not disarmed.[86]

3.4   Effects and challenges of disarmament on human security in Baringo County

The effects of disarmament on human security in Baringo County are viewed from the perspective of the various operations that have been undertaken in previous disarmament programmes.

3.4.1   Operation Dumisha Amani (ODA)

After the failure of the previous disarmament programme, the government of Kenya decided to change tact with a new programme that would inculcate development agenda. This new approach was dubbed as *Operation Dumisha Amani* 'maintain peace'. The target of ODA was the pastoralist communities living in the North Rift region in Kenya. This programme incorporated both disarmament and development. The operation initially

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[85] Mkutu, K. A. & Wandera, G.(2013). Policing the Periphery: Opportunities and Challenges for Kenya Police Reserves. *Small Arms Survey Working Paper 15.* Geneva. Small Arms Survey, p19.
[86] Musau , B.M. (2016). *Rethinking Disarmament in the Horn of Africa: A Comparison of Initiatives in Kenya and Uganda.* Master of Arts in International Studies Project, University of Nairobi, Kenya, p8.

targeted Turkana and West Pokot districts at the Kenya-Uganda border with the escalation of raids and violent conflicts, the operation was expanded to cover the Marakwet, Samburu, East Baringo, Laikipia East and Tranzoia. The ODA was undertaken in two stages, ODA I in 2005 and ODA II in 2010.[87]

3.4.2   Operation Dumisha Amani I (ODA I 2005)

The *Operation Dumisha Amani I* was initiated with three objectives in mind, short term medium term and long term. The short term objective had five aims; to enhance stability, law and order in the region aimed at assisting the communities to return to their settlements and normal lives, to confiscate illegal arms and ammunitions in the North Rift, to establish the presence of the government and security in the region, development of infrastructure through roads construction and to brand livestock to enhance tracing. The medium and the long term objectives of ODA was to provide the pastoralist communities with alternative means of livelihood, change their values and attitudes and develop the region with the aim of assimilating it to the rest of the country.[88]

ODA I had the goals of development, enhancing voluntary disarmament and coercive disarmament for those communities that would not cooperate. The programme comprised of development agenda through initiatives such as infrastructure refurbishment and construction of dams to provide water, a basic essential to the local population. Competition for water was one of the root causes of conflicts among the pastoralist communities in the North Rift. The integration of development and provision of security

[87] Musau , B.M. (2016). *Rethinking Disarmament in the Horn of Africa: A Comparison of Initiatives in Kenya and Uganda.* Master of Arts in International Studies Project, University of Nairobi, Kenya, p6.
[88] Wepundi, M, et al. (2012). Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of insecurity in Kenya: An Assessment. *Small Arms Survey Special Report, June 2012.* Geneva. Small Arms Survey, p 35.

was aimed at endearing the local population to the voluntary disarmament programme and reduce the drive for high demand for arms.[89]

ODA I was implemented by the military together with the other security forces like the Administration Police, Kenya Police and General Service Unit and was undertaken in three phases. Phase 1 commenced from May 2005 to February 2006 and was renamed as *Operation Dumisha Amani,* a voluntary phase with campaigns aimed at mobilizing the local community to voluntarily disarm in return for amnesty and more security provisions.[90]

Phase 2 dubbed as *Operation Okota (operation collect)* started from April to May 2006, was a coercive phase that aimed at forcefully confiscating weapons from the pastoralist communities who had resisted the voluntarily surrender of weapons. In this phase, voluntary surrender of arms was still widely encouraged with weapon holders given the option of recruitment to the Kenya Police Reserve (KPR). They could surrender their weapons in return for government registered weapons and be expected to provide security to the local population. The use of coercion accompanied by tanks, trucks and helicopters by the security forces forced some sections of the local population to flee to Uganda.[91]

The achievement of ODA I include the collection of 2,228 guns and 4,418 rounds of ammunitions. Additionally, 28,719 patients received free treatment, 170,000 livestock

