

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL  
STUDIES**

**Conflicts between Pastoral Communities in East Africa. Case Study of the  
Pokot and Turkana**

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**A Project submitted in partial fulfillment of the Degree of Master of Arts in  
International Studies, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies,  
University of Nairobi**



**DECLARATION**

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a Diploma or Degree in any other University

Signed.....

Date.....

SIMON MIIRI GITAU

This work has been submitted to the Board of Examiners of the University of Nairobi with my approval.

Signed.....

Date.....

DR OCHIENG KAMUNDAYI

## **DEDICATION**

To my two sons Brian Gitau and James Ndung'u

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I am grateful to the following KWS staff assisted in primary data collection: Joseph Kinyanjui, Warden Nasolot National Park West Pokot County and David Kones Warden South Turkana National Reserve Turkana County. Linda Nafula assisted a lot in organizing the data from questionnaire. Fredrick Lala and Lydiah Kisoyani assisted a lot in logistics of administration of the questionnaires

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ASTU	Anti- Stock Theft Unit
CAR	Central Africa Republic
DPC	District Peace Committee
DPRC	District Peace and Reconciliation Committee
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
KPR	Kenya Police Reserve
KVDA	Kerio Valley Development Authority
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
LPRC	Locational Peace and Reconciliation Committe
MP	Member of Parliament
POKATUSA	Pokot Karamonja Turkana and Sabei
RFID	Radio Frequency Identification Device

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study examines the conflicts between pastoral communities in East Africa. It examines the causes and factors that have led to these conflicts. The conflicts between Turkana and Pokot of Turkana county and West Pokot county respectively have been analysed.

Primary data was collected through questionnaires administered to both communities. Secondary data was collected from Newspaper reports, Annual reports, Development Plans, Journals and books.

Data collected was used to analyse the causes of the conflicts and possible mitigation. The study identified boundary disputes and cattle rustlings as the major causes of the conflicts. The study established that the conflicts date back to 1924 during the colonial era. The respondents of the questionnaires gave suggestion of how the conflicts can be resolved.

The study has identified areas where conflicts are serious and hot spots of the conflicts. Most of these are at the border of the two communities.

This study recommends a systemic approach to the conflicts due to the fact that there are many actors and the fact that the conflicts extends to neighbouring countries. On top of this there are a number of factors that have led to the conflicts and why they have been sustained. Other recommendations include disarmament, education and provision of alternative sources of income. The study also recommends the involvement of the communities in the county planning and development projects.



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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

This chapter deals with background information on the Pokot and Turkana conflicts which have been there for quite a long time. The literature on conflicts among pastoralist in Africa, East Africa, Kenya and the Pokots and Turkanas is discussed. The methods used in this study are highlighted and the conceptual framework used in this study have been discussed. This chapter also highlights the objectives of the study as well as the hypothesis

Conflict between the Pokot and the Turkana Communities was first reported at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. This has continued until currently with no long lasting solution to the frequent animosity between the communities.

The Turkana and Pokot are both Nilotes native to the Turkana county (Bordering Uganda from western side, Sudan and Ethiopia from North) and West Pokot county Kenya. These two communities also live in Uganda. Livestock is an important aspect of both Turkana and Pokot Culture. Goats, camels, donkeys and zebu are the primary herd stock utilized by the Turkana people. The Pokot are mostly cattle herders/farmers, but about a quarter are cultivators, mostly growing corn. In these society, livestock functions not only as a milk, meat, blood producer, but as form of currency used for bride-price negotiations and dowries.

Due to their nomadic life, adopted by these two communities they interact with each other throughout their history. Social customs of neighbors is thus incorporated into their way of life thus influencing each other's lifestyle.

Both societies are governed through a series of age grades, and membership to any specific group would be determined by the age at which a member would go through their initiation into that group or society. Young people are allowed for matrimonial binds once the initiation has been completed as well as begin taking part in the local economic functions. There are close bonds formed within the initiation groups that are functional in future political ties as they move through the ranks of the tribal structure.

However, the measure of wealth among the two communities is determined by the number of cows one owns. Cows are used for barter, and exchange, which further goes into "bride wealth". A man is permitted to take more than one wife, as long as he has enough cows to offer her family in exchange for her hand in marriage. Hence livestock are highly valued by these communities.

These two communities are armed with sophisticated arms and ammunition to guard their livestock and themselves from any threats. Besides, themselves also share common border and resources which place them in constant conflicts with each other. Frequent fight and cattle wrestling is a common thing among these two communities.

