

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO CONFLICT DYNAMICS IN NORTHERN
KENYA:**

A CASE STUDY OF MARSABIT COUNTY 1994-2012

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DECLARATION

I, hereby declare that this project is my original work and has not been submitted for any other University

Signature..... Date

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

Dr. Ibrahim Farah

Signature..... Date.....

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this work to my dad Mr. Baqe Durito, My mum Mrs. Kila Baqe and all my siblings for their overwhelming support to see me comfortably complete the study.

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I would like to thank the almighty God for this wonderful opportunity to complete my master's degree. I thank the almighty God for the constant provisions, protection and good health throughout my study period. I wish to acknowledge my profound gratitude to the following respectable persons whose concerted effort I value during the period of my study.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the conflict dynamics in Northern Kenya. The dynamics of conflict in Northern Kenya is probably the most spectacular one in the history of conflict in Kenya since the colonial period. The historical neglect coupled with marginalization and harsh environmental conditions has rendered Northern Kenya to be one of the neediest regions in Kenya. While looking at the bigger picture of Northern Kenya, this study specifically focuses on Marsabit County for the period between 1994 to 2012 by examining the dynamics of ethnic conflict, resource based conflict, marginalization and the cross-border influence. The lack of enough resources for livelihood intertwined with tribal rivalry has been evidenced as perpetuating conflict in Marsabit County. This conflict is accompanied by political instigation of local people where community groups have been living in animosity because of conflict of interest and ownership. The main aim of this study is to understand that ethnicity may not be the only cause of conflict and that there is more to resource-based conflict, cross border factors and marginalization as the underlying issues in conflict. Based on the research questions, the study uses both primary and secondary data in obtaining information. In terms of primary data, a structured questionnaire, and interviews were administered while in secondary data archival information from related literatures was used. The study further informs that scarce water resource, and pasture land are the key elements of conflict in the resource based conflict. Moreover, tribal rivalry, politics, conflict of interest and ownership are found to have contributed to the precipitation of ethnic conflict in Marsabit. This research aims at establishing the different conflict dynamics in the Marsabit County and why those dynamics continue to occur. Emphasis is placed on the significance of understanding the nature of conflict from four major perspectives such as tribalism, resource based conflict, cross border factors and marginalization of environment in the largely pastoral community of Northern Kenya. Other complexities such as poor leadership, high way banditry, cattle rustling, and smuggling of illicit firearms are found to be the elements within the problem of marginalization. The research proposes feasible recommendations by borrowing from Paul Lederach's model of conflict transformation as a way of managing the ethnic conflict. The research further gives recommendation based on all elements of conflict and how they can well be dealt with.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASAL	Arid and Semi Arid Land
BBC	British Broadcasting Cooperation
CABI	Center for Agricultural Bioscience International
CDC	Conservation Development Center
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning System
CJPC	Catholic Justice Peace Commission
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DPMF	Development Policy Management Forum
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African State
FHK	Food for the Hungry Kenya
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOK	Government of Kenya
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
ILRI	Integrated Livestock Research Institute
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Network
KACAAL	Kenya Adaptation to Climate Change in the Arid Land
KSH	Kenya Shillings
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NGO	Non Governmental Organizations
NFD	Northern Frontier Districts
OAD	Overview of African Development
OAU	Organization of African Union

OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PEFA	Pentecostal Fellowship of Africa
RSC	Red Cross Society
SID	society for international Development
TJRC	Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNMIT	United Nations Mission in Timor Leste
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollar

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CHAPTER ONE

AN INVESTIGATION INTO CONFLICT DYNAMICS IN NORTHERN KENYA- A CASE STUDY OF MARSABIT COUNTY 1994-2012.

1.0 Background of the study

Conflict has been a huge reality especially in the sub-Saharan Africa. However, some conflicts are acknowledged more than others and have had attention from international community to intervene. In the case of Horn of Africa, conflict continues to occur among the marginalized and pastoral community who mostly live in harsh environment. Northern Kenya is one of the areas where conflict happens among the pastoral community but unfortunately has had less international acknowledgement and often go unnoticed. The story of Kenya's Northern Province is one of the longstanding neglect and discrimination at the hands of successive authorities¹

Since independence, Northern Kenya has continued to be in isolation greatly. The region is not well integrated into the national economy, and it has very limited political leverage.² Being at the border zone, the northern Kenya experiences conflict both from within and across border. The proliferation of the small firearms is already a great security concern in the larger northern Kenya and is slowly affecting communities neighboring the region.³

¹ Ali Abdi, "A dissertation on Education, conflict and Development: The case of Northern Kenya" (Master's thesis, Institute of Education, University of London, December 4, 2012) p.9 see also Kenya Human Rights watch 2009

² Conservation Development Centre, *International Institute for Sustainable Development and Safeworld, Climate Change and Conflict: lessons from community conservancies in northern Kenya*, (November 2009), P.5

³ Opiyo et al, "Resource-based conflict in drought prone north-western Kenya: the drivers and mitigation mechanisms." *Wudpecker Journal of Agricultural Research*, Vol. 1, no 11 (December 2012): pp. 444

Resource based conflict has been at the center of perpetuating conflict with in the pastoralists region of Kenya. The pastoralist societies in Kenya's arid lands frequently experience severe conflicts over access to water and pasture, they are subject to cattle rustling and highway banditry and are frequently caught up in politically motivated violence.⁴ Within the larger northern Kenya, is the second largest county in Kenya called Marsabit. Marsabit County is located in the North Central area Kenya, bordering Ethiopia to the North, Wajir County to the East and Turkana, Samburu and Isiolo counties to the West and South.⁵

Marsabit is comprised of five districts including: Marsabit North and Central and North Horr, Loiyangalani and Laisamis. The County covers a vast area of 70,961Km², covering approximately 12% of the territory of Kenya.⁶ The county's population has surged over the years and it is to be noted that Marsabit has a population estimated at 291,166 according to 2009 census.⁷ One of the causes of violent conflicts involves cattle rustling between the Borana and Gabra, Rendille and Gabra/Borana, and Borana and Somali clans in Marsabit and Isiolo.⁸

The problem of tribal rivalry and differences is pronounced in the county even though most tribes have Cushitic origin. In addition, as elsewhere in the country, ethnic identities and divisions inform and often intensify conflict.⁹ In the case of Marsabit inter clan and tribal rivalry has often shown up. This has further led to tribal clashes among the key communities in the region. The conflict dynamic has at the same time had international dynamic where bordering communities from Ethiopia

⁴ T. Chopra, *Building Informal Justice in Northern Kenya*, (Nairobi Kenya: legal resource foundation trust, December 2008) p.5

⁵ ACTED. *Assessment report Northern Kenya* (July-August 2011)

⁶ Ibid,

⁷ Ibid,

⁸ M. Odhiambo, *Impact of Conflict in pastoral communities, Resilience in the Horn of Africa: case studies from Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda* (Nakuru, February 2012) p.21

⁹ *Conservation Development Centre, Op. cit* p.5

affected by the conflict tend to show interest in supporting their community groups either by giving safe hiding place or by way of coming in and attacking the opponents. The conflict in Northern Kenya affects as far as the border of Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda where the same ethnic group of larger Northern Kenya are found.

Leadership tussle and bad governance of past regime are some of the problems in the county. The most tremendous challenge that the communities in Marsabit face is the need to have a new and pragmatic leadership equipped with new ideas to propel the region forward¹⁰ In many cases the leadership tend to only have biased orientation rather than have regional outlook.

This paper will seek to determine key elements that perpetuate conflict in Marsabit and Northern Kenya and how such conflict can be well explained.

1.1 Statement of the research problem

Conflict is an ongoing occurrence around the globe. Conflict is all over and most often result due to incompatibility of goals between or among communities. It can be conflict over scarce resources, political interest, tribal animosity, ownership aspects, marginalization or cross boarder influence among others.

The Horn of Africa region is greatly characterized by myriad of challenges. From the great Sudan to civil war in Somalia, to conflict in Ethiopia and Eriteria, the occurrence of conflict has become a common experience. In effect this has deteriorated the socio-economic, political and environmental wellbeing of the society.

In Kenya, Conflict of Ethnic nature and resource base is at its peak especially over issues of land and historical injustices. In Northern Kenya area of Marsabit County, Conflict has continued to occur in different forms at different times. Among

¹⁰ PRAGYA. *conflict assessment northern Kenya* p.22, see also Wafula 2007

the communities of Marsabit county, pastoralist society are the most affected in the changing paradigm of conflict within the region. The northern Kenya has had major problem with communities such as Borana, Gabra, Rendille, Turkana, Samburu fighting over scarce water resource and pastureland for their livestock and livelihood.

Poverty, lack of alternative livelihood, illiteracy, ignorance, proliferation of illicit arms, cattle rustling, banditry on the highway, political instigation, and scarce resource distribution are common in the Northern Kenya particularly in Marsabit county. While clashes erupted between Garre and Ajuran in Wajir in July 2000, Marsabit County has had major conflict of tribal nature since the 1990s. In 1994 there was conflict between the Borana and Burji community in central and Gadamoji division of Marsabit County. Even though it was immediately calmed down, a new wave of difference has continued to emerge with the coalition of Rendile, Gabra, and Burji communities merging to gunner for political position as opposed to the dominant community of Borana. Still in the 1990s, there were conflict between Gabra and Borana, Borana and Rendile, Rendile and Gabra and attacks from Samburu community from the south of Marsabit especially on Cattle rustling and highway banditry.

With the coming of the new millennium, major conflict has continued to happen in Marsabit County. A bloody atrocity was experienced in Torbi area where Borana communities and Gabra communities fought hard making Torbi attack a major atrocity that occurred in Marsabit County. A lot of lives were lost, and thousands of properties were stolen, while many more people were displaced just in the name of conflict. This triggered a subsequent retaliation from the affected community making the situation in Marsabit worse.

In addition, Marsabit County continue to experience border influences from the neighboring countries of Ethiopia where a militia group in the neighboring countries instigate conflict especially in the North area of Marsabit by way of bringing small firearms and also causing sporadic killings among the communities. In the Walda area for example, communities from the neighboring zones of the Ethiopian border come as far as the territory within Kenyan border in search of water and pasture for their livestock. Consequently, conflict arises over the scarcity of resources and the usage of those resources by outsiders making attacks occur a number of times. Incidence of cattle rustling and sporadic killings from one community has thus resulted to communities in other territories nurse grudge and retaliate as a means of paying back the loss.

There are also instances of negligent leadership in the county. Leaders who are selfish and inclined on their tribal affiliation and conflict of interest are a common occurrence in Marsabit. Even though the boarder conflict got suppressed since the 2002, there is still sporadic killings and outbreak of conflict among the protagonist tribe of Gabra and Borana to date. Since July 2009, communities living in the South of Marsabit have been in constant conflict with the dominant tribe of Borana with Samburu, Rendille, and Turkana fighting with Borana at different intervals over livestock related incidents.

The present situation of Marsabit County is very fragile even though conflict appears to be suppressed on the surface. The unity of minority tribes of Rendile, Gabra, and Burji has of recent formed a major ethnic alliance which has continued to gain more political leverage especially since 2010 over the dominant community of Borana. With this emerging drift, the potential for conflict to arise within the county

especially in the leadership tussle is very evident if early warning mechanisms are not put in place.

1.2 Objectives of the study

This study broadly aims at investigating ways in which the resource based conflict coupled with ethnic animosity may contribute to conflict among communities of Northern Kenya. The key guiding question of this study is; whether marginalization and resource scarcity can contribute to conflict in Northern Kenya with Marsabit County as the case study.

The specific objectives are thus to:

Specific objectives

1. Critically analyze historical perspective of ethnicity and the nature of conflict related to it in Marsabit County,
2. Investigate the main causes of conflict in Marsabit County,
3. Identify key elements in resource based conflict in Marsabit County.

1.3 Justification of the study

The study contributes that conflict in northern Kenya and particularly in Marsabit County is not only caused by resource scarcity but also by a myriad of other issues as well. In terms of resource scarcity, the northern Kenya is probably the most pronounced locality where pastoralists fight over scarce pasture and water resource. The pastoralist societies in Kenya's arid lands frequently experience severe conflicts

over access to water and pasture, they are subject to cattle rustling and highway banditry and are frequently caught up in politically motivated violence.¹¹

Competition over scarce pasture and water is often severe and violent. Cattle rustling, traditionally practiced, has become more destructive with increasing poverty and proliferation of illicit arms and the influence of external political and economic motives.¹² Critical natural resources such as water remain the most scarce basics in the district.¹³

Moreover, the nature of conflict that appears in Marsabit County has both political and economic connotations. The pattern of conflict considerably changes in season. Among the tribes of Marsabit such as Borana, Gabra, Rendille, Burji, Samburu, Turkana and so on, conflict has had rotational phenomena where today it is Borana and Gabra fighting while tomorrow it is Gabra and Rendile and the cycle goes on often repeating among the major tribes of Borana, Gabra and Rendille considerably. These conflicts, though taking place at local levels, have involved complex legal, political and economic dynamics that extend from local to national, and even regional dimensions encompassing the communities and their allies elsewhere in Ethiopia and across the border in Kenya.¹⁴ It should be noted, that ethnic animosity and tribal rivalry has manifested in a number of occasions within the Marsabit County. In addition, as elsewhere in the country, ethnic identities and divisions inform and often intensify conflict.¹⁵

The dynamics of conflict in Northern Kenya may generally be categorized into a number of issues. This study will venture into looking at contributing issues on

¹¹ T. Chopra, 2008 *Op. cit*, p.5

¹² PRAGYA, *Op. cit* p.2

¹³ District drought management officer, *Marsabit district annual progress report* (July 2006-June 2007) p,5

¹⁴ M. Odhiambo, *Op. cit*, p.5

¹⁵ *Conservation Development Centre, 2009 Op. cit*, p.5

conflict by particularly analyzing the major contributing factor of conflict within the region. It further, informs us why conflict happening at different intervals appears among the communities that live in Marsabit County. This study will contribute towards building on the existing literature while at the same time realizing the gap in the literature and subsequently criticizing or adding to the existing literature in an effort to help in policy recommendations in ways of dealing with conflict transformation not only in Northern Kenya but also beyond. The finding will form the basis for recommendations for policy makers as well as practitioners in Conflict management, Diplomacy, and Internal Law.

1.4 Literature Review

This literature review section will be divided into three sub sections to give views from array of scholars, academics and other contributors in the area of conflict and its dynamics. This part will encompass review on Conflict as a literature, Review of Conflict resolution and transformation, and finally Review on Northern Kenya.

1.4.1 Conflicts

Barcovitch quotes the definition of conflict according to Webster's in asserting that Conflict, refers either to a violent dispute or to an incompatibility of positions.¹⁶ Jeong observes that despite its application to a variety of situations, the definition of conflict has traditionally been relegated to competition for resources or other interests, value differences or dissatisfaction with basic needs.¹⁷

¹⁶ J.Bercovitch et al., 'Introduction: The Nature of Conflict and Conflict Resolution, the sage handbook of conflict resolution p. 3

¹⁷ H. W. Jeong., 'Conflict Management and Resolution', sage publication, NY, 2010 P.5

Jeong further concludes that differences in perceived interests, values, and needs are perhaps the most basic elements in the motivations behind social conflict.¹⁸

Kriesberg demonstrates that the analysis of conflict requires attention not only to its strategic, military, and diplomatic dimensions, but also to its economic, psychological, cultural, and social-structural dimensions.¹⁹ This is well explained by human security agenda in which lack of sufficient human need approach can trigger conflict. Kriesberg further alludes that conflict occurs when these interests clash: when attainment of one parties interests (and fulfillment of the needs that underlie them) threatens, or is perceived to threaten the interests (and needs) of the other.²⁰ He goes on and concurs with Barton in saying that “dispute” sometimes refers to contestations over matters that are negotiable and contain the elements of compromise, whereas “conflict” is about issues that involve deep-rooted human needs.²¹

Jeong concurs with Boulding that in general, conflict is most popularly described as ‘a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources.’²² When there is insufficiency in any zone, community groups and livelihood have high tendency of competing over the available resource in order to survive.

Zartman on the other hand illustrates that Conflicts that cost little have littler reason for settlement; they just simmer along, waiting for the moment when they can

¹⁸ H. W. Jeong., ‘Understanding Conflict and Conflict analysis’, sage publication, London 2008 p. 9

¹⁹ L. Kriesberg, “the conflict resolution field”. in *peacemaking in international conflict : methods and techniques*, eds. William Zartman, (Washington DC: united states institute of peace, 2007), p.69

²⁰ Ibid, p.71

²¹ Ibid, p.39 see also Barton 1990.

²² H. Jeong, *Understanding Conflict and Conflict analysis* (London: sage publication, 2008), p. 5

boil over.²³ This can be supported by the mediation effort that waited for a ripe moment in the 2007/2008 Kenya's Post Election Violence in which mediator Kofi Annan had to intervene to settle the stalemate which ended in February 2008.

Lehal agrees with Project Ploughshares in defining armed conflict as a political conflict in which armed combat involves the armed forces of at least one state and in which at least 1,000 people have been killed by the fighting during the course of the conflict.²⁴

Schirch mentions that conflict occurs when people perceive that some want to satisfy their needs in a way that obstructs or threatens the needs of others. She further demonstrates that conflict is constructive when people develop ways to satisfy the needs of all involved.²⁵

Galtung demonstrates that conflict involves parties in some kind of incompatibility.²⁶ He further puts it that there are two basic incompatibilities: one is over relatively clearly formulated, explicit values like a piece of territory, a commercial right; the other is over more implicit interests like the mutually incompatible interests between slaves and slave-owners, colonies and colonial countries, the exploited and the exploiters, the repressed and the repressors.²⁷

According to Conservation Development Center et al²⁸, Conflict is the result of two or more parties (individuals or groups) having, or perceiving to have, incompatible goals and interests and acting upon these differences. Hendel et al

²³ Pamela Aall et al, "peacemaking in international conflict : methods and techniques". In in *peacemaking in international conflict : methods and techniques*, eds. William Zartman, (Washington DC: united states institute of peace, 2007), p. 18

²⁴ J. Lehal, "Gendered battlefield: a contextual and comparative analysis of women participation in armed conflict in Africa." *Volume 4* issue 2 (2010) pp.2-17

²⁵ L Schirch, *Strategic Peace Building: A vision and framework for peace with Justice*, (Pennsylvania USA: Good Books, 2004), p. 22

²⁶ J Galtung, *Theories of conflict: Definition, Dimension, Negation, Formations*, (Jandal and Alfaz, August 2009), p. 125

²⁷ Ibid, p. 125

²⁸ *Conservation Development Centre, Op. cit, P.4*

concur with Marquis and Huston in a book published in 1996 in defining conflict as the internal discord that results from differences in ideas, values or feelings between two or more people.²⁹

1.4.2 Conflict resolution and Conflict transformation

Reimann asserts that Conflict resolution refers to all process oriented activities that aim to address the underlying causes of direct, cultural and structural violence.³⁰ He further elaborates that Conflict resolution then aims to eliminate the conflict as such; rather, it is held that conflict expressed in a non-violent manner is an essential catalyst for social change.³¹

Kriesberg observes that Conflict resolution efforts therefore, require promotion of a different kind of interaction, capable of reversing the escalatory and self-perpetuating dynamics of conflict: an interaction conducive to sharing perspectives, differentiating enemy images, and developing a language of mutual reassurance and a new discourse based on the norms of responsiveness and reciprocity.³²

Ganguli and Macduff demonstrate that Conflict management entails the establishment of a peace process, which would allow for maximizing the potential benefits accruing from the conflict while at the same time minimizing the destructive consequences unleashed by it.³³

²⁹ T. Hendel et al, " leadership style and choice of strategy in conflict management among Israeli nurse managers in general hospital. " *Tel aviv Israel Journal of nursing management*, no.13 (2005) pp. 137-146

³⁰ C. Reimann, *Assessing the State-of-the-Art in Conflict Transformation* (Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management), p. 9 or. <http://www.bergof.handbook.net>

³¹ Ibid, p. 9

³² L. Kriesberg, 2007, *Op. cit*, p. 71

³³ R. Ganguli and I. Macduff. *Ethnic Conflict & Secessionism in South & southeast Asia: Causes Dynamics, Solutions*, (New Delhi, India: sage publication, 2003), p. 17. See also Jacob Bercovitch and Allison Houston. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996), p. 11.