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[89] Mkutu, K. A. & Wandera, G.(2013). Policing the Periphery: Opportunities and Challenges for Kenya Police Reserves. *Small Arms Survey Working Paper 15.* Geneva. Small Arms Survey, p19.
[90] Mkutu, K. A. & Wandera, G.(2013). Policing the Periphery: Opportunities and Challenges for Kenya Police Reserves. *Small Arms Survey Working Paper 15.* Geneva. Small Arms Survey, p20.
[91] Musau , B.M. (2016). *Rethinking Disarmament in the Horn of Africa: A Comparison of Initiatives in Kenya and Uganda.* Master of Arts in International Studies Project, University of Nairobi, Kenya, p8.

was branded, 66 schools that had been closed due to insecurity were re-opened and 167 km of roads constructed. However, the promised security was not provided with communities that cooperated and surrendered their weapons like the Samburu left on the mercy of their armed neighbours who had resisted disarmament. The security forces were accused of excessive use of force and violation of human rights. The government was unable to win the hearts of the local population resulting in little success for the operation.[92]

3.4.3   Operation Dumisha Amani (ODA) II

After minimal success in ODA 1, and with the continuation of the state of insecurity, the Kenyan government launched the second phase of disarmament dubbed as ODA II in 2010. The Kenyan government had realized that even with ODA I the pastoralists communities living in North Rift have used massive quantities of finances to by arms and dangerously arm themselves. The operation therefore targeted to collect a total of 50, 000 illegal weapons in the hands of these communities.[93]

ODA II was planned to cover both the North Rift and the Eastern region of Kenya that was also adversely affected by insecurity resulting from the armament of the local communities. This time the operation covered not only North Rift but also the Eastern region of the country. To gain support and credibility from the stakeholders and ownership from locals, ODA II planned at incorporating the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), local political leaders, the media, private sector and local community leaders.

[92]Wepundi, M., Ndung'u, J., andRynn, S. (2011). Lessons from the Frontiers: Civilian Disarmament in Kenya and Uganda. *Saferworld, p35.*
[93] Mkutu, K. A. & Wandera, G.(2013). Policing the Periphery: Opportunities and Challenges for Kenya Police Reserves. *Small Arms Survey Working Paper 15.* Geneva. Small Arms Survey, p19.

ODA II was also parallel to the *Vision 2030* blueprint of the provision of enabling environment for development for all Kenyans.[94]

ODA II commenced on February 2010 with a voluntary disarmament phase with the coercive exercise starting on April 2010. The programme was spearheaded by the government through the provincial administration, the Administration Police, the Kenya Police, the General Service Unit and the Military. Other stakeholders who were also utilized were the local chiefs and elders with the aim of convincing the locals especially on the voluntary phase, to cooperate in the exercise. Despite the fact that the local administration was fairly utilized in the programme, the general participation of the local community was minimal.[95] The operation managed to recover 1,201 firearms, 1,665 rounds of ammunition and the retrieval of 201 livestock that had been previously stolen. In terms of the success of ODA against the set target, it achieved minimal success.[96]

ODA II is however highly rated in terms of reducing attacks and revenge attacks among the community targeted. It also managed to decrease the confidence that the warring communities had of displaying weapons publicly. The provision of humane services by the military such as water, medical care, and livestock breeding among many others is another success story of ODA II. The negative perception that the local communities had harboured against the military was eroded by these humane activities and it went far in ascertaining that the military has a human face when interacting with civilians. Majority

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[94] Wepundi, M., Ndung'u, J., andRynn, S. (2011). Lessons from the Frontiers: Civilian Disarmament in Kenya and Uganda. *Saferworld, p35.*
[95] Wepundi, M, et al. (2012). Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of insecurity in Kenya: An Assessment. *Small Arms Survey Special Report, June 2012.* Geneva. Small Arms Survey, p35.
[96] Wepundi, M., Ndung'u, J., andRynn, S. (2011). Lessons from the Frontiers: Civilian Disarmament in Kenya and Uganda. *Saferworld, p 34.*

of the local community supported the continuation of the disarmament exercise and preached that the military would do so with a human face.[97]