There are many factors that instigate the conflicts between these two communities among them being culture influence, lifestyle, resource scarcity, boundary issues, and possession of illegal arms among others. However, there is need to understand which is the core factor of conflict.

### **1..1 Problem statement**

The cattle raiding conflict has been a long-standing one between Pokots and Turkanas. Annual reports for these areas indicate cattle rustling incidents as early as 1924. Many people have lost

lives and livestock and the effects have been tremendous. In the past these conflicts were due to cultural factors and unlike its present they were less bloody. It involved the use of less lethal weaponry and it was engrained in culture as a rite of passage to adulthood and stealing livestock for paying for dowry. With the passage of time political, economic, social and technological dimensions these conflicts have changed and with them more parties are now involved. This study seeks to investigate the main causes of the conflicts between the two communities and to recommend possible ways of resolving the conflicts.

## **1.2 Objectives of the study**

- i) To analyse the causes of conflicts between the Turkanas and the Pokots
- ii) To examine the impacts of these conflicts
- iii) To assess approaches used to resolve the conflicts and why they have not succeeded
- iv) To suggest possible strategies to resolve the conflicts.

## **1.3 Literature Review**

Conflict occurs when two or more parties believe that their interests are incompatible. The incompatibility between two parties may arise because they may both have different perceptions, goals and ideas how to achieve them. This therefore is a conflict of vision and inability or unwillingness to see the other party's point of view. The incompatibility goals define more complex conflicts that could be organizational, communal and international.

Several types of conflicts in society have been recognized, the most basic been social in nature. Social conflict is a process between persons or groups with incompatible goals that that form the basis of conflict. Elements of social conflict are two or more adversaries, who could be



individuals or groups, in competition over scarce resources. The resource could be power, land wealth or other basic human need, either actual or perceived.

According to Machira conflicts can be classified into three categories. Continuous conflicts are unplanned within a stable social system. They are found in all organizations and are symptoms of organizational breakdown. Cattle rustling among pastoralists fall in this category. The conflicts can continue through the years because of beliefs that are embedded in their different cultures and traditions. The case of perennial livestock theft between Turkana and Pokot and the cross border cattle thefts between Ugandans and Kenya are good examples.

Periodic or episodic conflicts are recurrent regulated by rules that participants and witnesses accept as legitimate. They occur at scheduled times and under set conditions and examples include parliamentary elections.

In terminal conflicts, the objective of at least one side is to destroy the other. Each side is threatening the other and occupies a defensive position, protecting its vital interests against each the enemy. Ethnic violence experienced in Kenya after elections and violence in Rwanda are examples.

### **1.3.1 Conflicts in Africa.**

According to Mazrui, the root cause of all the lethal wars in Africa lie in the white legacy. The anticolonial war between Africans and the whites were less bloody than wars between Africans and Africans. The post-colonial wars are as a result of colonial legacy. Apart from undermining and weakening Africa's traditional and failing to establish effective substitutes colonialism also damaged old methods of conflict resolution. Apart from this the colonial powers also planted

seeds for conflicts in Africa. Mazrui argues that at the time of their arrival, boundaries that existed were fluid hence groups had room to manoeuvre. However the political boundaries created enclosed groups with no commonality thus sowing seeds for conflict. A case in point is Nigeria which was carved out by the British enclosing three major nations and several small ones. The larger groups included Yoruba in the west, who were very different from the Muslim Hausa in the north, who were distinct to the Ibo in the east. This is attributed to the Nigerian Civil war of 1967 to 1970. Equally, colonial boundaries separated people who were one nation. A perfect example is Somali found in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia. Their desire for reunification has resulted to conflicts.

Ethnicity has also resulted to conflict in Africa. The worst outbreak of violence in Rwanda, Burundi and Western Democratic Republic of Congo between Hutu and Tutsi was as a result of ethnic conflict.

### **1.3.2 Pastoralists conflict in Africa**

Pastoral communities are found in 21 countries. These countries range from the Sahelian West, the rangelands of East Africa and the horn to the nomadic populations of Southern Africa. They are concentrated in some of the most arid areas, which makes it necessary to practice semi or wholly nomadic livestock grazing. Many of these communities have experienced armed violence, with East Africa and the horn of Africa and the Sahel region having sustained levels of inter pastoral armed violence.

Pastoral communities are among the poorest in sub-Saharan Africa, accounting for 20 million households. African countries with significant pastoral populations exhibit some of the world's lowest human development indicators in the world.