Reimann examines that while Burton does not spell out under what conditions all needs might be satisfied at the same time, he does urge practitioners to deepen and broaden the analysis of conflict to better clarify both needs and relations.³⁴

Hendel further reiterates Fisher 2000 in saying that Conflict resolution is prescribed not simply as a mechanism for dealing with difficult differences within an existing social system, but also as an approach that can facilitate constructive social change towards a responsive and equitable system.³⁵

Miall in elaborating conflict resolution theorists argues that it is possible to transcend conflicts if parties can be helped to explore, analyse, question and reframe their positions and interests.³⁶ He further expounds in saying that conflict resolution focuses on intervention by skilled but powerless third parties working unofficially with the parties to foster new thinking and new relationships.³⁷

Thomas Jaye looks at transformation from the perspective of human security in saying that Human security is not just about meeting the basic needs of people; it is also about transforming the oppressive power structures of society and so is about emancipation.³⁸

Miall concurs with Rupesinghe (1995,1998) that conflict transformation is a broad approach incorporating conflict resolution training and Track I interventions including diplomatic interventions and peacekeeping.³⁹

³⁴ Ibid, p.9

³⁵ T. Hendel et al, 2005 *Op. cit*, p.137

³⁶ H. Miall, *Conflict Transformation: A Multi-dimensional task*, (Berg of research center for constructive Conflict Management, Aug. 2004), p.3

³⁷ Ibid, p.3

³⁸ T. Jaye and S. Amadi, eds, *consolidating regional security: beyond security sector reform*”(CODESRIA)

³⁹ H. Miall, *Conflict Transformation: A Multi-dimensional task*, (Berg of research center for constructive Conflict Management, Aug. 2004), p.3

Miall reiterates in informing us that it is also possible for conflict to be transformed, as parties shift positions and adopt new goals, new actors emerge and new situations develop allowing for new relationships and changed structures.⁴⁰

Lederach suggests that training for conflict transformation and mediation must envision cultural knowledge as a key resource in both the creation and development of models appropriate to a given setting.⁴¹ Lederach further elaborates that transformation suggests a dynamic understanding that conflict can move in destructive or constructive direction but purposes an effort to maximize the achievement of constructive, mutually beneficial processes and outcome.⁴²

1.4.3. Northern Kenya

Government of Kenya 2012 observes that the phrase ‘Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands’ in the title of the Ministry refers to an area that is commonly called the ASALs (arid and semi-arid lands), and that covers nearly 90% of the country.⁴³ GOK 2008 articulates that Northern Kenya covers close to 400,000km² of land but has less than 700km of tarmac road, most of which is in disrepair.⁴⁴

Ruto et al, demonstrate that it is estimated that the ASAL are home to 20% of Kenya’s total population according to GOK,2007, which would translate to around 8.75 million people.⁴⁵ The GOK further highlights that the defining feature of Northern Kenya is its separation from the rest of the country, which is evident not just

⁴⁰ Ibid,

⁴¹ J.P. Lederach, *preparing for peace: conflict transformation across cultures* (New York: Syracuse University press, 1995), p. 10

⁴² Ibid, p. 10

⁴³ Republic of Kenya office of the prime minister, National policy for the sustainable development of Northern Kenya and other arid lands, sessional paper no. 8 of 2012 (Nairobi, Oct 11, 2012), P.3

⁴⁴ Ibid, p.8

⁴⁵ Sarah Ruto et al., *Educational Marginalization in Northern Kenya*, (Kenya: paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010), p.8

in the wide developmental gap between the region and the rest of Kenya but in socio-cultural attitudes and perceptions.⁴⁶

GOK 2012 reiterates that Northern Kenya displays many of the characteristics of remote rural areas caught in chronic poverty traps, which face multiple and interlocking forms of disadvantage. Isolation, insecurity, weak economic integration, limited political leverage, and challenging natural environment combine to produce high levels of risk and vulnerability. Further, it fears that in popular imagination, Northern Kenya and other arid lands are associated with insecurity and violence.⁴⁷ These perceptions deter investment and undermine development.⁴⁸

According to GOK report of 2012, the security infrastructure is inadequate for such a large area with poor communication networks, a dispersed population, and a heavy presence of illegal firearms. Insecurity in this border region has international ramifications, but there is no comprehensive regional framework governing cross-border interaction.⁴⁹ In contrast, according to CDC, Northern Kenya in general and the pastoralist lifestyle in particular is often associated with violent conflict.⁵⁰ It is further emphasized that Northern Kenya is the most marginalized and underdeveloped region of Kenya, lacking in basic service provision and receiving a smaller proportion of national resources than other region of the country.⁵¹

Idris concurs with Republic of Kenya 2004 that over 50% of Kenyans are living below the poverty line and North Eastern Province has the highest poverty

⁴⁶ *Republic of Kenya office of the prime minister, Oct 11,2012, Op. cit, p. 5*

⁴⁷ *Ibid,P.17*

⁴⁸ *Ibid, P.17*

⁴⁹ *Ibid, P.17*

⁵⁰ *Conservation Development Centre, Op. cit, p.4*

⁵¹ *Ibid,*

incidence of 58%.⁵² He further laments that large parts of the ASAL such as Northern Kenya attract the lowest and poorest service delivery⁵³

1.5. Theoretical Framework

The link between conflict dynamics and its management aspect has been largely seen in the mind of scholars such as Paul Lederach⁵⁴. Paul Lederach articulates the theory of conflict transformation as the best approach of dealing with protracted conflict. Miall concurs with Lederach's take that conflict transformation must actively envision, include, respect and promote human and cultural resources from within a given setting.⁵⁵ What Lederach observes is that the conflict is being solved well if people and resource within the setting actively involve in solving it. In essence, Lederach as much as believing the outsider aspect of intervening in conflict, zeros it that, bringing the long and sustainable stability of conflict happens when the people within the context and the setting take action in going about it.

While mentioning on peace building model we should have in mind Lederach and colleague such as Neufedt and Culberstson who concur with the same notion with Lederach. This model sees that conflict is being deep-rooted, and involving broken social relationships and sociological dynamics of interpersonal and intergroup conflict.⁵⁶ In the case of Northern Kenya, we see scarce resource as unmet need and the problem of identity both within individual and communal setting that result to emanation of conflict. Lederach, is right when he says that the characteristic of such

⁵² Ali Abdi, *Reaching Nomadic Communities in Wajir-Kenya: Challenges and Opportunities*, (UK: University of Birmingham, June 2010), P.13

⁵³ A.Idris, "Taking the camel through the eye of a needle: Enhancing pastoral resilience through education policy in Kenya." volume 2. (March 2011): p. 26

⁵⁴ H. Miall, 2004 *Op. cit*, p.4

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ R. Salm and Clarence Shibert. *Literature Review of Evaluation approaches for education strategies for peacebuilding and approach for the evaluability assessment of UNICEF's peacebuilding, education and advocacy program*. (The Konterra Group, December 2012), p.20

conflict include marginalized population, poverty, inequality, lack of development, group collective issues, acceptance of armed confrontation, availability of small arms, and direct conflict that is more communal than international.⁵⁷

In our theoretical framework we go with Lederach's conflict transformation theory even though there is the aspect of human need theory particularly in the case of Marsabit County. The problem with the human need theory is that it only addresses the needs in a short term and tends to forget the long term ramification of conflict.

The fundamental theoretical assumption of conflict transformation theory is that it makes sure that structures and social relationships finds a basis in helping out in solving conflict dynamics in a long term perspective. In this case, Lederach encourages transformation of three interrelated areanas, structures, social relationships, and peace infrastructure, and relationship building through reconciliation activities concentrating on truth, justice, mercy and peace.⁵⁸ This theory as described is able to explain the dynamics of conflict and its causal relationship among communities of northern Kenya. With this theory we are able to tell the intricacies revolving around the conflict scenarios by looking at the root causes of it which will tell us whether the conflict is only as a result of resource scarcity, or unmet need, or ethnic animosity. This theory can be useful in guiding us on providing policy and strategic interventions for sustainable peace hence minimize the different patterns of conflict both in Northern Kenya and beyond.

1.6. Research Questions

1. What is the nature of conflicts related to ethnicity in Marsabit County?

⁵⁷ Ibid, p.21

⁵⁸ Ibid,

2. What are the main causes of conflicts in Marsabit County?
3. What are the key elements in resource based conflicts in Marsabit County?

1.7. Hypothesis

Broadly stated, the thesis of this research is that resource based conflict coupled with ethnic rivalry are likely to lead to conflict and violence in the Northern Kenya

The following hypothesis will be tested:

1. Ethnicity and tribal rivalry is the main cause of ethnic conflict in Marsabit County
2. Water and pasture resources are the main element of conflict in resource based conflict in Marsabit County
3. Marginalization, and cross border influence contribute to highway banditry and cattle rustling

1.8. Research Methodology

In this study data was collected from both the secondary and primary data. In terms of the secondary data, the methodology relied on reading the literature review. The secondary data used are books, journals, communiqués, and articles. The books used are conflict and peace building related books and a huge volume of online E books accessed normally online. In the E book section, it is also easy to get other materials such as communiqué's and several articles on the subject of my study.

In addition to collecting data from the sources, the use of reference book by thesis student from the University of Nairobi gave a guide to my research method. It was also important that during the exercise, more consultations were made on the knowledgeable persons who guided on the methodology and style.

The primary data on the other hand was obtained by using a survey research methodology where structured questionnaires were administered to different respondents within the study. There were two categories of respondents interviewed during this study: they include both individual and collective members of the community. In the category of individual members the study administered questionnaires to 20 individuals within the Marsabit County. The respondents were randomly selected from Marsabit Central, North Horr District, Moyale District, and also Gadamoji, and Karare division of Marsabit County. Each individual filled a questionnaire on the views they have regarding the subject matter and the subject in question.

In addition, two focus group discussions were formulated. The first focus group consisted of 6 persons where as the second group composed of 7 persons. The number of focus group persons was 13. Finally 7 individual interviews were additionally conducted. In total there were 40 respondents. While administering the focus group discussion, diverse communities were considered in the group to give a wider view on the questions administered.

As it is evident, the communities living in the area of study are heterogeneous and therefore, a random selection was done in three major areas of Marsabit central, Marsabit North, and Moyale district.

The scope and limitation of this study is confined to Northern Kenya's Conflict which took place from the year 1994 to 2012. As much as it touches on the dynamics of conflict in the larger Northern Kenya, the study is only limited to Marsabit County. In terms of the respondents, the study is specific in only interviewing persons above the age of 18 years and less than 50 years. The category of the methodology used is three fold consisting of the structured questionnaires, the

interviews, and the focus group discussion. The concentration was on the local communities who have lived in Marsabit for many years and have experienced the dynamics of conflict first hand.

In terms of limitation, this study required a wide array of literature on Northern Kenya but there was not enough of it at the University Library. However, it was not an easy task getting scholarly sources from E books and other areas to search for relevant literature.

The collecting of primary data has also not been easy. First of all it required enough time to be able to find a proper source. At the same time, some writers have written a bit ambiguous about the study and it was an uphill task to extract the point from the book and make it appear appealing. Meeting with different category of respondent both required cost implications as well as prior appointments. It required patience waiting for the respondents to look at their schedule and give time for meeting.

Similarly, covering the entire Northern Kenya especially the Marsabit County is a huge task. It was not easy going to different locations as there was lack of good road from one place to another. Also, there was not enough resource and time to exhaust meeting with the target respondents and representatives of entire community.

1.9. Chapter outline

The study is categorized into five chapters. The first chapter is the background of the research study. It basically shows an idea of the task of the subject under study as well as showing what the study intends to accomplish. It includes subjects such as Introduction to the study, the statement of the research problem, the objectives of the

study, justification of the study, the Literature Review, the theoretical framework, the hypothesis, the Research methodology, and the chapter outline.

Chapter two explores historical and contextualized analysis of conflict in Africa and across the world. It delves into analyzing the resource based conflict while at the same time looking at the key factors in conflict in Africa. With this, it brings into picture the major components and causes of conflict in the Horn of Africa and specifically Northern Kenya. While looking at the causes of conflict, the chapter gives an overview of key dynamics of conflict in Africa. Further, challenges that embed pastoralists' communities are highlighted while in the later discussions an in-depth historical perspective of Northern Kenya's Conflict is widely discussed. There are also the management aspects of conflict especially the management of cross border conflict in relation to bodies, organizations or stakeholders that have thrived to help in the process of conflict mitigation.

Chapter three provides an in-depth examination by putting reference to conflict case study in Marsabit County. It looks at the historical perspective of conflict dynamic with a particular bias on resource, marginalization, ethnic rivalry and the internationalization of conflict in Marsabit County. Other contributing factors in conflict are also mentioned in this chapter.

Chapter four gives a critical analysis of the gathering from both primary and secondary data on the case study. It focuses on the findings and profoundly stresses the emerging issues from those findings. The findings will be married with the reality that happens in Northern Kenya especially the Marsabit County. This chapter examines those findings in order to derive at a conclusion.

Chapter five is the concluding chapter of this study in providing the summary of all the chapters. Further, it highlights on the key findings, conclusions, recommendations and further research recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE DYNAMICS OF CONFLICT

2.0 Introduction

This chapter will analyze the general conflict dynamics in Africa from the general overview. It consists of different historical scenarios of conflict both in Africa as well as the Northern Kenya. An overview of resource based conflict is highlighted with a special emphasis on water resource and other examples of conflict over water across Africa and beyond. Further to this, it looks at the key factors in conflict with a special outlook on the specific causes of conflict. In looking at the causes of conflict, the focus is to look at the major causes that run across the Horn of Africa and later specifying to the context within Northern Kenya. Within this framework, resource scarcity, Ethnicity, pastoralists and marginalization, are specifically looked at as major dynamics of conflict in Africa.

The challenges of conflict will be viewed in its wider sense coupled with the effects that any conflict can bring. Some experience of conflict management system will be highlighted as well as bringing the experience of bodies and organs that have worked within the conflict arena towards its mitigation. This will be in tune with the modern intervention mechanism in mitigating conflict in the region. The chapter ends with giving a concluding remark on conflict as an overall and what feasible approaches should be used to manage and mitigate conflict both in the horn of Africa as well as the Northern Kenyan region.

2.1 Conflict Dynamics around the world- Historical Perspective

The history of Conflict around the globe can be traced back several years in the century. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, most African states got it's independence from the colonial masters to be able to self administer itself. However, the picture that is evident with African Leadership is the successions of same ideology practiced to manipulate its citizens hence increasing conflict related experiences emerge. With the end of the systems of world order that colonialism and the cold war provided, Africa is experiencing a greater degree of conflict than it has seen in a long while.⁵⁹

In the African case for example, Conflict has become one of the detrimental phenomenon that has made many of the African countries retrogress. Since 1960s a number of civil wars have been manifested in Africa. The highest war was in 1991 where there were 17 civil wars happening worldwide. In an effort to quell conflict in Africa, the UN mission attempted 9 peacekeeping interventions only in the 1990s. All this was to mitigate conflict in the African state an example of which is The UN observer mission in Angola in 1997-1998, UN Operation in Somalia from 1992-1995, UN mission in Rwanda in 1993-96 and UN mission in Liberia in 1993-1997. Within the continent, the organization of African Unity (OAU) has also sent special representatives of the secretary-General to conflict areas such as Congo in 1993 and 1997, and Zaire in 1997, and peacekeeping forces in Rwanda (NMOG) in 1994.⁶⁰

Africa faces potential of conflict with the current stalemate between in DRC, Sudan and the South Sudan, Somalia most of which are linked with resource based conflict.

⁵⁹ William Zartman, *Traditional cures for Modern Conflict: African Conflict medicine* (USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc 2000), P.2

⁶⁰ibid, P.2

Current conflicts in the region include an Islamic insurgency in Somalia, long-lasting hostility between Ethiopia and Eritrea, a fragile peace agreement between Sudan and South Sudan, as well as continued fighting in the Sudanese states of Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile.⁶¹

Conflicts in Durfur, the South Sudan and the larger Sudan, Niger Delta, Democratic Republic of Congo, and the war in Somalia are some of the recent conflict scenarios. The origins of the conflict in Darfur are accounted for by numerous factors that include historical violence in the region, ethnic divisions, social, political and economic marginalization.⁶² The ramification of conflict in Africa are profound resulting to the death of civilians, internal displacement of citizens, property loss, and economic downturn among others which consequently make the management of conflict become harder.

2.2 Dynamic of Resource based conflict

Africa is bounty of resources even though the abundance of it has so often turned into a curse when communities fight on it. The exploitation of natural resources such as oil, diamonds and timber by multinationals has generated local armed resistance in many countries.⁶³ It is sad that most conflict in Africa has happened in line with resource based issues. Countries such as DRC, Angola, Sudan, Chad, Botswana, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and Cameroon among many other African countries have had wars on resources.

⁶¹ M. Maalim, *GAD's role in Stability and Diplomacy in the Horn of Africa* (London: Chatham House, 9 May 2013), P.2

⁶² T. T. Quach, *The Crisis in Darfur: An Analysis of its origin and Storylines*, (USA: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2004), p. 3

⁶³ Overview of African Development, *Conflict in Africa and the Role of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration in Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, (2005:OSAA), P.6

The Abyei region in Sudan has been at the center stage of conflict over oil resources between the Sudan and the South Sudan. The fight on territory remains a contentious issue and brings to the point of land. This is not only in Sudan but countries such as Cameroon and Nigeria have also had conflict on a land called Bukavu in which the International Court of Justice had to look at their case. The ruling granted Cameroon as legally owning Bukavu but still Nigeria is using its hegemonic power of West Africa and continues to cling on the same piece of land. Consequently, this area is conflict spot with a potential to trigger more conflict if caution is not observed in advance.

The Migingo Island in the waters of Lake Victoria is a potential conflict in East Africa region especially between the Uganda and Kenya. Similarly, the war between Ethiopia and Eretria in 1999 was fought partly over territorial boundary a war which Ethiopia won because of its military might. At the same time, Ogaden region is a conflict spot where conflict of interest between Ethiopia and Somalia has taken toll over the past years.

Paul Collier, an expert on the economics of civil war, estimates that close to fifty armed conflicts active in 2001 had a strong link to natural resource exploitation in which either licit or illicit exploitation helped to trigger, intensity, or sustain violence.⁶⁴ The riparian countries of the Nile basin have had wars over Nile River especially with war of word between Ethiopia and Egypt. To quell eth emerging water wars, organizations such as Nile Basin Initiative was formed as a mechanism to look at the Nile basin conflict and forge a feasible way forward.

In Kenya, the question of land has remained unaddressed and the conflicts in 1992, 1997, and 2007 have reference to land ownership in which more than 1000

⁶⁴ United States Institute of Peace, *Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution, Education and Training Center*, (USA: Washington DC, 2007) , p.3

people were killed and hundreds of thousands displaced. Policies on resource management are either weak or lacking in many of African countries rendering the dynamic of conflict on resource to escalate. Resource based conflicts should therefore be seen within the policy and governance context. ⁶⁵

Piracy in the coast off Somali has been orchestrated because of resource-based fight. The fish at the coast off the Somali are shipped by foreign western nationals which makes the locals in Somalia not thrilled about it. The pirates are out in war to compensate the loss of their resource and as a result have become an international threat in kidnapping and terrorizing the innocent members of the society.

2.2.1 Water resource as a factor in conflict

Water is one of the resources that have ignited conflict across the globe. Countries have fought over water resources for many years and the war on water still is evident and going on. A case in point is the war on River Jordan between the Israel and Palestine.

In the 1950s and 60s, the animosity between Israel and its neighbors was heightened by disputes over the headwaters of the Jordan River. Occasionally, the friction led to armed clashes, including Israeli attacks in 1960 and 1966 on Syrian construction sites that were part of a plan to divert water from Jordan River tributaries. These disputes helped create the pretexts and climate for the regional war in 1967. ⁶⁶

In West Africa, Lake Chad has become the center point where conflict over water continues to happen. For example, Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger and Chad depend

⁶⁵ 1st SID, *conference on Resource Based Conflicts in Eastern & Southern Africa*, (Nairobi: Society for International Development publication, May 24-27, 2004)

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p 4

on Lake Chad as a source of livelihood. During the last 40 years, the water of Lake Chad has drastically diminished causing competition over scarce resource high.

In one such occasion in 1983, the skirmishes resulted in the loss of 9 Nigerians and 75 Chadian troops, while 20 Nigerians and 32 Chadians were reported captured.⁶⁷ On the other hand a lot of people get killed over the competition on water resource when inter-ethnic communities tend to take ownership of such resource when it does not belong to them. This type of conflict is brought about by a struggle for survival over available water resources which attract numerous communities from diverse cross border regions such as Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad.