ODA II faced a number of challenges including the failure to achieve the targeted number of weapons from the local communities. The failure of the voluntary disarmament resulted in the coercive one which led to the use of force, brutality and violations of human rights leading to a negative perception of the whole exercise. The promise of enhanced security was not fulfilled and it ended as a false promise. For example, the Samburu community resisted the ODA II and refused to disarm with the reflection of their experience with ODA 1 when their cooperation worked against them and were constantly attacked by their neighbours who refused to disarm. Therefore, ODA II was a total failure among the Samburu.[98]

3.5   Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has highlighted the genesis of the persistence, endemic violence and insecurity in Baringo County. The chapter has attempted to examine the effects of disarmament on human security and to establish the relationship between disarmament and the current conflicts, the effects of disarmament on human security and the challenges and interventions to disarmament in Baringo County. It has focused on several disarmament programmes that have been undertaken in Baringo County. The achievements and the challenges facing each of the disarmament phase has been illuminated.

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[97] Wepundi, M., Ndung'u, J., andRynn, S. (2011). Lessons from the Frontiers: Civilian Disarmament in Kenya and Uganda. *Saferworld p34.*
[98] Mkutu, K. A. & Wandera, G.(2013). Policing the Periphery: Opportunities and Challenges for Kenya Police Reserves. *Small Arms Survey Working Paper 15.* Geneva. Small Arms Survey, p 23.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION ANALYSIS

4.1   Introduction

The aim of this study was to assess the effects of disarmament on human security in Baringo County in Kenya in the period 1990-2010. To accomplish this, the study relied on three objectives; to establish the relationship between disarmament and the current conflicts in Baringo County, to determine the effects of disarmament on human security in Baringo County. Finally, the last objective was to assess the challenges and interventions to disarmament in Baringo County.

4.2   Relationship between disarmament and the current conflicts in Baringo County of Kenya

Though the disarmament exercise has been on-going in 2017, there have been mixed reactions from leaders and the general population of Baringo County. The Kenya Government has continuously undertaken disarmament exercises in Baringo County. However, there have been continued cases of insecurity as a result of increasing access of arms by the warring communities. This has increasingly posed significant challenges to the socio-economic, political and security risks of the people residing in the county. For example, widespread and recent incidences pertaining to insecurity and the proliferation of SALW in Baringo County have been documented.

This has led to the government of Kenya to undertake several disarmament exercises with the recent one in 2014-2016. The insecurity situation has attracted the attention of the local leaders and stakeholders who have petitioned the national government to conduct

forceful disarmament in the county. The leaders have unanimously agreed that persistent insecurity, arising from cattle rustling is the chief cause of loss of civilian lives, destruction and vandalism of property, displacement of persons and disruption of education.[99]

4.3   Disarmament Efforts in Kenya

In Kenya, disarmament efforts have historically been plagued by issues related to lack of policies and legislation, non-effective planning. The disarmament efforts by the colonial government were bedeviled by approaches and weaknesses that the colonial government often had on the targeted communities. The colonial government usually applied ruthless disarmament efforts of forceful confiscation of all sorts of weapons without giving much credence to the culture and social lives of the people.

The post-independent Kenya governments borrowed the colonial script of dealing with disarmament of local communities where excessive force was usually a precursor of the operations. Out of this forced disarmament, the communities involved usually harboured negative perception and usually resisted the disarmament through fleeing to the neighbouring and friendly neighbours together with the weapons targeted and only returned once the operation was over. The government strategy of deploying locally recruited Kenya Police Reservists to assist in securing the insecurity prone areas also seems to have failed with community leaders pointing to the fact that they had little faith in the KPR force.