This would compound the problem of water scarcity in the basin area, which is already known to afflict 300 million people and claim at least 6000 lives annually in Africa.⁶⁸ This figure will be much more warring in the near future especially with Nigeria estimated to be experiencing critical water shortage by 2025. In essence such predictions will make Lake Chad stand a high chance to be competed upon. It is not only in West Africa that water issue has a conflict. There are other numerous areas that water conflict is experienced. Water is in crisis in China, in South East Asia, in southwest America, in North Africa- indeed in much of Africa except the Congo, Niger, and Zambezi basins.⁶⁹

In the Middle East, the contention between Israeli and Palestine goes far beyond the Gaza strip where experiences of competition over Jordan River are an issue. Already Jordan, Israel, the West Bank, Gaza, Cyprus, Malta, and the Arabian

⁶⁷ F. Onuoha, " Environmental Degradation, Livelihood and Conflicts: A focus on the Implications of the Diminishing water Resources of Lake Chad for North-Eastern Nigeria." *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* vol. 8, no.2 (2008), p. 52

⁶⁸ D. Mwiturubani et al., *Climate Change and Natural Resources in Africa*, (Institute of security studies, 2010),P.31. See also, Experts Integrated Regional Information Network, "Diminishing water resources could fuel conflicts." IRIN, Africa Nov 5, 2004

⁶⁹ M. Villers, *Water: The Fate of Our most Precious Resource*, (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. limited, 2001), p.13

Peninsular are at the point where all surface and ground freshwater resources are fully used.⁷⁰

It should be noted, that the problem of water resource as a factor of conflict is an experience seen world over. In Asia for example, there is an extensive shortage of water being experienced by the neighboring countries of Asia. Thirty to forty per cent of the population of the Mexico City, Karachi, Manila, Jakarta, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Casablanca, Delhi, Hanoi, Cairo, Shanghai and Seoul do not have access to drinking water.⁷¹

Ismail Serageldin, the World Bank's vice president for environmental affairs and chairman of the World Water Commission, stated bluntly that "the wars of the twenty-first century will be fought over water."⁷²

The Nile basin conflict is one of the major water based conflict in the East and Horn of Africa. While it is Ethiopia that produces much of Nile River, Egypt constitutionally uses the bigger percentage of the Nile River. In principle, the countries of the Nile River basin agree that the situation should change.⁷³ A consensus was not easy even after the formation of Nile Basin Initiative which was formed in 1999. The 1929 agreement in which Egypt and Sudan was to use 100 per cent of the Nile has in the recent past gathered contention over basin countries claiming that it should be revoked.

In 1978 President Anwar Sadat said that the Egyptian would attack any state that seized Egypt's water.⁷⁴ In 1979, President Sadat said: 'The only matter that could

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.14

⁷¹ R. Petrella, *The Water Manifesto: Argument for a World Water Contract*, (Canada: Fernwood Publishing Ltd, 2001) p. 19

⁷² M. D. Villers, *Op. cit*, p.13

⁷³ P. Mbote, "Water conflict, and cooperation: Lessons from the Nile River Basin," *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars* No. 4 (January 2007), p.3

⁷⁴ A. Soffer, *Rivers of Fire: The conflict Over water in the Middle East*, (Maryland USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1999), p.61 See also, Waterbury (1979), p. 78

take Egypt to war again is water.”⁷⁵ Nine years later, the subject of water was put under huge emphasis by an Egyptian Foreign Minister Boutros Boutros Ghali. In 1988, then-Egyptian Foreign Minister Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who later became the United Nations’ Secretary-General, predicted that the next war in the Middle East would be fought over the waters of the Nile, not politics.⁷⁶ Thus looking at the situation of water conflict and the way high profile government personalities reiterates, it confirms to us that the war on water is not a simple one. It should be noted that conflict around water resource continues to embed us and most of the decisions found around water initiatives remains unsolved.

2.3 Ethnicity as a factor in conflict

From the Yoruba in Nigeria to Fulani in West Africa to Kikuyus and Luos in Kenya, ethnicity has deep rooted historical and cultural roots that reiterate conflict of interests from different undertakings. The Karamoja clusters in Northern Uganda are pastoralists who frequently have fights with the Pokot and Turkana community of Northern rift of Kenya.

Ethnic conflict is a scenario that is not experienced locally but also internationally. In the Bosnia case for example, the Croats, Serbs and Bosniak conflict was ethnically motivated causing a nation to fragment.

Georgia’s two ethnic separatist conflicts- south Ossetia and Abkhazia are marked by significant Russian involvement and support for the separatists, including their recognition as independent states by Moscow in August 2008.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ P. Mbote, *Op. cit*, p.1

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p.3

⁷⁷ K. Cordell & S. Wolff, *Ethnic Conflict*, (Cambridge UK: Polity press, 2009), p. 11

In Northern Ireland, Bosnia and Herzegovina or Bougainville, show that resolving ethnic conflicts is not impossible either, but rather that it depends on the timing of initiatives and the skill, resources and determination with which they are pursued.⁷⁸

From the hatred propagated by Hutus in the Rwandan genocide, to the clearly stated intentions of the Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks in the disintegration of Yugoslavia, to the aggressive rhetoric of both parties in the conflict in Sri Lanka, it is difficult to square one of the core assumptions of rational choice theorists with the reality of ethnic conflicts.⁷⁹ Ethnic conflict has become an important feature of African countries in the independence era.⁸⁰

In Congo DRC, Ethnic tension gripped the country at the onset of independence when the country's first Prime Minister was murdered in 1961, triggering population displacements and refugee outflows, and dispersing Congolese all over Africa and Europe...⁸¹

In west Africa state of Liberia, the late 1970s war in which president Tubman was overthrown has inclination on ethnic conflict. The conflict exhibited between the natives and the creoles in which the later was in power at the time. The ethnic conflict in Liberia happened between the natives and the creoles in 1979 coup when Samuel Doe overthrew Tubman's government.⁸² Unfortunately conflict of ethnicity is structurally based and can have long term repercussion if not addressed through institutional and constitutional framework. The consequence of ethnicity in Liberia

⁷⁸ Ibid,

⁷⁹ Ibid, p.11

⁸⁰ J. Oucho, *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya*, (Netherlands: Dic Deutsche Bibliothek, 2002), P.3

⁸¹ Ibid, P.27

⁸² Ibid, p.29

did not end with the overthrow of Tubman's government, but consequently went on even after Doe became president. It should be noted that a decade later, conflict of ethnic nature emerged in Liberia again. The same type of ethnic tension was witnessed in the 1990 in Liberia resulting to a massive killing that resulted to a civil war for nearly a decade.

The 1994 Genocide scenario in Rwanda happened between two major ethnic communities of Hutu's and Tutsi's. The ramification of ethnic conflict in Rwanda led to a bloodbath situation where nearly a million people died. Since the late 1990s, a number of scholars have sought to expand the debate on the causes of ethnic conflicts beyond the traditional grievance (insecurity and inequality) paradigm, maintaining that violence may be more economically motivated than previously assumed.⁸³ The Oromo's which have high population rate in Ethiopia have had history of conflict with Amhara's and other tribal groups. In the Southern part of Ethiopia fights had occurred between the Burji's, Guji's over resources even though it also has ethnic and geographical factors.

In Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia, ethnic groups can be considered to be relatively recent political and military units consisting of clans and clan fragments that are often themselves much older.⁸⁴

2.4 Challenges of pastoralists

Pastoralist is defined as the activity of keeping herds including goat, sheep, camel, and other domestic animals for consumption or economic gain. Pastoralists are characterized by movement from one place to another in search of water and pasture

⁸³ K. Cordell & S. Wolff, *Op. cit*, P.32

⁸⁴ G. Schlee, *Toward a theory of Ethnic and Religious Conflicts*, (Berghahn Books, 2008), p.38

during the dry season. Pastoralist is a common practice of livelihood in Africa. The sub-Saharan Africa for example, has a marginalized characteristic where most pastoral communities inhabit. The rearing of cow, goat, sheep, camel, and other domestic livelihood is an obvious socio-economic activity among the communities of Africa. In many instances, pastoralists migrate from one place to another in search of water resource and pasture. Pastoralist communities tend to be remote and highly mobile.⁸⁵

Since the challenge of marginalization embeds the pastoralists, often times these communities are seen living at a periphery to access border areas in search of resources for their livestock. Ghana grapples with migrant Fulani herdsmen from neighboring countries who, in pursuit of grazing pasture, migrate into the country.⁸⁶

Most of the major pastoralist groups move across national boundaries: the Afar between Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Djibouti; Somalis between Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somaliland, Somalia, and Kenya; Borana between Ethiopia and Kenya; and the 'Karamoja cluster' between Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan.⁸⁷ Similarly, the effect of climate change is evident in zones that pastoralists live. Pastoralists who inhabit the dry lands of sub-Saharan Africa are among those who are living with the effects of climate change.⁸⁸ The arid nature of the land inhabited by most pastoralist community has harsh environmental conditions due to climate change factor.

In Somalia, the amount of national revenue from pastoral related activity is so significant. The economic livelihood of people of Somalia, Northern Uganda,

⁸⁵ 116 Oxfam Briefing Paper, *Survival of the fittest: pastoralism and climate change in East Africa*, (East Africa: OXFAM publication, August 18, 2008), p.14

⁸⁶ Andrews Atta-Asamoah & Emmanuel Kwesi Aning, "Demography 'Demography, Environment and Conflict in West Africa,'" In *ECOWAS and the Dynamics of Conflict and Peace-building* eds. T Jaye, D Garuba and S. Amadi, (Senegal: CODESRIA, 2011), p.88

⁸⁷ 116 Oxfam Briefing Paper, *Survival of the fittest: pastoralism and climate change in East Africa*, (East Africa: OXFAM publication, August 18, 2008), p.14

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p.11

Northern Kenya, and Northern Nigeria relies significantly on pastoral livelihood. In Northern Nigeria, Livestock production forms the basis of the socio-cultural, economic and socio-political organization of over 9 million pastoralists.⁸⁹

However, myriad of challenges face these category of communities. Years of political and economic marginalization, inappropriate development policies, an increase in resource competition, and an increase in abnormal climatic events have reduced the ability of some pastoralists to maintain a sustainable livelihood.⁹⁰ Due to extremely hot climatic condition, alternative agricultural produce is a challenge either for reasons of the nature of soil or the hot weather.

Different seasons mean different lifestyle for pastoral communities. In high season where there is rain, pastoralists tend to relax and graze their livelihood within their boundaries. In low season where there is shortage of rain, and the ground water's dried, pastoralists tend to move from one location to another in search of convenient and reliable area where they can find pasture and water resource for their livelihood. With no reliable supplies of permanent water, pastoralism enabled people to adapt to an increasingly arid and unpredictable environment by moving livestock according to the shifting availability of water and pasture.⁹¹

The challenge of cattle rusting happens in the pastoralists communities. Communities such as Pokot, Karamoja of Uganda, Nuer in Sudan, Samburu and Rendille in Northern Kenya have cultures that encourage cattle rustling. In most pastoralists ethnic communities, dowries are paid in the form of cattle, goats, sheep and camels. Considering the amount of poverty rate and low economic livelihoods, a

⁸⁹ J. Gefu, *Pastoralist perspectives in Nigeria*, (Sweden: Nordiska Afrikaninstitutet, 1992), P.11

⁹⁰ *116 Oxfam Briefing Paper, Op. cit, p.11*

⁹¹ *Ibid,*

group of warriors from the pastoralists clan rustle the cows as a means of transition into the rite of passage to marriage.

There are also possession of small firearms in which porous borders where these communities live become an avenue of perpetuating conflict. Some herdsmen and their livestock destroy crops, attack people, cause bush-fires, and conduct highway robberies with sophisticated weapons.⁹² The flow of small firearms into the pastoralists region makes it easy for them to use those arms during disputes. The process of disarmament has not successfully worked in the pastoralists regions and local communities are using it as a defense mechanism from their enemies.

Resource scarcity is paramount in areas inhabited by pastoralists. Looking at Northern Kenya for example, there is not much water resource or pasture land for these communities as the area is dry. In several East African countries pastoralists are relatively few in number and occupy what is considered by their governments to be marginal land with little economic potential.⁹³ This can be attested by the fact that the marginalization of pastoral communities may have been contributed by colonial distribution of land. For instance in Kenya, the pastoralist communities were allocated to live away from the heart of the town and live in the periphery. The former Northern Frontier District is an example of a marginalized place where most pastoralists in Kenya lived.

Since this livelihood live in marginalized and peripheral zones, conflict over resource and boarder areas has become a common occurrence. For example, during the 2005/6 drought, an incident in Turkana in Kenya reportedly left 40 people dead in a clash between Turkana and neighboring Ethiopian pastoralist.⁹⁴ Grazing land is a

⁹² Andrews Atta-Asamoah & Emmanuel Kwesi Aning, *Op cit*, p.88

⁹³ 116 *Oxfam Briefing Paper*, *Op cit*, p.14

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p.22

challenge because most areas are dry. While in search of water and pasture resource, bordering communities from nearby countries fight with the communities in Northern Kenya over competition of scarce resources.

In addition to resource problem, the level of illiteracy is higher in the pastoralist's communities. Since their lives involve movement from one area to another, school going children find it difficult to access schools. Even though policies in Kenya have helped since 2003 in introducing free primary education, pastoralist's communities have had challenge with going to school. The rate of school drop outs and illiteracy is conspicuous in arid and semi arid areas as compared to other areas that are close to the city. Such and many others have characterized the pastoralists regions to be poverty prone where the dependency syndrome on food aid has become a frequent thing especially during the dry season.

2.5 Historical perspective of Northern Kenya's Conflict

Northern Kenya has a unique story that can be linked back in the 1800s. Reflecting at the statement by the Menelik II of Ethiopia, one can easily come to conclusion that some part of Northern Kenya is an Ethiopia territory in 1800s. Claiming ruler ship over all the Oromo speakers and buoyed by his conquest of the Italians in the battle of Adowa in 1896, Emperor Menelik II wrote to the heads of states of Britain, Italy, France, Germany, and Russia, stating claim over the territory stretching from Juba River on Lake Turkana (formerly Rudolf) to the territory stretching to Marsabit Mountains.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ The dilemma of Citizenship In Northern Kenya, *Foreigners at Home* (Nairobi: KHRC, 2009), p.23 see also, KHRC, *The forgotten People Revisited: Human Rights Abuses in Marsabit and Moyale Districts* (Nairobi: KHRC publication, 2000)

The plain truth is that Northern Kenya area of Moyale is still shared by both Ethiopia and Kenya. In short, there is a portion called Moyale Ethiopia which is counted in the category of southern Ethiopia while the other is called Moyale Kenya which is categorized as a territory within Northern Kenya.

The story of conflict in Northern Kenya has existed now for many decades. Notable of all was started around the time Kenya was getting its independence. The impact of emergency rule after independence had a negative ramification in Northern Kenya for over 30 years rendering the place more marginalized.

The largest county in Kenya is found in Northern Kenyan region. Marsabit and Turkana are the biggest counties in its geographical outlook. With the discovery of oil in 2012 in Turkana, Northern Kenya will be a hub of economic boost for the nation. Yet it is a region characterized by poverty and lack where the practice of pastoralist livelihood is the order of the day.

A remarkable conflict in Northern Kenya can be traced back as significantly started during the shifta war period of 1960s where mass killings were realized. The marginalization of the region could be said to have commenced with the curving off of the Northern Frontier District, which constituted the bulk of Northern Kenya, followed by the establishment of separate laws for the region, the Shifta war (1963-1967) after independence and the discriminatory development policies thereafter.⁹⁶

Shifta war which was a major war during the 1960s was characterized to be one of the massacred wars that the region had ever experienced. The recent report by Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission attests to the fact that many lives were lost during this conflict. The report released by the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation

⁹⁶ Ibid, p.21

Commission (TJRC) says officially 2,000 people were killed during the Shifta War waged between 1964 to 1967.⁹⁷

The Northern Kenya's history of war and mass killings is one of the unforgettable one with the occurrence of Wagalla massacre in 1984. North eastern part of Kenya experienced killings amounting to 5000 according to the survivors comments. The government said that only 57 people were killed but survivors say close to 5,000 people died.⁹⁸ The official figure of 57 given by the state therefore grossly underestimates the number of people who were killed at Wagalla and is an example of the generally thoughtless manner in which the state has traditionally treated massacres committed by its own agents.⁹⁹

2.6 Management of Conflict and Cross-Border

The management of cross border conflict has not been an easy one for a number of reasons. One of which is structural conflict over resources which requires institutional framework and policy guidelines. There is an obvious linkage between resource scarcity and cross-border conflicts.¹⁰⁰

In pursuit to find lasting peace, different countries have endeavored to sign treaties and agreements in solving border disputes. Other cross-border resource allocation would include the "Indus Treaty 1960," the "Treaty between Bangladesh and India on Sharing the Ganges wars at Farakka 1996," and the "Tonkin Gulf Demarcation

⁹⁷ DAILY NATION, "Shifta war:marked the start of brutal killings." *DAILY NATION* ,Thursday May 23rd, 2013

⁹⁸ Anonymous, "Wagalla massacre survivors testify." *BBC NEWS AFRICA, KENYA*, April 18, 2011

⁹⁹ Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission ' "Report." *volume IV* (2013), P.18

¹⁰⁰ S.V. Krupa, *Cross-Border: Resource Management Theory and Practice*, (Netherlands: Elsevier B.V, 2005), P.107

Agreement and the Tonkin Gulf Fishery Cooperation Agreement signed by China and Vietnam, 2000”¹⁰¹

The issue of escalation of conflict in the Horn of Africa is due to administrative problems and lack of proper border governance. In the case of Ethiopia for example, border disputes happen because of weak structure that it has on border lines. In Ethiopia, as in other countries, one factor that makes border security problems particularly difficult to deal with is the general weakness of administrative structures in border areas.¹⁰²

The good news is that, in the Horn of Africa, we have regional bodies such as Inter Governmental Authority on Development, Conflict Early Warning And Response Mechanism which continue to help in maintaining peace and security in the region. It should be noted that several precedents for both cross-border cooperation and integrated peacebuilding already exist in the IGAD region.¹⁰³

In Kenya, the Wajir approach is often cited as one of the most successful examples of integrated peace building. The secret of its success is the fact that all stakeholders are included in the process- the government (police, military and administration), civil society, elders, religious leaders, youth, and women.¹⁰⁴ Stake holder contribution on decision making on border disputes can significantly mitigate conflict. Whereas border issues might often times include international boundaries, countries such as Ethiopia is making sure that the borders within it’s country where it’s people live is well managed to avoid potential conflict within. Application of this

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² *J. Oucho, Op. cit, p. 158*

¹⁰³ Ibid, P.152

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, P.153

approach was practiced also in Awash valley in Ethiopia, and among Karamoja Kitgum communities in Northern Uganda. Such initiative enhanced cooperation in bringing together all the stakeholders to solve conflict and create peace. The point here is decentralization of roles and responsibilities at the grass root.

A reference can be put to the communities in Northern Uganda where the church has played a key role in enhancing peace and security in the regions. Nabilatuk Roman Catholic church addressed negative traditional karamojong values such as pride in body marking and livestock raids.¹⁰⁵ The role of religion and church is significant in peace building. In Uganda, the Catholic Church has exhibited a role of mediation and dialogue among the communities to help them realize the benefit of shared resources. Kotido diocese works with kraal leaders to engage in dialogue and share resources with their neighbors.¹⁰⁶

In managing the resource based conflict, countries across the Horn of Africa have initiated peaceful structures to enhance security and livelihood. A joint Peace Committee model already exists to deal with conflicts between highlanders and lowlanders in the Awash Valley.¹⁰⁷ The government put in place a specific peace committee that dealt with conflict of access to resources particular between the tribe of Afar and Issa.¹⁰⁸

Ethiopia is one of the countries with numerous ethnic groupings. With 84 different tribal groups living in Ethiopia, ethnic polarization is a potential indicator where conflict can easily emanate. In spite of huge ethnic groupings in its region Ethiopia has put in place conflict mechanisms between Amhara and Tigray to the

¹⁰⁵ *J. Oucho, Op. cit, P.153*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid, P.153*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid, P.159*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid, P.159*

Afar regional state in area of Agriculture, conservation and irrigation.¹⁰⁹ But if the resource is located at cross-border areas and subject to open access to more than one regime, the problem cannot be solved so easily by one side of the border alone but need consistent cross-border cooperation between all parties concerned.¹¹⁰

The Senegal River Authority that manages the Senegal River basins is a genuine active joint-management organization.¹¹¹ In the case of Horn of Africa conflict, the feasible approach for negotiation is to use regional organizations such as EAC and IGAD. Lessons can be learned from experience in West Africa where regional integration and cross-border livestock movement is easier.¹¹²

Integration of East Africa Market can be a good approach for marginalized communities who mostly live in the border regions. Governments in the East Africa region also need to join forces to address cross-border livestock marketing.¹¹³ When proper market for livestock is guaranteed, the economic livelihood of these community groups will flourish hence minimizing the escalation of conflict over livestock resources.

The government approach of enhancing capacity building in area of peace is paramount. So the continent needs to build micro and macro peace-building capacity. Governments need to increase funding for local conflict resolution mechanisms.¹¹⁴ The role of head of states of the countries is important in the conflict management scenarios. The head of summit has played a key role in influencing conflict mitigation in the regions. The Great Lakes Special Summit agreed on a comprehensive peace

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, P.159

¹¹⁰ S.V. Krupa, *Op. cit*, P.49

¹¹¹ Ibid,

¹¹² 116 Oxfam Briefing Paper, *Op. cit*, p.25

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴ Daily Nation, "Low scale conflict fueling Insecurity in Africa: Experts." *Daily Nation* May 20, 2013

framework to bring to an end the conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Sudan and South Sudan.¹¹⁵

In the warring nation such as Democratic Republic of Congo, the head of summit continue to play a key role. Like in the case for south Sudan peace agreement, the summit has advanced what feasible dialogue mechanism should be used to promote peace in the great lakes region. The summit encouraged Rwanda and DRC to continue with bilateral discussions in order to strengthen mutual confidence and cooperation between the two states.¹¹⁶

IGAD members are found in the Horn of Africa where conflict of borders and marginal lands are the order of the day. In managing cross border conflict and conflict related to resource, ethnicity, and marginalization, IGAD and CEWARN should alert its early mechanism organ to help minimize conflict. Government of the IGAD region should increase their presence in pastoralist areas and provide security to pastoralists communities¹¹⁷

Moreover, the Alternative Dispute Resolution is an emerging trend in conflict management. In the regions of pastoral community, tradition and culture play a key role in decision making. Just like it is the case in Timor-Leste, community role should be enhanced in conflict management. With the UN Peacekeeping Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) gone - it departed in December 2012, experts are saying early monitoring of conflict drivers at the community level can play a significant role in securing peace and stability, allowing for EWER system research and advocacy for

¹¹⁵ Daily Nation, "Summit urges dialogue to end regional conflict." *Daily Nation* Aug 1, 2013

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ IGAD, *Report of the IGAD regional workshop on Disarmament of pastoral communities*, (Entebbe: Uganda, May 28-30, 2007), p. 12

government-led policy reform or locally-driven conflict prevention activities, Dewhurst said.¹¹⁸

Inter-Governmental Authority on Development has played a substantial role in the peace process in the horn of Africa region. The signing of the Sudan and Somali agreements in quick succession in late 2004 and early 2005 created an impression that IGAD was proving unusually adept at performing its new conflict-resolution role.¹¹⁹

It has been acknowledged that IGAD has been fruitful in giving surveillance to avoid terrorism and prevent illegal firearms from intruding in places countries such as Somalia. During the 33rd extraordinary meeting in May 2009, the IGAD council of ministers called on the United Nations Security Council to impose a no-fly zone on a number of specific airports in Kismayo, Baidoa... to prevent arms and supplies reaching the Al-shabaab and Hizbun Islam.¹²⁰

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, it is addressed that conflict is a common phenomena that occurs world over. The exploitation of resource in Africa is one of the major challenges facing the continent. The chapter exhibits that those resources have been at the center stage of escalating conflict. Of greater importance is the water resource based conflict which needs to be looked at keenly. The chapter informs that water conflict might be the next war the world may contend with if proper policy is not put in place. However, the current policy and management style is seen as weak in many African countries. Moreover, the chapter gathers issues and perspective in conflict with the mention of Ethnicity being one of the dynamics of conflict in Africa and across the world. Also to

¹¹⁸ IRIN, "Timor-Leste promote Traditional Conflict Resolution." *IRIN*, June 7, 2013

¹¹⁹ S.Healy, *Peace making in the mist of war: an assessment of IGAD's contribution to regional security*, (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2009) , p. 10

¹²⁰ K. Mulugeta, *The Role of Regional and International Organizations in resolving the Somali Conflict: The case study of IGAD*, (Addis Ababa: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2009), p. 33

note is the nature of pastoralists especially in the Horn of Africa and the challenges that the pastoral communities undergo. Special emphasis on Northern Kenya's story of marginalization is also addressed as a contributing factor in conflict. This is in line with communities living in cross border zones and that cross border management of conflict is important. It concludes by looking at regional organizations as playing a key role in the mitigation of conflict in marginalized and cross border areas.

CHAPTER THREE

AN INVESTIGATION OF CONFLICT DYNAMICS IN NORTHERN KENYA- A CRITICAL LOOK AT THE CASE STUDY OF MARSABIT COUNTY (1994-2012)

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter was about Historical perspective of conflict dynamics in a wider scope and most specifically looking at the resource based conflict and challenges of pastoralists society in marginalized areas. Emphasis was on water resource, ethnicity, marginalization, and cross boarder conflicts. Moreover, the chapter delved into looking at regional and local organizations in managing conflicts in Africa.

The general objective of chapter three is to provide analysis on investigation of the causes of conflict dynamics in the Marsabit County. This chapter shows an account of key conflict dynamics by finding out what the major cause of conflict is in Marsabit. Further, feasible approaches on management of the conflict dynamics in Marsabit will be analyzed. The key point is to look at issues and perspective of conflict dynamics in Northern Kenya with a particular bias on resource based conflict and Ethnicity.

3.1 Historical perspective of conflict in Marsabit County

Marsabit County has since the 1990s experienced conflict ranging from political instigation, resource scarcity, ethnic polarization, cattle rustling due to cultural practices from communities living in the south of Marsabit to a highway banditry on the Marsabit-Isiolo highway. It is a county that faces a lot of infrastructural challenges where road network is still a problem.

Since the communities in Marsabit have similar ethnic backgrounds as communities living in the larger Northern Kenya, it can be argued that the conflict in

Marsabit shares similar features. In Marsabit, conflict has been there for many decades between communities but there was a huge momentum of it especially during the 1990s. The region is characterized by poverty, illiteracy, poor infrastructure, lack of economic opportunities and unending conflicts.¹²¹

Following the 1992 general election a conflict arose between Boran and Burji in the central and Gadamoji division of Marsabit district. This gained its momentum in 1994 where houses were torched and communities lived in animosity. The Burji plantations in the field were either slashed or the livestock from the opponent communities invaded it.

The enormity of Marsabit County puts its locations such as Sololo and Moyale district on the North which strategically borders Ethiopia from the South. Many communities from the southern Ethiopia cross the border in search of resources found on the Kenyan side. For example, communities in Northern Kenya started to notice the appearance of Oromo Liberation Front in their midst in 1993.¹²²

Northern Kenya is also characterized by highway banditry in the region. The conflict on highway banditry has been triggered mostly by lack of infrastructural development where road network is bad on the Marsabit – Isiolo highway. Bandits from the southern area of Marsabit attack convoys with goods and services and loot resources and in occasions kill the passengers in the convoys. Since time immemorial, Marsabit County has experienced lack of tarmac roads both during the Kenyatta's and Moi's era.

In 2004, communities from upper Eastern districts of Isiolo, Marsabit and Moyale, with the support of 53 CSOs and their elected representatives conducted a

¹²¹ B. Kerrow, "Human Security Agenda to end tribal conflicts in Moyale." *STANDARD DIGITAL*, Sunday January 29, 2012

¹²² A. K. Temesgen, *Climate Change to Conflict: Lessons from Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya*, (Alkopi: Norway, Fafo 2010), P.47

protest walk.¹²³ Until this time there was no tarmac road between Isiolo Marsabit highway as well as Marsabit Moyale highway. The inhabitants of Marsabit County were not happy remaining in such grave isolation for all these many decades. It was during this time that groups from civil society as well as church, and organizations joined to sensitize the government on the importance of road construction. The 510 kilo meter walk was not only aimed at compelling Government to construct proper roads in the region but also raise national consciousness to the plight of the Northern Kenya citizens.¹²⁴

In 2005, Marsabit experienced a bloody massacre in a place called Torbi. In the period immediately following this incident, several revenge attacks by the Gabbra of Bubisa (south of Torbi) stopped a bus on a highway and executed nine Borana passengers.¹²⁵

Alluding to CEWARN 2005, Temesgen mentions that another revenge attack was launched the following day in Maikona, where a Gabbra community attacked ten houses belonging to the Borana who had fled the area.¹²⁶ Following the atrocities in Marsabit County of Torbi area and tribal polarity, the group of high government officials who also were the Members of Parliament of Marsabit, died in a plane crash in pursuit of peace. In April 2006, all the Marsabit County MPs from the Borana, Gabra and Rendille communities died in a plane crash in Marsabit town while heading for a peace meeting, following a bitter conflict that had left dozens dead.¹²⁷

¹²³ The dilemma of Citizenship In Northern Kenya, *Op cit*, p.54

¹²⁴ *Ibid*

¹²⁵ A. K. Temesgen, *Op cit*, , P.48

¹²⁶ *Ibid*

¹²⁷ B. Kerrow, *Op. cit*

3.2 Causes of Conflict in Marsabit County

The causes of conflict are numerous and can vary from one region to another. Conflict in Northern Kenya is caused largely because of Resource scarcity, marginalization, political isolation and instigation, and tribal rivalry within the ethnic groupings.

3. 2. 1 Resource as a factor

The resources found in the region are scarce, and leads to competition over it. Ethnic communities go far for search of water. Water is acute in Marsabit with Bakuli 1 and Bakuli 2 not enough to sustain the ever growing population of people in central Marsabit. Lack of enough resource in any region can trigger conflict as communities will fight over scarce resource. Recent studies, however, have focused on resource appropriation in situations of abundance as the fundamental underlying cause of war.¹²⁸ The water catchment in Marsabit forest is dying down because there has been massive deforestation in the region. The recent construction of Badassa Dam might be a white elephant project. It has used over 2 billion Kenya shillings but will require an equivalent of El-nino rain in order for it to catch water.

Similarly, conflict over livestock continues to happen over lack of water and pasture resources. The Northern Kenyan region has a huge pastoral population where livestock rearing is significantly practiced. Such livelihood requires enough pasture and water for sustainability. In many instance, lack of such resources continue to trigger conflict. Amongst pastoral societies in particular, the system of grazing which involves movement of large cattle herds to water points and in search of pasture, has created a serious problem.¹²⁹ Migration of livestock happens especially during the

¹²⁸ J. G. Porto, *contemporary Conflict analysis in Perspective*, P.8

¹²⁹ A. Bujra, *African conflicts: Their Causes and their Political and Social Environment*, (Addis Ababa Ethiopia: DPMF Occasional paper, No. 4 Development Policy Management Forum, 2002), P. 11-12

dry seasons in search of water resources that are in possession of other ethnic communities. The fight over water is thus experienced by the opposing community, one defending their water while the other competing over it to save their livestock.

In addition, resource based conflict attract communities from neighboring countries of Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan to cross border areas in search of grazing land. Livestock from as far as South Ethiopia for example cross and drink water from Dukana, Sololo, Moyale in the Kenyan boundary of Marsabit county.

In the area North of Marsabit County, communities from the southern Ethiopia come all along in search of pasture and water. This causes competition over the available resources across the boarder area of Kenya and Ethiopia. The cause of pastoralist conflicts has always been competition over use of access and control of pasture resources in the district among the communities.¹³⁰ An incident in Isiolo district in July 2009 clearly illustrates these dynamics: when competition over access to pasture and water between Samburu, Turkana, Borana and Somali groups was not resolved peacefully, the resulting violent conflict led to the deaths of 32 people, the displacement of thousands and extensive livestock theft.¹³¹

Agreeably competition on water and pasture resource remains a big issue in Marsabit county as there is scarcity of it while the general population continue to surge. Resource competition, especially over control of boreholes, is a chronic source of conflict requiring vigilance on the part of clan elders and civic peace groups.¹³²

3.2.2 Marginalization

In the horn of Africa, it is common to find some areas completely marginalized especially the area of semi arid nature. Most of the areas where pastoral livelihood

¹³⁰B. Kerrow, *Op. cit*

¹³¹ Conservation Development Center, *Op. cit*, P.6

¹³² K. Menkhaus, *Kenya-Somalia Border Conflict Analysis* (USAID, August 31, 2005), p. 42

live in Marsabit county is characterized by marginalization. It is either marginalized by the larger government or the dominant communities marginalize the other. In Northern Kenya for example, the region faces marginalization following the 1963 session paper. Some regard the people of Northern Kenya as second class citizens a situation that humiliates the status of such innocent people of Marsabit County. The lack of access to good infrastructure, coupled with poverty and isolation has triggered conflict in Northern Kenya. Incidents such as high way banditry experienced along Isiolo-Marsabit highway is as a result of marginalization.

Marginalization, whether apparent or real, has the potential for disrupting the socio-cultural fabric of a society, particularly when several ethnic groups single out one group alone as the perpetrator.¹³³ In situations of ethnic communities living in the area, the minority tribes have felt marginalized. Their voice is not heard and the dominant ethnic groups enjoy the ownership at an upper hand.

Marginalization exists when an ethnic group or any other kind of group feels disenfranchised with the working of things in a society of which it is a constituent part.¹³⁴ In terms of education for example, the Northern Kenya is marginalized. The rate of literacy level is still below the national margin. Due to harsh environmental nature and intense isolation coupled with poor infrastructure, communities in the Northern Kenya have lacked educational exposure especially among the pastoralists cluster.

Northern Kenya is also marginalized from food produces. As it is evident, most part is not productive agriculturally and recurrent drought and acute rainfall shortage is an experience that the community contend with. In an area where

¹³³ E. Anugwom, "Ethnic Conflict and Democracy in Nigeria: the Marginalization question," *Journal of social development in Africa* (2000), p. 65

¹³⁴ Idis, p. 73

communities still depend on food aid, it is agreeable that marginalization is at the core.

Due to lack of enough water resource or the government making plans for availability of water, the marginalization is characterized also by lack of industries in the region. The cost of food items and other commodities is high because the produces are gotten from other regions as far as Nairobi. The poverty level which is high continues to haunt the innocent people in Northern Kenya. It is sad, that the rate of malnutrition's among children under the age of five years is an experience in Northern Kenya where as it is the 21st century. This blame can largely be put to the aspect of marginalization that the regions has since time immemorial experienced.

3.3.3 Ethnic rivalry

The cycle of conflict within a society that lives together has been an obvious one. People have different cultures, norms and values which are unique. In other words, democratic traditions in ethnically plural societies may be influenced by keen competition, ethnic rivalries and jostling for power and resources.¹³⁵ In the case of Northern Kenya, the dynamism of conflict among tribal groups changes in season. Though, many tribes living in Northern Kenya have Cushitic origin, tribal rivalry is mostly pronounced. A case in point is for example the conflict between Borana and Burji in 1994 largely over a political difference. Conflicts where identity issues are important engage disputants on deep psycho cultural levels.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ E. Anugwom, Op. cit, p. 68

¹³⁶ Lynne M. Woehrle and Patrick Coy, "Collective identities and the Development of Conflict Analysis," in *Social Conflicts and Collective Identities* eds P. Coy, L. Woerner, (USA: Rowman & Little Publishers, Inc. 2000) , P.6

Others include the conflict between Rendille and Borana in the 1990s as well as in the dawn of the year 2000 and thereafter. The conflict between Gabra and Borana in 2005 which caused a lot of killings and casualties in Marsabit County is believed to be ethnically motivated where the Borana and Gabra's fought. This conflict led to a massacre in Torbi at the North of Marsabit County attracting media attention because of its magnitude. These are tribal related conflicts with root causes in Ethnicity and politics, resource and ownership. Conflict theorists such as John Burton, who work primarily out of the human needs tradition, emphasize that identity needs are fundamental and for the most part non-negotiable.¹³⁷

In the wake of 2012, minority communities in Marsabit joined hands in the political mileage. By all means, the governorship race is a tribal contest pitting the Gabra against Borana while other communities residing in Marsabit county such as Rendile, Burji, Turkana and Dasnach will be swaying the balance on whichever side they favor.¹³⁸ The fact that Northern Kenya experiencing economic down turn can be attributed solely to tribal rivalry among ethnic groups that leads to conflict. Ethnic tensions and inter-community clashes cause instability and insecurity and thus lead to a lack of investment and social services in the area, which feeds back into the problems of economic underdevelopment.¹³⁹ Ethnic conflict is a big problem because it derails the region of its stability and often people will live in tension. If not controlled in a good time, it will lead to a massive destruction of life and properties. It is a type of conflict which lives to be remembered by generations because the system of resolve is not a short term approach.

¹³⁷ Ibid, 2000, P.6

¹³⁸ H. Huqa, "Inter-Clan rivalry could deny Marsabit governor aspirants bloc votes." *STANDARD Digital*, Thursday January 24, 2013

¹³⁹ Conservation Development Center, *Op. cit*, P.21

As much as the Kenya's post election violence had myriad of different references to be made, ethnicity on the other hand was conspicuous. The fight between the Kalenjin and Kikuyu over land in the rift valley is a connotation of ethnic motivated conflict. Historically, ethnic conflict as mentioned in chapter two of this study have exhibited negative ramification in an incident of Rwanda Genocide.¹⁴⁰

3.2.4 Political marginalization

The national decision making organ often put at a bay the issues of Northern Kenya. The reserve unit of government administration police is few and can not sufficiently deal with the quelling of conflict that happens among the pastoral community of Semi-Arid Northern Kenya. Disputes such as resource, land and ethnicity can be related to political instigation. Historical grievances about the distribution of land between different ethnic groups have become highly politicized.¹⁴¹

The marginalization of Northern Kenya is certainly not on resource or environmental aspect. It cuts across the socio-economic and political aspects. The lack of concrete political representation in the case of Northern Kenya has remained evident. Since time immemorial, the preceding governments have used the Northern Kenya as a platform where politicians would come and say empty political rhetoric in the name of vote hunting especially during elections. Many promises such as making of road network, and economic boost are mentioned to the community of Northern Kenya a result of which is just an empty politics.

For a long time, the voice of the people of Northern Kenya was not heard even amidst the hardship, and economic crunch the region goes through. The few politicians who are elected in parliament fail to have good strategies of developing its

¹⁴⁰ See chapter 2 on resource based conflict

¹⁴¹ Conservation Development Center, *Op. cit*, 2009 P.3

citizens or properly becoming a voice of the people to the national government. Selfishness and greed has characterized both the national and regional government and thus the region of Northern Kenya still lacks in infrastructural development. The road is pathetic in the Northern corridor and the fund released for construction of the Isiolo-Moyale highway is questionable as the project has stopped for quite some time.

Too often, in Kenya the ownership of land and access to resource is decided by the colonial powers who were in politics at the time. Disputes over access to land and resources often take on a political dimension as local political leaders side with one or other group involved in a land dispute as a means of obtaining voter support to help secure their election or re-election.¹⁴² In terms of settling the disputes that happen in the region, the government takes a longer time to respond. It has been taking long for perpetrators of violence to be brought to justice just because of failure of government discharging it's duties.

In economic terms, the zone is cut off from the rest of the country as there are no good infrastructures to facilitate high economic growth. The high rate of poverty is subsequently the result of such economic marginalization.

3.2.5 Internationalization of Conflict

In the case of Northern Kenya, communities from neighboring countries such as Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia have people of common ethnic origins on the side of Kenya. In the part of Northern Uganda there are Karamajong who are also found in Kenya. The Turkana's in Northern Kenya have their origin from Sudan and there are link of people of the same culture found on the part of South Sudan and Northern Uganda.

¹⁴²ibid, P.21

The Somali's from North Eastern Kenya of Mandera, Wajir, Isiolo, and Moyale have their people in Mogadishu, Puntland and Somaliland.

The web of interaction among ethnic group is really international. This is what is termed as internationalization of conflict because one tribe that has conflict in one region is affected by the same conflict either because they share culture, norm, values and standards.

In the case of Northern Kenya, experiences of this type of conflict are experienced at the border zones. Often, when local conflict happens in the side of Kenya, communities who are of same tribal origin from other countries get triggered and support their own in the other side of the border. This escalates tribal rivalry and the concept of ethnicity in the Northern Kenyan region.

It should be noted that the sharing of borders have caused avenues for illicit fire arms to be traded. The presence of small illicit firearms is blamed to have its origin from the neighboring countries. Trading of small firearms across Kenya border has made local people access arms. Availability of these arms makes it easier for highway robbers to easily access this. They thus use these arms to attack innocent passengers on Marsabit-Isiolo highway and Marsabit-Moyale highway.

Communities in the bordering countries are pastoralists too. For example, the South Sudanese keep livestock that comes until Turkana region which borders Marsabit County. In Dasnach, a place in Marsabit county pastoralists come from as far as Sudan to graze their livestock. The people of Southern Ethiopia such as those close to Omo river continue to cross the border of Kenya to do trade and economic gain.

The internationalization of conflict is also manifest in the activity of refugee influx in the Northern Kenya. Currently, the Dadaab camp is inhabited by refugees from Somalia while the Kakuma is inhabited by refugees from South Sudan. In the beginning of the 1990s after the fall of Dergue government, the Ethiopian refugees found its home in Marsabit town where they were sheltered for a few years. The refugees spoke the same language with the inhabitants of Marsabit in which internationalization of ethnicity was real.