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[99] Read more at: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000127501/baringo-leaders-call-for-forceful-disarmament-to-contain-rustling

Disarmament has had positive and negative effects on the security of residents in Kenya as a country. Of all disarmament exercises in Kenya, only Operation Dumisha Amani I and II were ever highly effective in reducing the civilian attacks and revenge attacks among the community targeted. The military provided humane services such as water, medical care, livestock vaccination and livestock breeding among many others to the local population. The exercise was able to change the negative perception that the local communities with most of the local community supporting the continuation of disarmament.

However, the negative effects of disarmament included the lack of the promised security to the communities that cooperated and surrendered their weapons like the Samburu. These communities were prone to continuous attacks by armed neighbours who had resisted disarmament. The security forces were accused of excessive use of force and violation of human rights. The government was unable to win the hearts of the local population resulting in little success for the operation. Again, the failure of the voluntary disarmament resulted in the coercive one which led to the use of force, brutality and violations of human rights leading to a negative perception of the whole exercise. The promise of enhanced security was not fulfilled and it ended as a false promise.

The success of disarmament is usually undermined by the fact that the targeted community is usually looking forward to rearmament immediately after the operation is over, because of the previous experiences whereby, the communities have come to know that the security forces will go back to wherever they came from, hence leaving them exposed to further raids by their neighbors. This often leads to an arms race among

neighbouring communities further escalating the security situation. The findings of this study have established that the challenge of a post-disarmament arms race characterizing communities is closely tied with the fear of attacks and reprisals aimed at weakening the targeted community firepower by rival communities. The respondents are willing to quickly rearm after disarmament operation since they are certain that attacks from other communities are imminent and if it gets them unprepared, all their possessions would be carted away with wanton loss of life among community members. This was witnessed in the aftermath of the disarmament in North Rift and upper Eastern in 2010 when the Ajuran clan from North Eastern Province prepared a successful attack on the Sakuye in Dabel, Moyale on 26th July 2010 after the later had surrendered their weaponly voluntarily through disarmament. In this raid, nine members of the Ajuran community were killed and livestock stolen.

This attack highlight the precarious states and synergies surrounding the armament and disarmament efforts and the need for the government to interlope myriad of security actors like local community, community leaders and civil society in the process of disarmament. It also highlights the need for perusal of the root causes of armament among pastoral communities and the need to address them in order to revert the unending cycles of armament and disarmament. There is also the need to address the need for sealing of the porous border between Kenya and the neighbouring countries which often acts as a conduit for illegal weapons.

4.4   Challenges Facing Disarmament Operations in Kenya

A number of challenges have continuously plagued the disarmament operations undertaken by the government throughout the years. Some of these challenges include the insensitivity of the disarmament efforts to the cultural diversity of the targeted communities, use of excessive force by the government forces, discriminatory targeting of some communities at the expense of others, (politicization of the disarmament process - the common cry by the political leaders of the affected communities that "my people are being targeted", lack of adequate planning for the operations among many others.[100]

In Kenya, a legislative framework of dealing with the menace of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) exists and which can be successfully deployed to mount successful mopping up campaigns for these illicit arms.[101] However, the government lacks requisite policy or legislation of enhancing and supporting disarmament exercises it has been unfolding since colonial era (like provision of adequate security to the disarmed communities). The policy on disarmament has only in the recent past shown attempts at being developed.[102]

Conflicts in neighbouring countries have also undermined the disarmament exercises in Kenya since illicit weapons from these countries always find their way into Kenya and in the process assisting the disarmed communities to disarm and continue with cattle raids

[100] Ndung'u J.(2010). *Analysis of Disarmament Approaches in Kenya and How to Make them Effective*, Paper Presented during RECSA Practical Disarmament Validation Workshop in Mombasa Kenya, p 30-31.
[101] Mwagiru M. (2008). Human Security: Setting the Agenda for the Horn of Africa, Kenya: Africa Peace Forum, p18.
[102] Saferworld, (2010).*Developing a Strategy to Respond to the Government of Kenya's Disarmament Programme*, Report of a Round-table Meeting Organized by Saferworld and The Great Lakes Parliamentary Forum on Peace, Nairobi,p110.

and such security-threatening activities. In Kenya, the availability and stock-piling of illicit weapons was also contributed by the post-election violence of 2007/8.

The government of Kenya has attempted to tackle the issue of proliferation of illegal weapons with such measures as governance, marginalization, under-development and cultural practices that are retrogressive through tackling the supply and demand factors of peace and security. Through devolution as stipulated in the Constitution of Kenya 2010, the government of Kenya aims at enhancing the aspects of good governance, marginalization and under-development through devolving the structures of government to the local units to spur development.[103]

There seems to be different disarmament trends applied by the government in both the rural and the urban areas. Occasionally, the police have been accused of using the unwritten policy of "shoot to kill" in the urban areas like Nairobi and Mombasa while confronting armed groups. Although these policies finally eliminate the targeted criminals and decrease the menace of armed criminals aiding in recovery of illegal arms, they fail in crippling the root cause of SALW in urban areas since they only temporarily deal with only the bearer of the illegal arms and fail to catch the gun smugglers.[104] The root causes of the formation of the armed gangs are left untouched ranging from issues such as unemployment, insecurity among many others. Disarmament in urban areas

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[103] Mwagiru M. (2008). Human Security: Setting the Agenda for the Horn of Africa, Kenya: Africa Peace Forum, p18.
[104] Mwagiru M. (2008). Human Security: Setting the Agenda for the Horn of Africa, Kenya: Africa Peace Forum, p18.

usually occur when the security forces encounter armed gangs recovering the arms they possess through surrenders or through gunning down the criminals.[105]

Disarmament in rural areas are normally referred to as "operations" a term with a military connotation that depicts the entire exercise as a military operation against communities targeting for the belief of having illicit arms that threatens the security of the neighbours. The gunships used deep into inaccessible areas are termed as the 'flying Burgs' or 'lotiriri' as commonly called by the pokot community in Tiaty of Baringo County. Disarmament in rural areas usually indiscriminately targets the entire community unlike in the urban areas where the targets are often individuals. Due to the secrecy that involves the disarmament operations in the rural areas, they are usually speculated and perceived as politicized and discriminatory in nature. The targeted community usually views the exercise as intended to weaken them and expose their possessions to rival communities. Therefore the disarmament exercises especially in rural areas lack adequate preparations and consultations involving the attempt to appeal to the local communities to show cooperation in the success of the operations.[106]

It is noted that the various disarmament exercises in Kenya have been planned with the sole purpose of mopping illegal weapons from individual and communities that hold them. The operations have however not reduced the quantity of the illegal weapons nor has it blunted the willpower of the merchants of these weapons in trafficking them to the

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[105] Ndung'u J.(2010). *Analysis of Disarmament Approaches in Kenya and How to Make them Effective*, Paper Presented during RECSA Practical Disarmament Validation Workshop in Mombasa Kenya, p 30-31.

[106] Saferworld, (2010).*Developing a Strategy to Respond to the Government of Kenya's Disarmament Programme*, Report of a Round-table Meeting Organized by Saferworld and The Great Lakes Parliamentary Forum on Peace, Nairobi, 110.

targeted communities and individuals. The policy has mostly collected thousands of arms which most of the times have turned out to be non-serviceable. Disarmament operations have mostly witnessed deployment of security forces with the sole motive of forceful disarming of communities using military hardware such as helicopter gunships and machine guns. However, these deployments of security forces are normally short-term which always leave the security threats intact and the same cycle of violence escalate once they are out of the operation area.[107]

The government strategy of amnesties to entice the community to voluntarily surrender their weapons to security agencies has often been used prior to forceful disarmament operations. The recent past has also witnessed the use of hybrid voluntary and forceful disarmament operations by the government in pastoralist areas like in Isiolo and Baringo counties. In addition, other strategies that are currently in use by the government are the use of consultations and involvement of community elders and leaders as well as the civil society especially immediately after the design stage of the operations. These approaches have had better results compared to the earlier practice of forceful disarmament operations. Cases in point are Operation Dumisha Amani I and II (Operation Restore Peace I and II).