3.3. The Case study analysis on conflict dynamics in Marsabit County

3.3.1 Resource based conflict

Livestock related conflict is seen to be frequent among the communities in the North and South of Marsabit County. This conflict partly happens because of a number of issues. It includes cattle rustling practice that occur a few times among the communities of Marsabit County. Community groups in Marsabit especially Rendille, Gabra, and Borana have this type of conflict. Killings have happened in regions such as Badassa, HulaHula, kargi and other places because of the raid. The raiders are equipped with firearms and the herdsmen are threatened or even killed during raid incidence.

Another livestock related conflict is on a pasture land and water resource. The resource available to sustain the ever growing number of population of livestock in Marsabit is acute. Conflict over the sharing of these resources among the communities emerges time and again. The Boran, Gabra, Rendille, an Burji have all experienced conflict of this nature.

In terms of the resource based conflict, land and livestock have been seen as triggering this type of conflict. Between the two (land and livestock), the respondents say that livestock tend to be a key one which frequently brings conflict.

On the same vein, the respondent suggested that water is the scarcest resource in Marsabit County. Water is a problem in central Marsabit with communities trekking long distance to get it. A 20 liters Jerrican of water goes for 40 Kenya shillings (0.5US\$) in town during extreme shortages of water in the area which makes a common person finds it difficult to buy. The catchment in the forest continues to dwindle while the population of the people in Marsabit is growing at an alarming rate. The reservoirs are the same ones and no major improvement has been done on it since decades ago. The livestock which are found close to Marsabit central trek long distance in the interior of forest to get water. Water scarcity has been noted to be one of the instigators of conflict especially when the tribes living in Marsabit compete over a well, cistern or a trough at water site.

By and large, to minimize the resource based conflict, the respondents suggested that drilling borehole in all locations is paramount and will minimize conflict over water resource. Boreholes have served as a solution for water problem in log logo- a place 50 kilometers south of Marsabit town. Also, it has helped in place like Walda- a place North of Marsabit more than 150 kilometers North of Marsabit town. Boreholes are also used in Kalacha, North Horr and the lowland areas of Marsabit County and it is serving the community well. Livestock on the other hand are benefiting from this initiative.

The drilling of borehole in the town of Marsabit may not be feasible as the town's topography is up and its waters normally go down to the lowlands in log logo and Kamboi locations at the South of the Marsabit town. The other major suggestion

made by respondents is the equal distribution of resources among the county. While it is hard to practically implement this, the respondents said that all regions should have a resource of its own and that the government and other stakeholders should not isolate on any other. Of utmost importance is to look at the pastoralist community and figure out which resources are normally fought on. The respondents suggested that grazing land is a big issue in the county. With the extreme harsh climate resulting to desertification, and the encroachment on forest land by human activity, pasture land is a big challenge during drought seasons. In many instances, livestock are transferred from one area to another, in search of green pastures and water. Communities stay in caves such as ‘Goff Chop’¹⁴³ on the North, ‘Goff Aredo’¹⁴⁴, and other craters to save the livestock from the lack during the drought seasons.

3.3.2 Tribal rivalry and ethnicity

In terms of why conflict appears in Marsabit, the respondent blamed tribalism as the key factor in ethnic conflict category. In giving out the conflict that happened in Marsabit in the period of 1994-2012, it was evident that the 5 major tribes have experienced conflict of tribal nature. One outstanding finding in this is the fact that the dominant tribe of Borana have fought with either Gabra, Rendille, Burji and Garri over the period between 1994-2012 at different intervals. The question of tribalism may be due to political interest or the inclination of ownership and superiority complex in the region.

However, in answering on the status of the state of peace at the moments, the respondents mentioned that the state of peace in the county is fair at 70 percent. Only 20 percent of the respondents say that the state of peace in Marsabit is bad.

¹⁴³ A crater at the north of Marsabit town

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

In 2005, when the massacre occurred at Torbi, the blame was on ethnicity as the major cause of conflict. Tribal rivalry and politics go hand in hand in the case of Marsabit. Communities still put their tribal interests first when electing a political leader. The conflict between Gabra and Borana in Northern Marsabit is a practical example of tribal conflict where many people were killed. It was hard for a Borana person to be crossing the Gabra zone during such intense conflict because even an innocent person is killed in the name of revenge taking and it is vice versa for the opponent tribe. The tribal revenge continued on for a while and it needed a bigger intervention. The result of the infamous Marsabit plane crash in April 2006 happened when the high profile leaders of the Marsabit County some of whom were cabinet ministers were visiting to calm the tribal rivalry in Marsabit between tribes an end of which was a crash that claimed the lives of those leaders themselves.

While looking at ways in which to minimize ethnic conflict (tribal rivalry), the respondents suggested that intermarriage and conducting peace campaigns as a best approach of minimizing conflict. The suggestion is that regardless of which tribe one comes from, it is important to honour each and every tribe and marrying indiscriminately from any tribe. This connotes that when communities marry from other tribes, they tend to shun tribalism and thus minimize ethnic related conflict.

3.3.3 Isolation and poor road network

On the aspect of marginalization, the study found out that Marsabit is really marginalized. The reason for marginalization according to the respondents was largely the poor road network that connects people to national level. The road from Merile to Moyale is still rough and lacks tarmac. The link of communication is

inhibited by the government forgetting to set up a consistent plan for highway construction from Merile to Moyale.

The poor road network has isolated Marsabit from the rest of the nation. The citizens in Northern Kenya feel isolated and are not happy about it. However, solving marginalization will minimize especially conflict related to highway banditry. The culprits that loot passengers on a rough road will find a hard time doing that with the smooth road from Isiolo to Merile. Infrastructure improvement is seen as reducing cattle rustling at close to 45 percent. When the road network is good, the bandits will be pursued and caught quite easily than when the road is rough.

The big achievement is the Isiolo to Merille highway that respondents say has helped reduce 65 percent of highway banditry. The analysis found out that small firearms are reality especially being imported from the neighboring countries. Cross boarder sell of firearms is an easy trade for countries who do not have tough laws at the border. Ethiopia and Somalia, have few borders which have lenient administration and therefore, illicit trade is experienced there. The presence of the arms creates an opportunity for conflicts to escalate in the region. 80 percent of respondents agree that the reason there is illicit firearm in Marsabit is as a result of the cross border influence. This type of conflict influences the community in two ways. Respondents say that in addition to arms, they also contribute more in conflict of tribal rivalry connoting that a similar tribe in Ethiopia can come all the way to Kenya to defend their tribe when it is attacked by other tribes from Kenya.

Having talked about marginalization, resource, and cross border, the finding is clear that the resource based conflict is a major contributing factor of conflict in the region. In terms of the solution to conflict management, respondents suggest that training is important. More education is suggested to be given to the people of

Marsabit to live in an enlightened state. Training on peace education is asked to be emphasized either through radio program, television, or local media. A lesson on how communities should live in harmony should be taught. For example, the Kenya Broadcasting Cooperation local radio program has accommodated the participation of major tribes in Marsabit to be airing on peace education. A step hoped to bring healing to the people of Marsabit.

In conclusion, if the resource based conflict coupled with marginalization is solved, the ethnic conflict management will be easy to be dealt with especially with the peace education and peace campaign.

Figure 3.1 An overview of conflict dynamics

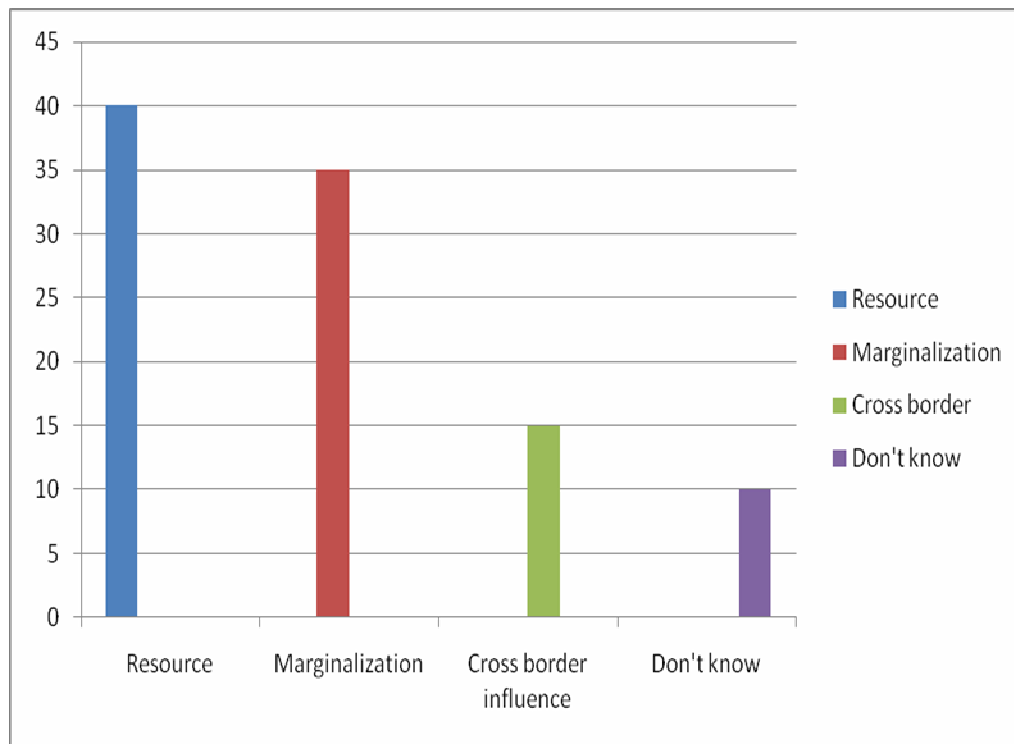


Figure 3.2 Frequent communities in conflict between 1994-2012

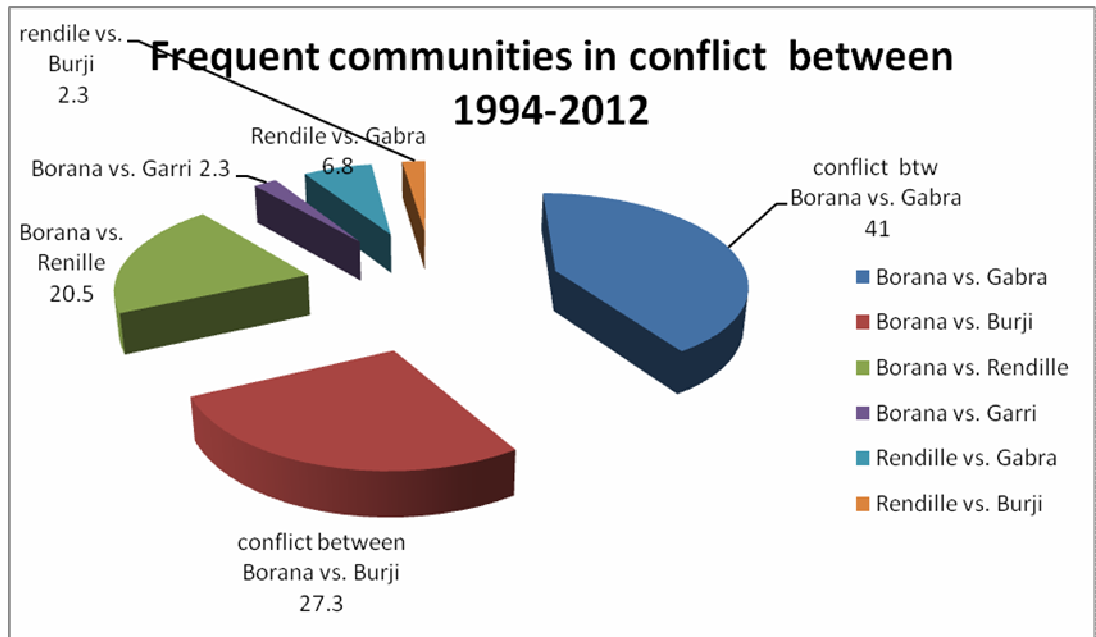


Figure 3.3 Causes of Ethnic conflict in Marsabit County

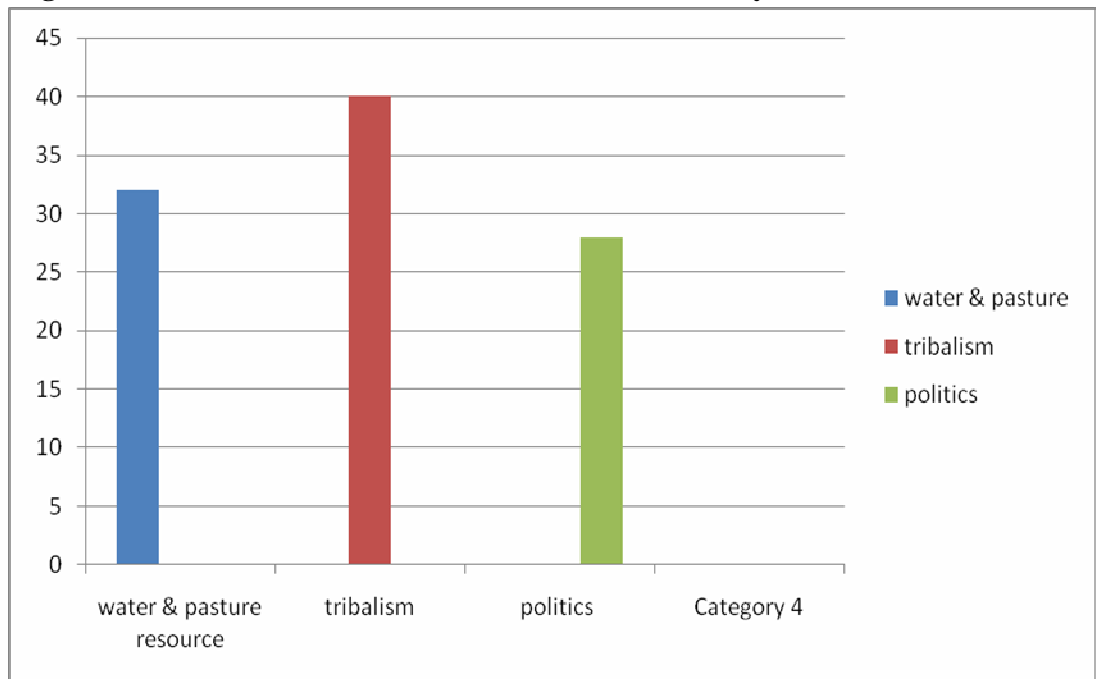
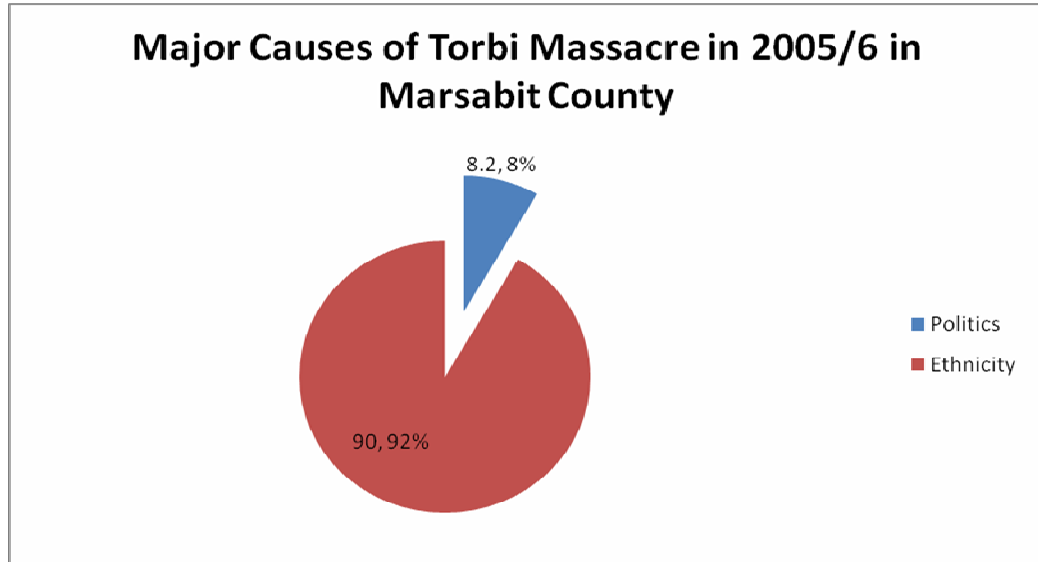
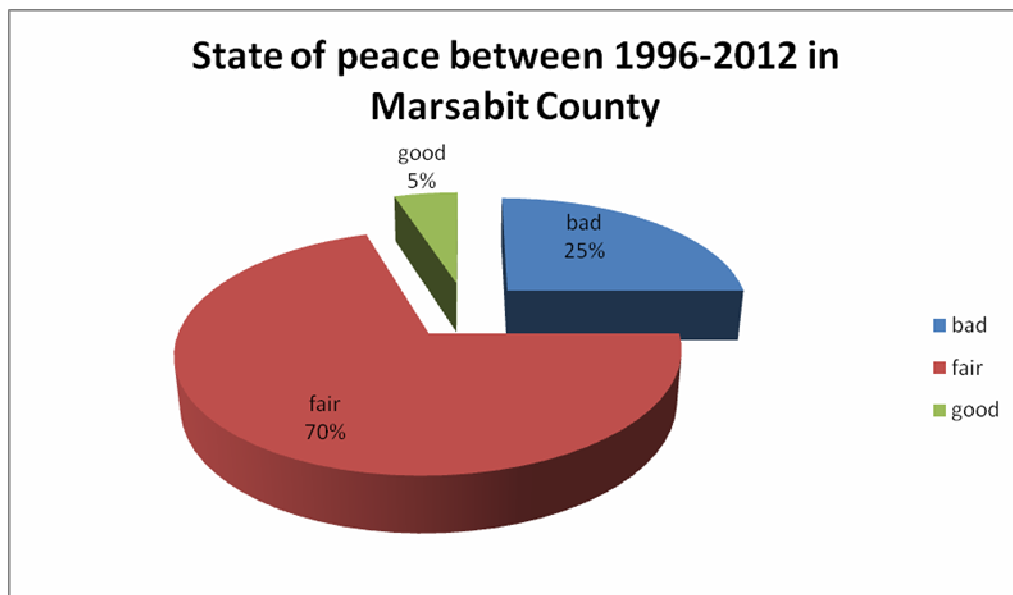


Figure 3.4 Major causes of Torbi Massacre in 2005/6 in Marsabit County



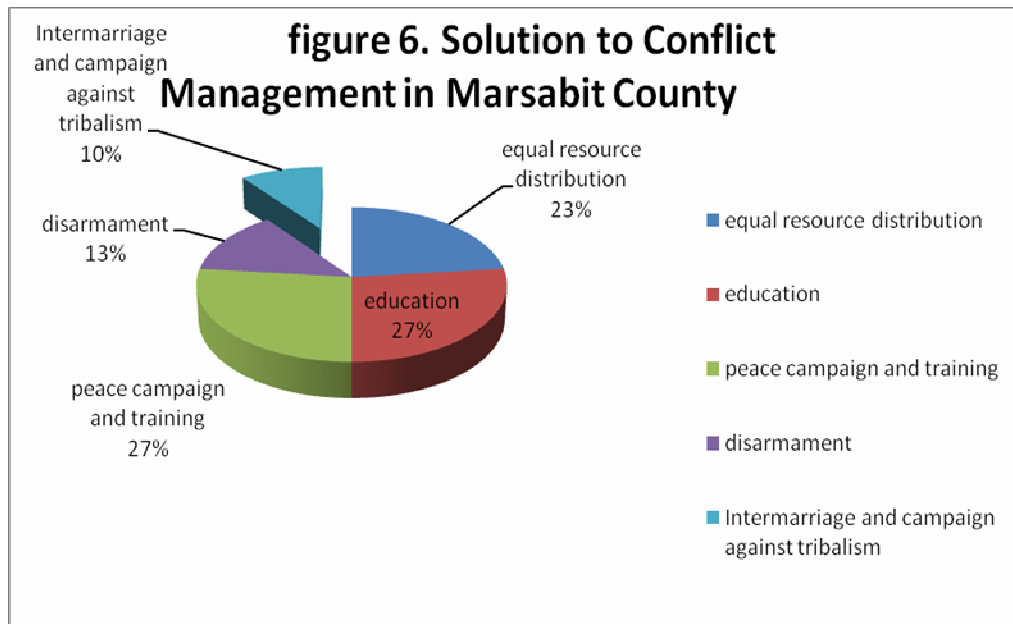
The respondents say that Negative ethnicity and tribal rivalry was the major cause of massacre in Torbi, North of Marsabit County.

Figure 3.5 State of peace between 1996-2012 in Marsabit County



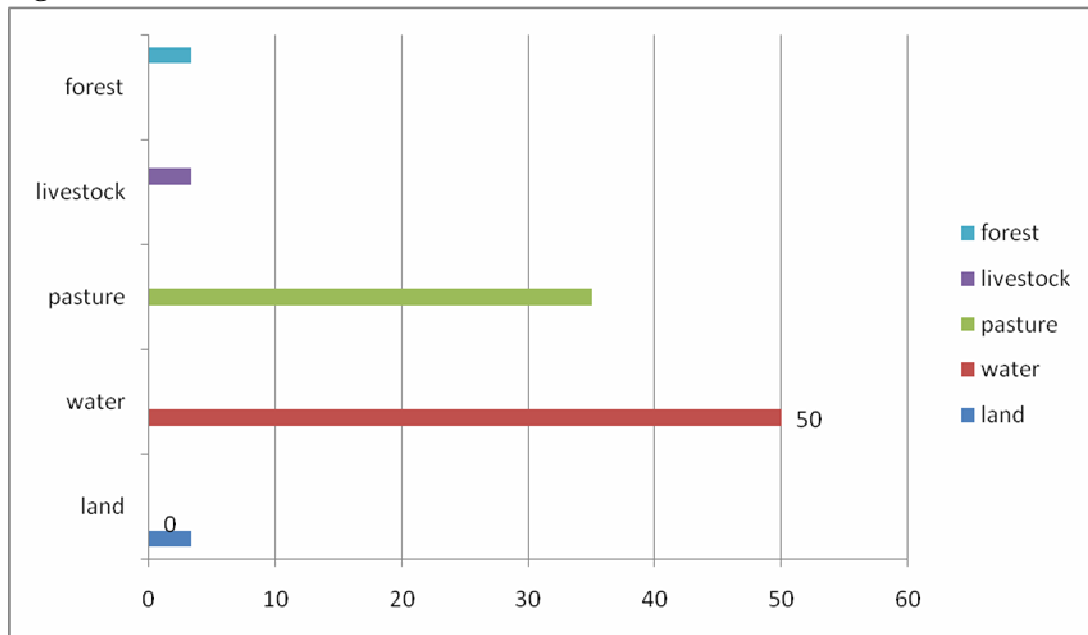
25% of respondents say that the state of peace is bad, 5 % say that the state of peace is good, while the bigger 70% of respondents say that it is fair.

Figure 3.6 Solution to conflict management in Marsabit County



The respondents say that education and peace campaign is the key to managing conflict in Marsabit.

Figure 3.7 The scarcest Resource



Water resource is the scarcest of all the resources in Marsabit County. 50% of people believe that there is acute water shortage in Marsabit which subsequently leads to competition of people on getting it.

Figure 3.8 Factors which show that Marsabit County is Marginalized

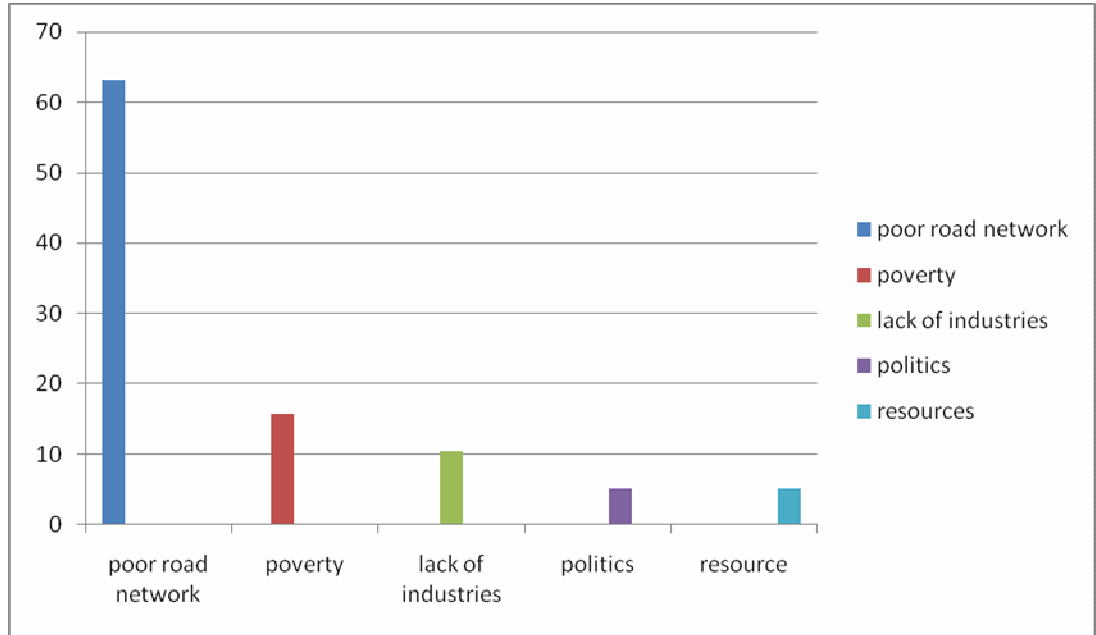
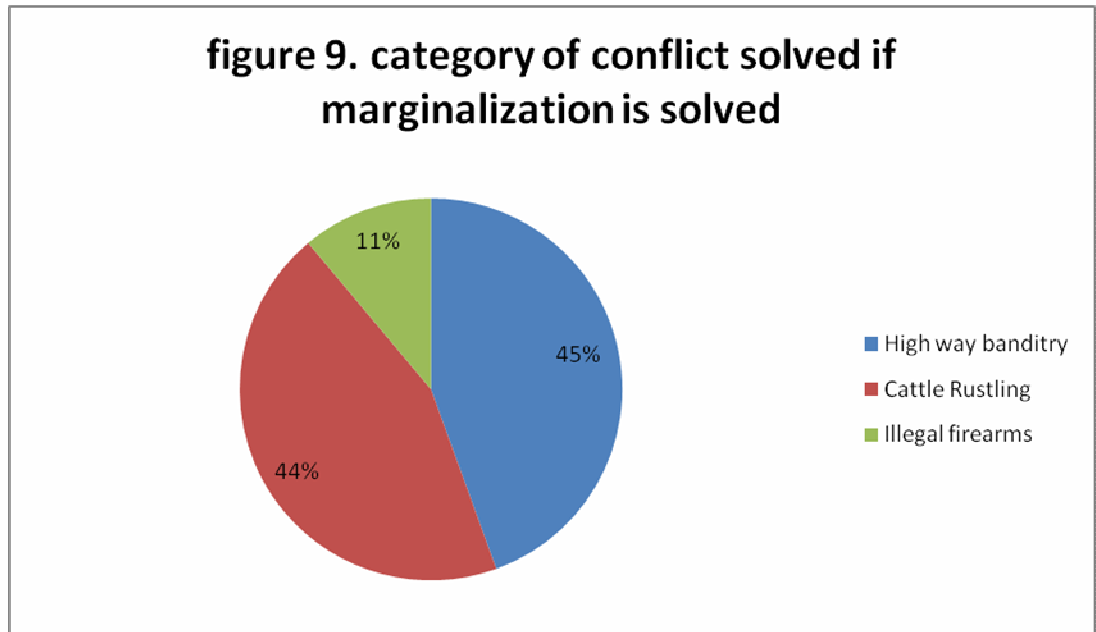
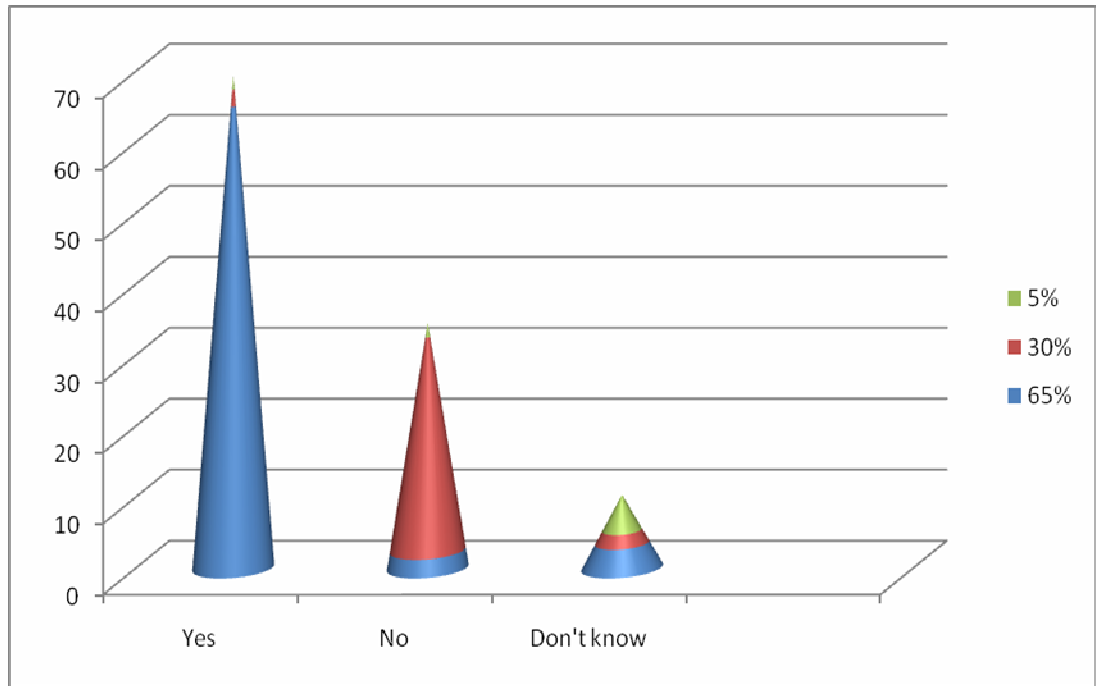


Figure 3.9 Category of conflict solved if marginalization is solved



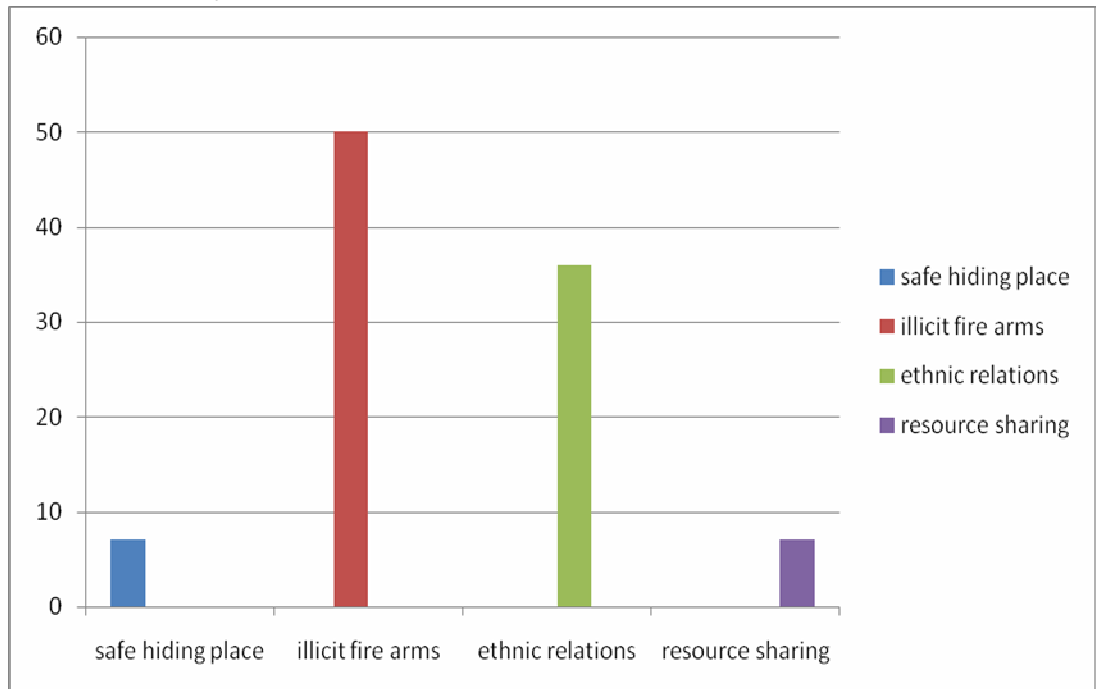
Highway banditry and Cattle rustling will be minimized if the problem of Marginalization is solved.

Figure 3.10 Whether the construction of road between Isiolo- Merille has minimized Highway banditry



It is vivid that the construction of the road from Isiolo to Marsabit has minimized highway banditry by 65%.

Figure 3.11 Ways in which neighboring countries contribute to conflict in Marsabit County



Cross border cause of conflict is attributed most on supply of small fire arms in the county.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has elaborated that the conflict in Marsabit county is attributed by Ethnic rivalry, water, pasture and livestock based resources, marginalization and cross border influences. Ethnicity and resource based conflicts are seen as the common highlights as major causes of conflict. The government failure in not addressing the marginalization of Northern Kenya is blame for the extreme level of marginalization that Marsabit experiences. From the historical account, Marsabit County is seen to be a conflict prone zone as more than four major conflicts of tribal nature has happened only between 1994-2012.

Important to note is the fact that grazing land and livestock are major conflict that the pastoral communities in the Marsabit region experience. Overall, water has been seen as the scarcest resource of all contributing to conflict. Tribal rivalry between ethnic groups has also been noted as a major conflict in the zone. The Torbi massacre that happened in 2005/6 has been identified as ethnically motivated one.

Solutions for management of conflict are also mentioned in this chapter. Education of fellow members of the community is seen as the best approach in dealing with the conflict of Marsabit. There was also need for peace campaign and peace education to take effect in Marsabit County.

CHAPTER FOUR
INVESTIGATION INTO CONFLICT DYNAMICS IN NORTHERN KENYA
CRITICAL ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the historical perspective of Conflict dynamic and its association to Ethnicity, natural resource and marginalization in Northern Kenya. An in-depth analysis on the nature of conflict in Marsabit County has been highlighted. It exhibits that Marsabit County is a conflict prone area and that still no major institutional framework to curb conflict has been put in place. The Northern Kenya's experience in Resource based Conflict has been highlighted as caused by pastoralist livelihood and the scarce water and pasture resources in the area. Also, contributing factors mentioned include the state of marginalization that the county faces. In the end, the linkage between the dynamics including resource scarcity, ethnicity, marginalization and the cross border influence have been explained in depth.

From the preceding chapter two and three research findings, this chapter will extract key thematic issues and debates emanating both from the primary and secondary data in order to construct a scholarly debate on emerging issues. In this chapter, we will look at the critical analysis of conflict dynamics in Marsabit, and challenges in those dynamics. After setting the pace on this we will embark on key thematic and emerging issues properly debated and argued concretely with a general focus on conflict dynamics. This includes, Climate change, Resource Management, Poverty, Role of religion in management of conflict, and Internationalization of livestock products and the Management of conflict dynamics.

4.1 Critical analysis on the Dynamics of Conflict

The finding shows that ethnicity, resource scarcity, marginalization and cross border influences have greatly contributed to the dynamics of conflict in Marsabit. Having experienced over five conflicts among the Borana, Burji, Rendile, Gabra, and Garri during the period of 1994-2012, the finding informs us that conflict is real and happens often times among the tribes with the dominant tribe of Borana featured a lot more. The ethnic conflict is thus blamed for the influence from the border community of Ethiopia who support their fellow tribes.

Every dominant community world over would feel to be attributed by leadership and power. For the case of the dominant community of Marsabit, the Borana community have exercised leadership for a considerable time and would feel good about continuing with it. When other minority tribes come in and clinch powerful positions, it thus creates tension and dissatisfaction from the dominant community as it works against the tyranny of numbers. The concept of superiority complex accompanied by the big brother aspect is evident. The massacre that was seen in Torbi was largely blamed for tribal conflict between the dominant tribe of Borana and the Gabra community. The finding further informs that there was little reason for politics in the conflict and much more was said to be a result of revenge, and tribal rivalry that has remained unresolved for a long period of time.

In addressing such nature of ethnic conflict, respondents mentioned five key things as follows: Intermarriage among the communities, conducting peace conferences, providing equal opportunity in employment and resource allocation, providing education, and finally empowering community groups economically. While the five methods of mitigating ethnic conflict have been mentioned, two of these will be of utmost importance according to the respondent. Peace conference and peace

education is underscored to be the overriding subject to help in resolving ethnic related conflicts. As earlier mentioned in our theoretical framework, conflict transformation is the underlying theory for healing the dynamics of conflict in Marsabit County. The school of thought by Lederach encourages peace education as the bottom line in addressing the root cause of such conflict. When the younger generation is well educated and sensitized on the importance of peace and development, the later will bring good fruit and therefore education and institutional reforms become a key contributor in conflict mitigation.

On the area of resource based conflict, the respondents mentioned the resources that exist in Marsabit as Water, Pasture, Land, and Livestock and forest all of which is contributing to conflict in one way or another. Forest land has not been conspicuously mentioned as a factor in conflict even though there has been encroachment of human activity and deforestation that took its course in the Marsabit forest. The land is gradually turning to desert which is largely an impact of climate change. In Marsabit County, there are people groups who live within the central division whose economic activity largely relies on trade and Agriculture. The rearing of livestock in central is not common as it is in the Southern and Northern Marsabit.

By and large, water resource and pasture resource remain a challenge in most part of the county- a point which makes community groups fight over competition of these resources. On the other hand, the question of land in areas of Moyale and other bordering zones close to Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan, continue to be a challenge. Community groups fight over land resource and as a result kill each other or even injure one another.

Livestock in Northern Kenya is treasured as a very important resource because much of the livelihood in Southern Marsabit and Northern Marsabit depend on it.

Livestock represent economic, social and physical need that the communities do not survive without. It is on this line that aspect such as dowry or marriage is linked with it. The reason why there are cattle rustling in Northern Kenya is because some communities such as Samburu and Rendile demand more livestock during the dowry.

Addressing resource based conflict still remains a big challenge. The finding informs us that there are various ways of mitigating conflict related to resources. These include, drilling of boreholes in different locations, providing equal resource distribution for all the communities, providing education, encouraging intermarriages among communities in the region, and finally nurturing tolerance when other communities attack. While it is helpful to follow those solutions, the provision of alternatives for resource utilization and equal distribution of resources is seen as the most promising segment of solution for this.

In terms of marginalization, Northern Kenya is the most marginalized area in Kenya. In Marsabit for example, marginalization is blamed for reasons of lack of good roads, lack of industries, lack of sufficient education, scarcity of resources, and growing rate of poverty. The finding informs us that the national government did not give priority to the citizens living in the Northern Kenya. The 1963 session paper on the Northern Kenya's marginalization attests to that. Marginalization has greatly contributed to highway banditry and cattle rustling because it is easier for bandits to flee with livestock or any resource they loot. Largely, it is blamed that marginalization is contributed because of poor road network that connects from Isiolo County to Moyale district of Marsabit County.

The respondents suggest that addressing the problem of poor road network for example will minimize the cross border proliferation of small firearms. Also, this type of solution will minimize high way banditry and cattle rustling.

In terms of cross border influences, the neighboring community of Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan has acted as a platform of supply where the local people import illicit firearms into the Kenyan borders. Much of proliferation of small firearms is blame on the border factor. Local communities access firearms cheaply in weaker administrative areas of southern Ethiopia, and North eastern area of Kenya which borders Somalia. The presence of firearms in the region has led to sporadic killings either because of revenge, or highway banditry for reason of looting and economic gain from innocent passengers.

The respondent suggests that tough laws should be enforced on border areas to make sure that small firearms do not proliferate in the region. Also, disarming the existing arms within the community should be a priority of the County government. All the communities in the Northern Kenya should be disarmed of firearms so that there would not be misuse of arms in triggering conflict.

4.2 Challenges in the dynamics of Conflict

From ethnic rivalry, to resource based conflict to marginalization, the dynamic of conflict in Marsabit does not only stop there. In fact respondents blame leadership as an obstacle in orchestrating conflict. In other words, there has been a bad political leadership in Marsabit. The leadership making in the county is more clan or tribal oriented rather than regional based. Having a number of tribes in the region, it is important to have a regional leader, but in most cases the representation of leaders has always had tribal interest and backing.

When chosen to the leadership position, the leaders commonly focus on their own tribes. How there tribes or lineage could benefit from social, economic, political and environmental aspect of livelihood. If it is employment for example, the political

leaders manipulate as much to have their own tribes at the first priority and bring others later.

In terms of resource shortage, question of land and water shortage seem to be conspicuous. In the Gadamoji division of Marsabit county, there is a strategic pasture and water place called 'shur.' The herdsmen graze in Shur in search of water and pasture normally during the dry seasons. The massive migration of livestock accompanied by human activity makes the available water resource in Shur a challenge to accommodate communities from diverse areas. The inhabitants of Shur for example view the land to be theirs and any intruder who comes and uses their water and pasture resource is questioned, a situation which has resulted to tribal clashes over resources.

In Moyale district, even though tribalism is assumed to be the cause of conflict, it is believed that there is much more to that which comes to a question of land resource. In the area bordering Turkana and Samburu, pastoralists fighting over water and pasture resource has been mentioned quite often.