In the case of operation Dumisha Amani I the success witnessed was occasioned by the strategy of consulting and involving the local community in the disarmament exercise. The community leaders and the civil society were also an integral partner in the

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[107] Ndung'u J.(2010). *Analysis of Disarmament Approaches in Kenya and How to Make them Effective*, Paper Presented during RECSA Practical Disarmament Validation Workshop in Mombasa Kenya, p 30-31.

operation. The operation was also successful due to the fact that the military forces made provisions for facilities and services like construction of roads, schools and health facilities to the local population as well as conducting mobile medical clinics. The military also cultivated cordial relationship with the targeted community which further led to the success of the exercise.[108]. Multiagency approach towards disarmament could even yield more lasting solution to rearmament.

It is noted that from Operation Dumisha Amani II the government seems to have borrowed and synchronized the concept of linkage of disarmament with development of the infrastructures of the targeted communities. The government also streamlined the objectives of Operation Dumisha Amani II with the Vision 2030 which purpose to create an enabling atmosphere for development.

It seems that apart from Operation Dumisha Amani I and II, all the other disarmament exercise in the pastoralist areas in Kenya have been ill-planned with only the knee-jerk reactions of deploying security forces to pursue cattle rustlers and bandits and rescue and recover the stolen animals without further planning on the recourse to the affected communities. These operations have only borne temporary restoration of peace and security which eventually deescalate once the security forces have left the operation scene. Again, these disarmament operations have failed to address the root causes of

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[108] Ndung'u J.(2010). *Analysis of Disarmament Approaches in Kenya and How to Make them Effective*, Paper Presented during RECSA Practical Disarmament Validation Workshop in Mombasa Kenya, p 30-31.

armament by the concerned communities and the need for permanent solutions at scaling back the insecurity in these regions.[109]

It is noted that disarmament exercises have never disaggregated the various categories of dealing with the problem of armament but have been wholesome. For instance, it has not attempted at reducing a particular type of weapon, or completely eliminating all types of weaponry, but have indiscriminately targeted all manner of arms netted in the operations. Sometimes as noted earlier on amnesties given to community members to voluntary surrender illegal weapons have witnessed handing over of unserviceable, archaic and obsolete weapon leaving sophisticated and lethal ones intact.

The nomadic style of living is another challenge that usually confronts the efforts at disarming the warring communities. Multiple disarmaments in the Rift Valley has mainly been undermined by the nomadic existence of the targeted communities. The membership of these communities usually migrates to safer areas once the threat of disarming them is unleashed. Further, nomadic communities have similarities in cultural and ethnic characteristics, lending the disarmament efforts impossible to succeed. For example, the Pokot of Kenya and the Ugandan Pokots are able to intermingle and protect one another freely when hiding away from disarmament on either side of the border. Likewise, the Turkana of Kenya and the Karamoja of Uganda are able to protect and preserve the interests of the other when disarmament efforts are directed at them.

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[109] Mwagiru M. (2008). Human Security: Setting the Agenda for the Horn of Africa, Kenya: Africa Peace Forum.

Selective disarmament on one side of the Kenya-Uganda-South Sudan borders has resulted in failure in the entire disarmament efforts. Lack of inter-state cooperation in the disarmament exercises has witnessed evasive efforts and migration by the targeted community, with the intention of hibernating till the operation is over. Disarmament exercises have also witnessed incidences of selective operations in one county leaving the disarmed communities at the mercy of their rivals.