The other challenge is the superiority complex. When one tribe assumes it is superior to others, it becomes a signal for a problem. In instances where the dominant tribe do not get political power or elected into the office, there are dissatisfactions that arise. In the period between 1994-2012, the leadership position of larger Marsabit County is said to have been shared by the communities that have dominance of numbers. As much as choosing leaders on the basis of merit is important, in the case of Marsabit, choosing leaders on merit has lacked significantly especially during the period between 1994 and 2012. Communities find it hard to let power go and often find means of hanging on the same position even if it calls to cause chaos and instability.

More frustratingly, there is the challenge of negative competition. There are still complexities of people suspecting each other. Historical complexities are profound in the sense that the past conflict that happened between communities continues to linger in the minds of the communities forsaken and vice versa. In 1994 the conflict between Burji and Borana was not completely solved. Even in the later years, riots and demonstrations have continued leading to vandalism of properties and injuries. The same happens between the Boran and Gabra, Boran and Rendille, Boran and Gari, Rendile and Gabra and Samburu. In the case of the massacre that happened in 2005 in Torbi, the memories of loss and injuries incurred by both Borana and Gabra linger in the minds of the present generation. The problem with this is that no conflict transformation mechanism was ever used to heal the root causes of this. No proper reconciliation has ever happened to get to the root of this. There is peace on the surface as a result of both the government intervention and the role of church but the dynamics continue to recur here and there. Rumor is a major challenge in making the conflict come up. Exaggerated statements which are out of place have been a common thing among the inhabitant of Marsabit County and that has often acted as a process toward conflict. Following the historic complexities, cultural grudge and revenge nursing have reportedly contributed to conflicts whether over resource or tribal animosity.

4.3 Emerging issues

4.3.1 Climate change

The impact of climate change is so real in the Northern Kenya. The magnitude of dry land coupled with harsh climatic condition can be attributed to the effect of climate change. With the ever increasing land degradation and deforestation, much more

impact will be felt. Filho agrees in citing the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) saying that IPCC defines climate change as any change in climate over time, whether due to natural variability or as a result of human activity.¹⁴⁵

The challenges of marginal land and harsh climatic condition will increase poverty level as other alternative of livelihood such as Agriculture is inhibited by such scenarios. While the question of resource scarcity is prevalent in Northern Kenya's Marsabit County, this lack is consequently because of the impact of climate change on the land. Mude further alludes to the fact that whatever its impacts, it is widely acknowledged that poor communities, already vulnerable to a suite of existing risks and endowed with meager resources, will be the most adversely affected as climate change is superimposed on their already tenuous situation.¹⁴⁶

The experience of drought in Marsabit County and the larger Northern Kenya has appeared in patterns that are close. Rain fall shortage is recurrent in Marsabit and it can be attributed to climate variation and changes overtime. Mude suggests that the increasing frequency of droughts, floods and climate-related disease epidemics coupled with unfavorable socio-economic trends and underdeveloped infrastructure highlights the predicament facing Kenya's Arid and Semi Arid Land (ASAL) populations and institutions concerned with their welfare and development.¹⁴⁷

According to Mude, partly due to the limited resilience of its inhabitants and partly due to the direct impacts of expected climatic vagaries, the ASAL regions of the East African rangelands, the Sahel and Southern Africa have been shown to be

¹⁴⁵ W. L. Filho, *Experiences of Climate Change Adaptation in Africa*, (Berlin: Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg, 2011), p. 98

¹⁴⁶ A. Mude, et al., *Kenya Adaptation to Climate Change in the Arid Lands: Anticipating, Adopting to and Coping with Climate Risks in Kenya- Operational Recommendations for KACCAL*, (ILRI, 2007) , p.

11

¹⁴⁷ Ibid

particularly vulnerable to climate change.¹⁴⁸ Agreeably, the grazing land and the pasture resources are limited. The people and the livestock become vulnerable in such climatic areas rendering them helpless. For example, in the drought of 2005, Marsabit experienced a huge population of stock deaths with cows, goats, and sheep starving for lack of water and pasture land. The loss of this had an implication on socio-economic livelihood of pastoral communities to the extent that they had to rely on donations of relief food aid which is still a practice in Marsabit County.

Reid observes that the frequency of drought, famine, resource-based conflict, animal and human disease, and dependency on food aid have dramatically increased in the last decades.¹⁴⁹ The dependency syndrome in which the arid and semi arid areas feel vulnerable is due to many challenges one of which is a climate change. The environment in Northern Kenya do not support agricultural plantation especially in the North and the South of Marsabit County. It is only the central Marsabit and few pocket areas within the county that have potential of good soil that support agriculture. Over the years, the land in the central Marsabit is similarly dwindling and the production is completely varying as compared to two decades ago where agriculture was a boom.

According to Reid, Pastoralists are never passive recipients of what fate climate change may dictate; rather they survive and thrive in some of the harshest landscapes of the world.¹⁵⁰ It is true that whether the environment is unfriendly, communities should do every best to contend with it and find appropriate alternative of improving the environment. An example of Northern Kenya shows that the

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 15

¹⁴⁹ H. Reid et al., *Community Champions: Adapting to Climate Challenge* (UK: International Institute for Environment and Development, 2010), p.26

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, p.26

communities rare livestock such as camel which stands the harsh scenario of lack of water for a long time.

Filho cites that, the most vulnerable communities to the impacts of climate change inhabit the dry land areas.¹⁵¹ Whether it is in Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, or Tanzania, most pastoralists are found on marginalized areas where climate change has taken effect. Some of this is done on purpose considering the session paper on pastoral community where the Kenya's colonial government had to give marginalized zones for pastoralist's communities to graze their land away

Due to climate change, Northern Kenya is experiencing intense droughts at shorter intervals with intermittent high precipitation and flooding.¹⁵² This is agreeable because the nature of rain pattern in Marsabit has varied greatly. Today, the communities can stay without any crop production for a year, as opposed to two times harvest in a year in the last 20 years.

Rarieya concurs that in Kenya, the impacts of global warming are being felt throughout the country, especially in western and northeastern regions where floods and drought are recurrent.¹⁵³ The climatic condition in Northern Kenya go extremely to 38 degree and above Celsius in extreme whether condition.

As Sum Low mentions, the widespread drought affected Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia most severely, but was serious as well in Sudan, Somalia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Eritrea.¹⁵⁴ It is true that the droughts of early 1980s, the 1990s, and 2006 frequently happen in the Northern Kenya. Due to the nature of the place, the pattern of the rain is minimal in these zones making it easier for drought and other environmental disasters entangle the place.

¹⁵¹ W. L. Filho, 2011, *Op. cit*, p.98

¹⁵² *Ibid*, p. 97

¹⁵³ M. Rarieya, *ProQuest Information and Learning Company*, (USA, 2008), p.207

¹⁵⁴ P. S. Low, *Climate Change and Africa*, (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.228

Sum Low agrees with the challenges and says that the failure of the rainy season in the Greater Horn of Africa region in 2000, following two years of erratic rainfall, triggered food shortages and losses of livestock not seen since the early 1980s.¹⁵⁵ It is a wake up call for the communities in the arid land on the issues of how to best deal with climate change.

Heavy rains in Sudan in 1999 damaged or destroyed more than 2,000 homes, while in Mozambique, some of the worst flooding in 40 years cost dozens of lives and massive property losses.¹⁵⁶ This can simply be explained as an impact which undoubtedly is due to the changing climatic dimension.

4.3.2 Management of Natural resource

The campaign for the management of natural resources has been up and running in the recent past. Much more will unfold especially with the support of the Non Governmental Organizations and government agencies which are working towards the utilization of natural resources. For example, NGO's have been at the frontline of constructing boreholes and pans in the districts located in lowlands such as North Horr, Laisamis, and Moyale districts.

An initiative such as the dam by the name 'haro bota'¹⁵⁷ for instance is a big one that serves the people in central area of Marsabit with conserved rain water in the pan. After the rainy season, the people of Marsabit get a sigh of relief as they fetch water from the pan at a cost effective price.

Similarly, NGO's have been providing tanks for community groups who do not have tanks in order to harvest rainy water during the rainy season. Other people

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, p.228

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p.228

¹⁵⁷ Haro bota is the largest pan in Marsabit town containing water from rain water run offs

groups who are capable of buying plastic tanks are doing so. In terms of conserving pastures, the grasses and fodder for livestock are harvested during the rainy season, and kept to serve during the drought seasons. Preservation of environment and the resource base are essential for sustainable development.¹⁵⁸ Of greater importance to the pastoralists community is the management of livestock which have intensified especially with their role of NGO's. The NGO's such as Food for the Hungry Kenya have built market places in the arid Merille area where pastoralists now have a place to sell and buy livestock and livestock products from each other. In Ethiopia, traditional pastoralist land management regimes cover much of the southern half of the country but are not formally recognized.¹⁵⁹

Ukur Yattani who is also the first governor of Marsabit County has plans to intensify the management further. It is within the County governments plan to internationalize the livestock trade in which it will be sold in the international markets. Areas such as North Africa and the Arabian peninsular are in the list of priorities where the counties resources will be exported. The adoption of a comprehensive framework for analyzing policies and options would help guide decisions about managing water resources in countries where significant problems exist, or are emerging, concerning the scarcity of water, the efficiency of service, the allocation of water, or environmental damage.¹⁶⁰

In terms of conservation of game reserves and parks, Marsabit County has begun working on a plan to maximize on tourism industry. Kenya has a vast potential in tourism, receiving more than one million visitors a year, while the relevant bodies

¹⁵⁸ World Bank, *Water Resources Management*, (Washington DC: International Bank for Reconstruction, 1993), p. 10

¹⁵⁹ D. Roe et al., *Community management of natural resources in Africa*, (UK: International Institute for Environment and Development, 2009), p.33

¹⁶⁰ World Bank, *Water Resources Management*, 1993, *Op. cit*, p.10

reckon that the country should receive well over five million.¹⁶¹ Marsabit has sceneries such as Lake Paradise located within the Marsabit forest and it has a number of natural caves for view. Approximately 75% of Marsabit is classified as rangelands and the mode of land use is extensive grazing.¹⁶² Also, a place such as Olduvai Gorge which has historical reference is found within the County and can be a major tourist attraction center especially when the road network is improved. In essence, plan on infrastructural improvement to attract tourists in Marsabit is believed to boost the economy of the county and at the same time ease the level of poverty in the region.

In addition to this, the community development initiatives and group formation towards conserving forests, water, and soil is at high momentum. In Kenya, the Group Ranch structure of land and resource management has proven to be highly susceptible to control by local elites, who have tended to reward themselves with allocation of lands and revenues in many areas, thereby converting communal property to individual property.¹⁶³

With the new plan from the county government it is hoped that some zones will fully be preserved as grazing lands to minimize overlapping of conflict. In the presence of sufficient demand for livestock or livestock products, unrestricted access to the grazing lands may result in overexploitation of the resource and the scarcity rent of the resource would remain un-appropriated.¹⁶⁴ It is true that in some wells within Marsabit, livestock are allowed to come in turns during a specific day to drink.

¹⁶¹ Joseph Kwaka and Thurania Mutunga, "contemporary Kenya and its Leadership". In *Challenging the Rulers*, eds. Okoth Okombo et al., (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 2011), p.4

¹⁶² G.O. Haro et al., "Linkages between Community, Environment and Conflict Management: Experiences from Northern Kenya," In *Decentralization and the Social Economics of Development: Lessons from Kenya*, eds. C.B. Barreti et al., (UK: CAB International, 2007), p.112

¹⁶³ D. Roe et al., *Community management of natural resources in Africa*, (UK: International Institute for Environment and Development, 2009 , p.33 see also, Mwangi 2007, and Thompson and Homewood, 2002.

¹⁶⁴ B. Gebremedhin et al., Collective action for grazing land management in mixed crop-livestock systems in the highlands of northern Ethiopia,(Nairobi: ILRI working paper no 42,2002), pp.28

In Sololo, Walda, and areas in the North of Marsabit, livestock are restricted to using water resource on a daily basis. The free and uncontrolled grazing system is considered as a major cause of grazing land degradation in Tigray.¹⁶⁵

4.3.3 Poverty

The rate of poverty is obviously high in Marsabit. According to UN and World Bank reports, the annual GDP per capita for Kenya is around USD 360 at 2010, while about half of the Kenyan population lives in poverty.¹⁶⁶ Being a marginalized zone, Marsabit is at the periphery and therefore access of goods and services from the center do not easily get there. Reid et al, argues that in addition to the chronic poverty levels amongst pastoral communities, under exploited development potential and poor policies that conflict with the unique needs of the dry lands, climate change will result in the loss of pastoral livelihoods and will exacerbate poverty levels amongst dry land communities.¹⁶⁷ There are myriad of challenges that pastoralist community go through in Northern Kenya. It is estimated that of the 56% of the total population that live below the poverty line, about 52.9% are in rural areas and 49.2% in the urban areas.¹⁶⁸

Ruben et al¹⁶⁹, argues that population pressure, land fragmentation and limited access to inputs all lead to declining yields, and remoteness and the lack of services further aggravate poverty. This characteristic is evident in the sub-Saharan Africa especially in the horn of Africa where pastoralists live. In Northern Kenya, population is surging with an average house holding 6 persons and more. This is even more

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 17

¹⁶⁶ Joseph Kwaka and Thurania Mutunga, 2011, *Op. cit*, p.18

¹⁶⁷ H. Reid et al., *Community Champions*, 2010, *Op. cit*, p. 26

¹⁶⁸ F. Kessy and A. Tostensen. *Out of Poverty: Comparative poverty reduction strategies in Eastern and Southern Africa*. (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 2008), P.123

¹⁶⁹ R. Ruben et al., *Sustainable Poverty Reduction in Less-Favored Areas*, (UK:CAB International, 2007), p.4

practical in the Northern part of Marsabit where a source of livelihood is livestock rearing.

Most retrogressive of all is the challenges of Agricultural growth that has become profound since the 1990s. The bounty agricultural products that were experienced in the 1980s are lacking drastically overtime. The desert has increasingly stretched towards the center and the places that used to produce crops are slowly losing out. Places such as Gar Qarsa, Hula Hula, Kachacha, Dirib Gombo, Goro Rukesa and others are slowly becoming a desert place.

On the other hand, illiteracy among the older generation has been the order of the day. Many children in 1990s have either dropped out of schools or did not attend schools. This inhibits professional population to thrive. A lot of youths have no formal employment and are idle in the town. Most type of jobs that the young one's hope for is the military jobs which in many instance is made hard to access due to bribe prerequisite. Session paper no. 10 of 1965 identified poverty, disease and ignorance as major constraints to human development that needed to be addressed by the post-independence government.¹⁷⁰

The other challenge is the investment level which is relatively low in Marsabit. There is low capital, low saving, low investment, and consequently low profit. Considering the marginal nature of Marsabit due to its infrastructural problem, the area is faced with myriad of challenge from socio-political, economic and environmental nature.

Similarly, water is a major challenge because it has remained to be acute. The problem of water has brought with it lack of industries to be initiated in the town. As it is understood, water is an essential element for livelihood and lack of redressing the

¹⁷⁰ F. Kessy and A. Tostensen, 'Out of Poverty:2008, *Op. cit*, p.119 see also, Republic of Kenya 1965

challenge of water makes the poverty level escalate. Poverty reduction is the overarching challenge of development policies in sub Saharan Africa in the 21st century.¹⁷¹

With the harsh environmental condition in North and South of the county, pastoralists will face a bigger challenge of going short of grazing land and water in the near future. This will have a negative ramification on the livelihood hence triggering poverty rate.

4.3.4 Role of Religion

According to Morgan Shore the term ‘religious conflict resolution’ is important because it incorporates different levels of socio-political engagement and different actors involved in conflict resolution; in other words, it accounts for multi-track diplomacy.¹⁷² The religious body in Marsabit is a powerful one. Both the Muslim brotherhood and the Christian community are doing great in addressing peace.

Following the massacre of Torbi in 2005, there was massive draught that led to the death of livestock’s in large numbers. This triggered the poverty level in areas especially at the North and the South of Marsabit. The leaders of church organized a joint prayer meeting and prayed for the rain that God may forgive the bloodshed poured and redeem the land. The gathering of church in public places for prayer continues to happen often to sensitize people to love each other and live in harmony. This has happened in the past years when drought hit the area. In some cases, the kind of extensive drought that happens in Marsabit region and the shortage of rain is on

¹⁷¹ A. Fosu et al, *Poverty in Africa: Analytical and Policy Perspectives* (Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press, 2009), p.1

¹⁷² M. Shore, *Religion and Conflict Resolution, Christianity and South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, (UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), p. 21 See also, Joseph Montville

occasions associated with the punishment from God due to the innocent bloodshed that was poured in the name of conflict.

The religion has played a role of being voice for the people. In 2004, when the peaceful demonstration to advocate for the tarmac of the Road from Isiolo-Moyale, it was the organization of religious bodies that were at the center of this. The National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), and the Catholic Justice Peace Commission (CJPC) together with other organizations and churches accompanied by civil society organizations initiated the plan which saw the road from Isiolo to Merile tarmac in the subsequent years by Kibaki administration. The religious bodies have not just stopped there. Even with the slow move of the construction on the Merile-Moyale highway, the religious bodies are doing every necessary best to be the voice of the people.

While the above is an achievement, the religion also continues to play a role of providing humanitarian support for communities in the County. Considering the dire need that some people groups have, the religion has played a role of standing in the gap to support the needy. Both the church and the mosque have not stopped feeding its people. The Anglican Church development arm named Christian Community Service (CCS) have tirelessly provided the needy communities with relief food during the drought season. Similarly in 2010 for example, the Food for the Hungry Kenya (FHK) continued to implement a project funded by World Food Program (WFP) in administering food aid to the larger Marsabit county. Others are Red Cross Society in the year 2006-2009 which supported in giving humanitarian support to the people groups in Marsabit County. Most NGO's in Marsabit come in the name of the church related organizations that help provide food aid and other necessary support during disaster.

Of greater importance is that religion has often been a symbol of peace in the region. Through a ministry organized by Bishop of Pentecostal Evangelism Fellowship of Africa (PEFA) church Fredrick Gache, the church spent one night each month praying for peace in the year 2012. Other faithful such as the Christians, Traditional religion and Muslim brotherhood have utilized their energy in spending their time praying for peace in Marsabit.

Even though lots of ill has happened in Marsabit in the past, religious consciousness and the fear of God's concept continue to transform the lives of many people in the county. Some church related organizations such as the Catholic Church has been at the forefront of helping rebuild schools and hospitals for the people of Marsabit.

In the same vein, many needy children from the county of Marsabit are supported by the religious role, both from the Muslim organizations including the Muslim agency to others such as Child Fund, Child Development Program, Catholic Church, and many other faith based organizations. It is with such role that children from poor families have possibly accessed high schools and universities and in turn found professional jobs within and without the county. The role of religion is very conspicuous and it is the religion that actually the government is using because people identify themselves with it. The church has sacrificially constructed hospitals, schools, dispensaries, and has provided amenities for basic needs. Some water constructions sites were initiated by religious bodies. The Catholic Church for example has helped in construction of pans in the North Horr area. In Log logo location of Southern Marsabit, the African Inland Church has helped in borehole drilling with the help of other donors from Western world.

4.3.5 Internationalization of Livestock products

Emerging issues by government forming the ministry of Northern Kenya is a starting point of pastoralist economy. The convoys from Marsabit County are the one's that transport the cows, goats, and sheep to the Kenya's capital city. The bulk meat product that the Kenya Meat Commission get on a daily basis has its root from Northern Kenya. Even though a challenge of road transport is there, the county and its people are adding to the national economy of Kenya in a bigger way. Currently, with the formation of county government, the central government has decentralized resources and these resources are used to build the capacity of pastoralist community. Since Marsabit County is located on the greatest highway that connects up to Egypt in North Africa, plans in penetrating the international market will undoubtedly enhance the economy of Marsabit in a concrete way.

The project by the government on the construction of highway tarmac from Isiolo to Moyale will hopefully finish in the next few years. The road network connection will be a huge milestone in the history of Marsabit which will revolutionize the economy of pastoralists community. It will be easier for pastoralists to trade their livestock within the quickest time possible to markets such as Nairobi, Eldoret, Kisumu, and Mombassa because the road infrastructure will be accessible. Of greater importance is the fact that business people from all around will come up to the Marsabit County to purchase the livestock products. The working of such situation will create more wealth for the region hence the reduction of poverty cycle.

This will further minimize the rate of livestock death because the markets will be available. There will be less disaster both for human and livestock as cow, goats, sheep and camels will easily be sold during the drought and dry seasons. This will make cash flow in the county grow resulting to high economic level among the

currently challenged community of Marsabit County. The work that the government agencies, the civil society, the religion, and the NGOs have done is already a sign of development showing up. The market establishment for livestock is a platform in which livestock products will be sold accessibly and at the same time preparing the pastoralists for early warning when droughts emerge.