4.5   Challenges and interventions to disarmament in Baringo County

There are several factors that may give explanation to the continuous rearmament of communities in Baringo County immediately after each of the disarmament activity. First, the government has consistently failed to provide sufficient security to the local population once the disarmament practice is over and the respective communities handed in their arms. This has necessitated the local communities to arm themselves for self-protection from marauding and armed neighbours. Abject poverty and the struggling livestock economy have not helped the situation with the local population disillusioned by the feeling of neglect and abandonment by the national government. The feeling by the locals of marginalization from the rest of the country in a marginalized region leaves the people with the only recourse as armament to secure their livelihood.

The existing context of minimal government security, presence of unending conflicting inter-community relations, constant cattle raids and competition for scarce water(which is becoming a securitized issue) and pasture resources is another challenge to the intervention process. The findings identified poverty and unemployment as the main causes of self-armament in Baringo County. Further, the proliferation of arms and the

lucrative arms trade fuel the armament of the local communities. Tied to this is the perceived minority status and marginalization of the local communities who feel that they have no numerical strength to influence political and economic policies in the country. Such groups usually reassert their claims and rights through the use of the force of arms.

<h1 align="center">CHAPTER FIVE</h1>

<h2 align="center">CONCLUSION AND RECCOMMENDATIONS</h2>

5.1   Conclusion

The study aimed at assessing the effects of disarmament on human security in Baringo County. The study relied on three objectives; to establish the relationship between disarmament and the current conflicts in Baringo County, to determine the effects of disarmament on human security in Baringo County. Finally, the last objective was to assess the challenges and interventions to disarmament in Baringo County. The target

population included the elders, youth, women and state security organs in Baringo County

Disarmament is still an urgent priority for the government of Kenya and the local community in Baringo County where small arms among the pastoral communities still wreak havoc leading to human insecurity. The sporadic and reactive disarmament by the government may however yield little as seen from the findings. The disarmament exercises have had disastrous consequences on the social, economic livelihood of the women and children in Baringo County. There is therefore need for the disarmament to consider the security implication of the women and children if success is to be achieved.

The local population including the women and the youth needs to be empowered to own the disarmament programs with policies designed to equip them with the knowledge to settle local disputes. Human needs perspective disarmament should be encouraged where the rights of women and children are respected in the pursuance of the intended disarmament from a human security approach. Unlike the previous sporadic disarmament initiatives, disarmament from a human needs perspective and pursued from a human security approach puts the needs of the women and children at the core.

5.2   Recommendations

Due to the continuous occurrence of conflicts in Baringo County, this study recommends that the disarmament efforts should continue in order to rid the area of illicit arms and ensure security of the local population. However, disarmament should be cautiously undertaken to avoid brutal consequences on human security that will act as a catalyst for the demand for weapons.

The governments should provide security to the populace especially after the disarmament process to win over the support of the local population. The government should also initiate development to avert demand for weapons. Those who disobey voluntary handing in of arms should be forcefully disarmed. However, a long term process that entails the human needs approach should be implemented.

5.3   Areas for further research

1. A study on the effects of disarmament on the security of women and children should be carried out in Baringo County.

2. The study on the effects of disarmament on human security in Baringo County should be undertaken in other areas like Laikipia Counties that have had similar experiences of disarmament for comparative purposes.

3. There is need for a study on the challenges facing disarmament efforts in Kenya

4. A study on the root causes of disarmament should be undertaken especially amongst communities that have already witnessed the operations and thereafter rearmed.

5. An in-depth study on the comparative analysis of the disarmament efforts in urban and rural areas in Kenya should be undertaken.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Is the current disarmament operation in Baringo Country necessary?

    a) Yes   ( )

    b) No   ( )

    If Yes, give reasons
    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....

    If No, give reasons
    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....

2. Have the past disarmament operations affected the current conflict in Baringo County?

    a) Yes   ( )

    b) No   ( )

    If Yes, give reasons
    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....

    If No, give reasons
    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....

3. List the achievement of the disarmament exercise in Baringo County.

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4. List the failures of the disarmament conflict in Baringo County.

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5. How has disarmament affected the human security in Baringo County?

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6. List the challenges that have resulted due to the disarmament efforts in Baringo County.

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