4.3.6 The management of conflict

There is need for vibrant and dynamic leadership in Marsabit. Leadership should be chosen on the basis of merit and not tribe. True leadership is servant leadership whose defining essence is service above self.¹⁷³ Leaders should stop being only community oriented but should have regional outlook because they represent multi-dimensional community groups in the county.

As Peter Drucker correctly opines, “Leadership is the lifting of man’s vision to higher sights, the raising of man’s performance to higher standards, and the building of men’s personality beyond its normal limitations.”¹⁷⁴ The central government has for a long time isolated the Northern Kenya, and the emerging County government structure will be helpful to Marsabit if effectively administered. The devolved government has its own budget to be able to develop infrastructure and minimize the marginalization aspect. It is time that communities through the help of devolved government start living in post marginalization era.

More importantly, there is need for government intervention during conflict periods. The delay factor in responding to conflict prone areas should be a thing of the

¹⁷³ P. Lumumba, “The Leadership Kenyans Deserve”. In *Challenging the Rulers*, eds. Okoth Okombo et al., (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 2011)p, 38

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 38

past, and now it is important that early warning mechanism on conflict mitigation be an agenda within the county government's strategic plan.

Moreover, it is high time for leaders to put their past historical differences and forge ahead to unite and develop the county of Marsabit. The existing leaders should put in it's strategic plan a mechanism which recognizes the unique challenges of all communities in the region and at the same time find feasible approaches to forge ahead to holistically revolutionize the socio-economic political and environmental need of its people. Every person regardless of which tribe they come from should come on board as people who share a culture and a common aspiration.

In the same vein, the role of religion church and other religious bodies should take its place in peace making. The NGOs and faith based organizations is already doing much, and it is important that the government protects its border. The border is not well protected as there has been a sporadic killing in weaker borders of Ethiopia and Sudan at the boundary of the Marsabit County.

On the other hand Education is key to transform communities from one generation to another. Therefore, communities should be educated and sensitized on the short term and long term implication of conflict and how best they can avoid that.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter identified critical analysis into conflict and highlighted the challenges in the dynamics. Findings on key emerging issues in conflict dynamics in Northern Kenya were elaborated and expounded upon. The conflict in Marsabit are caused by tribal rivalry, scarcity of resources, marginalization, and cross border influences. As has been outlined, in chapter three resource scarcity coupled with ethnicity is the major cause of conflict in Marsabit County. It was important to note that issues that

are emerging in the county are as addressed in chapter four. The climate change is a reality in Marsabit County where it continues to be harsh. The deforestation of Marsabit forest is one of the contributing factors to climate change, and it calls for proper policy guidelines for it to be reversed. However, it will take a longer time to be realized. Secondly, resource management has been practiced greatly in the recent past. Many organizations and government agencies continue to take action in the utilization of natural resources and livestock resources for the benefit of the people of Marsabit County. Thirdly, religion plays a role of conflict transformation in the region. In the theoretical framework in chapter one, we are guided by Lederach's model of conflict transformation in which root causes of conflict be addressed. In terms of ethnic conflict, and issues of marginalization, the root cause should be addressed by creating institutions that help mitigate it. There are other issues discussed such as poverty which is rampant in Northern Kenya. Indicators such as lack of literacy, poor agriculture, lack of industries, poor infrastructure, lack of investment, lack of employment opportunities are some of the characteristics of people living in Marsabit. Unless, all this scenarios are reversed, poverty will continue to linger in the county.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

5.0 Summary

This research sets out to investigate the dynamics of conflict in Marsabit County within the period of 1994 to 2012. It focused on ethnicity, resources and marginalization as key dynamics and investigated its linkage to conflict. The overall objective was to determine whether marginalization and resource scarcity coupled with ethnicity can contribute to conflict in Marsabit County.

The specific objectives were first of all to analyze historical perspective of ethnicity and the nature of conflict related to it, the second was to investigate the key causes of conflict in Marsabit County, and finally to identify the role of resource scarcity, marginalization and cross boarder influence in conflict in Marsabit County.

In addressing this objective, chapter one developed a synopsis of a problem and through literature review, provided background information and the justification of the research. It categorized a conflict transformation model as relevant in explaining the study.¹⁷⁵

The methodology used is both primary and secondary while questionnaires, focus group discussions and interviews were employed as data collection instruments. Three key dynamics such as resource scarcity, marginalization, and Cross-border influence were found to have relation with the historical conflict in Marsabit County.

Chapter two concentrated on giving broader historical perspective of conflict dynamics around the world. It further segmented its focus on the dynamics of resource based conflict with water resource conflict as the thematic area. Ethnicity,

¹⁷⁵ See chapter 1 on theoretical framework p.16

challenges of pastoralists and the Historical perspective of conflict in Northern Kenya and the management of cross border conflict was critically examined.

In chapter three, the study dwelt on the dynamics of conflict in Northern Kenya with a case study of Marsabit County in which the study dwelt more on the secondary data. The chapter looked at the historical perspective of conflict dynamics, the causes of conflict and looked at the dynamics of resource, marginalization and ethnicity and it's relation to conflict. This chapter further informed us that conflict in Marsabit is as a result of ethnic rivalry, Resource scarcity and impact of marginalization. This chapter further gives that education and peace campaign coupled with improved marginalization is a key to conflict management.

Chapter four provided a critical outlook at Key emerging issues and thematic areas in conflict dynamics in Marsabit County. In analyzing the theme, the findings in chapter two and three will act as a basis for the theme formation. The chapter looked at key issues such as climate change, resource management, the Role of religion in conflict transformation, the place of poverty, and finally the leadership.

On the first objective, the historical perspective of ethnic conflict in Marsabit is related to tribal rivalry between the dominant tribes versus the minority tribes and their political and ideological inclinations. In addition, competition over pasture, water and livestock resources continue to trigger ethnic conflict in Marsabit County. In terms of its management, the finding suggests that education and empowerment on tribal harmony will be essential. This will be accompanied by events such as peace campaign.¹⁷⁶

On the second objective of investigating the causes of conflict in Marsabit County, the finding shows that apart from ethnicity, conflict is caused by

¹⁷⁶ See chapter three

marginalization, resource scarcity and cross border influence. In all this, the finding establishes that resource based conflict is the key among all. On the third objective, it singles out that water, pasture, and livestock are the major elements of resource based conflict. It profoundly shows that the key element of resource based conflict is water resource which is viewed as the scarcest resource bringing conflict overall. For these results, all the three hypotheses have been addressed.

5.1 Key findings

What emerged from the study is that tribal rivalry between the dominant and the minority tribe is the main cause of ethnic conflict. Whereas tribal rivalry conspicuously manifests as a general outlook of the dynamic of conflict, it shows that marginalization, resource scarcity and cross border influences has also played a key role in conflict precipitation in Marsabit County. The nature of conflict in Marsabit is structural because question of ethnicity can only be solved through institutional initiatives. Also on the part of resource and marginalization, policies and management will require institutional framework which still will come back to structural mainstreaming.

The research findings indicate that over the last 20 years, the dominant tribe of Borana has had conflict with more than four ethnic groups such as Burji, Gabra, Rendile, Garri who live in Marsabit County. In terms of the resource scarcity and marginalization, the blame goes to the national government which marginalized the Northern Kenya at independence. New policies such as creation of Ministry of Northern Kenya have been an important element in minimizing the rate of marginalization and enhancing the decentralization of public resource in the county.

The brutal conflict experienced in Marsabit County has a root in politics as well. Political leaders are blame for instigating their innocent tribe mates to orchestrate fights against the other. In the case of Torbi Massacre for example, the conflict was largely as a result of tribal rivalry and political trigger between Borana and Gabra.¹⁷⁷ The big problem is the fact that communities have always competed over political battles where every one wants to elect their own tribe even when the contestants' profile is bad. With this in mind, putting bad leadership in political positions is blame for most of the conflict that take place in the region. It was not once or twice but a number of times killings of innocent persons has happened for reasons of politics. This has either happened to make the opponent community feel pain on the loss because the killing has normally happened on key persons of influence in the society. The war in Moyale district for example is blamed for political interest among the conflicting tribes.

In the question of resource based conflict, the finding shows that water, pasture, livestock and land are the main resources that communities fight on. The issue of climate change on the part of pasture and water is significant. The Marsabit region has been dry with harsh environmental conditions among the pastoralists community. Grazing land has become acute for livestock and thus intense migration to search for water and pasture have resulted in conflicts between and among the tribes. On the question of water in particular, Marsabit has experienced the scarcest water resource ever. The provision of good infrastructure for water as well as setting of laws around forest land and encouraging the growth of more trees in the area will tackle the challenge of climate change.

¹⁷⁷ See chapter three- Torbi Massacre

It has been observed that marginalization of Marsabit account for 45% of conflict related to highway banditry. If good road infrastructure is put in place, 45% of such and related conflict will be minimized. In addition, addressing the challenge of marginalization will also help reduce cattle rustling by 45 percent. It should be noted that the recent road construction from Isiolo- Merille has minimized high way banditry in those areas by 75%. As mentioned in chapter three, road network is a major factor of linking the community to the national economy. The finding informs that the larger remaining part of road should be expedited in order for the northern Kenya to be equitably linked to both national and international economy. As it has reduced two major conflicts of high way robbery and cattle rustling by a big margin, it is prudent to note that marginalization has played a key role in conflict. Having said that, political marginalization will consequently get minimized if infrastructural elements are put in order.

In issues of cross border influence, external communities engage in conflict over the search of water and pasture in Kenya's border which consequently can lead to conflict. Also, the cross border problem of sharing same ethnic background with the one's on the Kenyan side incites conflict when the tribes from southern Ethiopia come in defense of their own tribe mates on the Kenyan side. The same has happened for other tribes in Northern Uganda, Southern Sudan, and the Somalia which borders North Eastern Kenya. There are issues of smuggling of illicit small firearms as an influence from porous border to Marsabit region. About 79% of illegal firearm in Marsabit is associated with cross border trade and initiative. The major challenge is that Northern Kenya is surrounded by weak administrative border which does not have tough laws on illicit firearms. Unfortunately, most killings that occur either in

the Forest of Marsabit County or on the high way during banditry happens through the use of such illegal arms.

From ethnically motivated conflict to marginalization and resource based conflict one thing stands out. The key to this kind of conflict dynamic is to come up with proper structures that can address it. In terms of ethnicity for example, a structural healing and reconciliation program encompassing all the communities in Marsabit is needful. Also to note is conflict transformation model which deals with the root causes of conflict and thus deals with conflict from a long term perspective. Echoing the Lederach's conflict transformation model, it is important that there is change of attitude, behavior and context beginning from young school going children to adults in order to imitate good relationship, and oneness across all the community groups.

On the question of the scarcity of resource, the proper way of addressing it is still institutional arrangements and setting of laws as pertaining to the available resources. A structure of looking at the challenges of climate change and curbing those challenges from a long term perspective is needful. As seen in the finding, Marsabit is arid and semi arid in nature and that the environment and the rain pattern of the place is minimal. This in turn makes the competition over pasture, water and livestock high. For this reason, plans of prioritizing on the major need within the county should be a top agenda in Marsabit County's administration. These cannot be done without formulating structures and putting in place institutions that govern resources.

5.2 Recommendation

Conflict in Marsabit County is closely related to ethnic rivalry, scarce resource, marginalization and cross border influence. The proper way of intervening in this type of conflict is to address human security concept. Looking from a resource based standpoint, the conflict in Marsabit is a need based conflict. The people's basic and economic need should be met for the conflict to minimize. There is strong urge of strengthening institutions that help in utilization and management of available resources as well as developing new institutions to curb the challenge of resource lack.

First of all it is important to address the challenge of marginalization. This can be done through developing infrastructure such as road network and industries. The road network from Merile to Moyale should be expedited. When the government speeds on this, it will connect Northern Kenya to a national and international economy. Public fund should be invested in the areas of infrastructure such as road, water, schools, and industries to make the region attractive for private development.¹⁷⁸ The construction of Northern Kenya's road is important for the following reasons.

First, it is a major highway that connects the rest of the country to international market. The road that passes through Marsabit County connects up to North Africa passing through Addis-Ababa to a destination in Egypt. As much as highway banditry and cattle rustling will be minimized, it is a key development that enhances trade and economic growth for the county. Both the inhabitants of the region and the Kenya government as a nation will make huge revenue out of such opportunity which consequently will end the vicious cycle of poverty in the region.

¹⁷⁸ The dilemma of Citizenship in Northern Kenya, *Op. cit*, p.60

As noted in chapter three, the already constructed road from Isiolo to Merille has helped in minimizing 75% highway banditry and thus it becomes a crucial milestone in conflict management action. It is certain that development is a key to human security agenda. If one sector of economy is improved it will add to the redress of the basic and essential need of the local people which in turn will be a mechanism of dealing with conflict emanating from lack.

The second recommendation is on education. Peace education among the younger generation should be put in place. Considering the long tribal rivalry making rounds in the county, preaching on the danger of ethnic rivalry and enhancing peaceful co-existence is important. The enculturation of young school going children as one people from their childhood should be underscored. The Burji, Borana, Rendile, Turkana, Gabra, Samburu, Dasnach, Sakuye, Aarial, and Konso should come up with policy that sees each tribe as equal and important. One way of tackling ethnic conflict is by adopting a political culture that makes adequate provision for all the interests and groups in a given society.¹⁷⁹

Institutionalization of peace education will facilitate this where representative encompassing all the ethnic groupings are charged with monitoring, evaluation and implementation of brotherhood among all tribes. Laws governing such should be established at the county level. In addition to peace education, a specific curriculum for all should be developed by the county government. Another way of confronting the ethnic question is through the elimination of hitherto accepted practices which invariably reinforce ethnic differences.¹⁸⁰ Going with Paul Lederach's concept of conflict transformation is it important to look at conflict from its root cause and

¹⁷⁹ E. Anugwom, 'Ethnic Conflict and Democracy in Nigeria: The Marginalization question.' *Journal of social development in Africa* (2000), p. 75

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 75

engage in developing institutions that facilitate the healing, forgiveness and reconciliation among all the tribes of Marsabit. Conflict transformation as noted in Theoretical framework¹⁸¹ is of utmost importance. This comes with peace education and getting to the root of resolving conflict from changing the attitude, behavior and context in its holistic nature among all the people groups involved.

Thirdly, women should be given role in peace building. The role of women in peace building is fruitful. Most women in marginalized regions such as Marsabit are not given opportunities in decision making yet it is the same women that face the brunt of conflict first hand when it emanates. In Liberia civil war for example, it is the voice of women who came together in the early 2000s that put an end to the tyranny of civil war. When women from all tribes of Marsabit unite and think as one, the problem of conflict in Marsabit will come to an end and be minimized. Women are less corrupt and are sensitive for the future of their children and would not encourage conflict as long as they are committed to peace.

Fourthly, conflict over resources can well be solved through institutional set up to manage resources. Policy on utilization of county resource should be developed. According to Nnoli, conflict as an aspect of ethnicity is more pronounced in societies where the inter-ethnic competition for scarce resources is the rule, particularly when inequality is accepted as a given and wealth is greatly esteemed.¹⁸² It is agreed that the resources are scarce, but it should also be noted that there is possibility of utilizing and conserving those resources. The region of Marsabit has a great potential for resource. The Marsabit forest for example, is rich with water as is the low land areas of Marsabit which also has potential for water. The county government with the help of the Organizations should forge a mechanism to utilize the resources and enhance

¹⁸¹ See chapter 1 on Theoretical framework

¹⁸² E. Anugwom, 2000, *Op. cit*, p.68

the capacity of resource in Marsabit. With addressing the problems of marginalization, this will become a reality as it is evident that Marsabit has potential for water, pastureland, range land, agricultural land to mention but few.

In addition, the county government should have a specific budget on the management of the natural resource. While water resource is sited to be the scarcest resources, the administration of the county should develop institutions working towards finding a solution for water resource. I do not think that the construction of Badassa Dam was to be a priority to curb water shortage in Marsabit central as much as it is important. Instead, alternative of pumping water from as far as Ewaso Nyiro will be feasible and cost effective compared to the Badassa dam that cost over KSH 2 billion and still have no water in it unless El Nino rain happens.

With regards to addressing the problem of water resource, communities and stakeholders in Marsabit should follow suit in what the NGO's are doing in terms of digging pans and providing reservoirs for few households as a short term solution to the water problem. Of the greatest importance is the law on the forest land. Forest land which currently is diminishing due to encroachment and human activity should be conserved. The water in central Marsabit comes from Marsabit forest. It should be taken with a lot of urgency that conserving forest will be the number one savior in terms of water because it helps in mitigating the impact of climate change and thus increase the rainfall pattern in the region which consequently will solve the water problem.

In the pastoralist region of Marsabit, government, NGO's and stakeholders should construct pans both for livestock's and people. Peaceful co-existence and security amongst local communities in Northern Kenya must be strengthened for

effective adaptation of pastoralists through improved access to pasture and water.¹⁸³ A proper mechanism of managing local water and pasture resource should be reinforced in areas close to the border zones in order for the local communities to get enough for their own. Security apparatus should also be strengthened to avoid the conflict along the border zones, and a mechanism of peaceful live hood and co-existence should be encouraged regardless of border difference.

In the management of cross border conflict, tight laws should be put in place to penalize any illegal firearm trade noticed by the fellow citizens on the Kenyan side. In addition, the already existing firearms which are in the hands of community members should be collected and given back to the government. This should be an exercise not to be done by the law enforcement authority but it should be facilitated by the elders of the villages. The reason for this is so that the one's in the owner ship of such arms feel free to submit knowing that they will not feel threatened to return back firearms to the authority especially the village elders and community leaders when done voluntarily. This should be a secret between the local government and the one's who surrender.

Fifthly, developing conflict management committee should address challenges of conflict in the county. The existing peace caravan committee is not a solution because they do not represent equal membership of all tribes within it's constituents. A more concrete committee whose integrity is tested and confirmed should be formulated to act as an eye for the people of Marsabit County. Conflict management committees also must confront ambiguities about the legitimacy of the resolutions reached by the peace committees in reference to formal administrative structures.¹⁸⁴ In

¹⁸³ H. Reid et al 2010, *Op. cit*, p. 51

¹⁸⁴ C. Barreti, et al., *Decentralization and the Social Economics of Development: Lessons from Kenya* (UK: CAB International, 2007,) p.126

conclusion, communities need facilitation and no one should dictate terms of solution to them. They should be a solution of their own problem by using their own existing structures and institutions in addressing conflict in a transformational way. When all this is done by the local community then sustainability in all spectrum from socio-political, economic and environmental stability will be realized and a viable sustainable peace will be the order of the day in Marsabit County.

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APPENDIX
QUESTIONNAIRE

AN INVESTIGATION INTO CONFLICT DYNAMICS IN NORTHERN

KENYA:

A CASE STUDY OF MARSABIT COUNTY (1994 TO 2012)

QUESTIONNAIRE FORMAT (Members of Community)

Dear respondents,

This is to kindly request you to take a few minutes to answer the following questions. Note that the information given shall be used for Masters Thesis being undertaken by the undersigned at the University of Nairobi.

Thank you for your cooperation

Peter Durito Bage

Background Information

Date.....District.....Division
.....

Location..... sub-location.....
Village.....

Name of respondent (optional)
.....

Sex of respondent

a) Male b) female

Marital status.....

Age: (18-25) (26-35) (36-45) (46-52) (53 and above)

Educational level: (tick in the space) a. Primary () Secondary () college/ Tertiary ()
University ()

Occupation: a) Farmer () b. Herder () c. Employed () d. Student () e.
Self employed (). F. others (specify)

1. What do you think are the major dynamics of conflict in Marsabit County?
2. Do you agree that there is ethnic conflict in Marsabit? (Yes) or (No) If yes, How what is it connected to?
3. What do you think can be the main causes of conflict in Marsabit County?
.....
.....
4. What particular element of resource is seen to be the most contributing factor of conflict in the resource based conflict? Choose one from below.
a. (water) b. (land) c. (livestock) d. (Pasture)
5. How is cross border and porous border influence of Northern Kenya related to conflict in Marsabit county?
6. What is the current state of peace in the county of Marsabit? tick one from below: a. (good) b. (fair) c. (bad)
7. What do you think was the major cause of Torbi Massacre in 2005/2006?
8. Do you agree that Marsabit County is marginalized? A. (I agree) b. (Don't agree). If you agree, how has marginalization contributed to conflict in Marsabit County?
.....
.....
9. In your opinion what are the solutions to mitigate and manage the general conflict dynamics in Marsabit County?
10. In your opinion, what recommendations would you give to mitigate ethnic conflict in Marsabit County?