Pastoral conflicts in the Sahel region have extended to the Western states of Senegal and Mauritania to the Chad-CAR-Sudan border triangle to the East. Population shift to the south due to climatic change have give rise to conflicts over resources and land tenure in Cote d'Ivoire, Bukina Faso and Nigeria. In the drylands of Namibia and Botswana, similar factors have caused conflict.

### **1.3.3 Pastoral Conflicts in East Africa**

There are numerous pastoral groups in East Africa who are situated in a broad geographical band that stretches from the Kenya-Somali border northwards into Ethiopia, and northwards to encompass regions of Uganda, Sudan the democratic Republic of Congo and Central African Republic (CAR) These regions have suffered large scale intra-state wars that have supplied pastoral groups with modern weapons, resulting to protracted conflicts with their neighbours. The Toposa of South Sudan are in conflict with one or a number of neighbouring groups including Turkana, Dassenach, Didinga, Dinka and Karamojong.

The border areas of the Horn of Africa are arid or semi arid inhabited by pastoralists and agro-pastoralists and governed by livestock based economies. In this region nomadic pastoralism is currently under pressure due to modern development and related social changes. Consequently, pastoralists are getting involved in violent clashes and armed struggles against each other.

Pastoral conflicts and violence in the IGAD sub-region is historically linked to the violence that accompanied state formation in the colonial era. The genesis of these conflicts was triggered by colonial state policy. In Uganda for example, the gazettment and appropriation of large parts of pastoralists' communal lands triggered contradictions and conflicts between pastoralists and the state. These communities were pushed to the fringes of the state and therefore led to their marginalization. The British government then administered emergency law to rule the Sub-region people of north eastern Uganda, northern Kenya and south eastern Sudan.

The colonialists imposed fixed internal divisions which led to some areas for example northern Kenya becoming a closed district. Additionally they imposed international borders disregarding the livelihood systems of pastoral communities leading to devastating results. The colonial borders and the way they have been administered therefore are a crucial factor behind conflicts in border areas.

The Kenya-Uganda border is ethnically diverse and the tribes in this area include Samia, Pokot, Teso, Turkana, Dodoth, Jie and Karamojong. Conflicts here are between and the Turkana, Karamojong of Uganda and Toposa of Sudan and the Teso. The Pokot who live on both sides of Kenya and Uganda border have clashed with the Karamojong.

Several other factors have contributed to violent conflicts within and between pastoral communities. Raiding and cattle rustling have a long history and has become an aspect of traditional pastoralist culture. Cattle rustling have intensified and are now beyond the traditional rustling. It now involves criminal networks serving national and regional black markets.

Small arms have become widely available and are being used by pastoral communities. The sources of these weapons are conflict areas of Sudan, northern Uganda and Somali. This has made traditional raiding more deadly.

#### **1.3.4 Conflicts between Turkana and Pokot Communities**

The Turkana and Pokot are both Nilotes native to the Turkana county (Bordering Uganda from western side, Sudan and Ethiopia from North) and Pokot county Kenya. These two communities also live in Uganda. Livestock is an important aspect of both Turkana and Pokot Culture. Goats, camels, donkeys and zebu are the primary herd stock utilized by the Turkana people. The Pokots are mostly cattle herders but about a quarter is cultivators, mostly growing corn.

Livestock possession plays multiple social economic and roles in pastoral livelihoods. Livestock is essential for paying dowry, compensation of injured parties during raids, symbol of prosperity and prestige, store of wealth and security against drought, diseases and other calamities

As pastoralism revolves around livestock conflicts are predominantly about livestock and related productive assets like water, land and pasture. The two communities have a long history of conflict. Annual Reports of 1924 -1934 of West Pokot and those of Turkana between 1929 -1954 indicates numerous incidents of raids and cattle rustling between the two communities.

Traditionally, livestock raiding often involved small scale violence and theft of the best livestock and replacement of animals lost during periods of drought and disease. Loss of human lives was rare.

The two communities have used raiding and violence to restock herds, expand grazing land, gain access to water and pasture resources and increase social status. However, due to proliferation of

small arms, commercialization of livestock raiding, dispute of land tenure rights and banditry the cultural practice has become a widespread, sophisticated, more violent and destructive activity.

The conflicts have resulted to insecurity in the north western Kenya. This has affected the social economic development in the area. Due to insecurity investors are not ready to invest in the area.

Tourism has been adversely affected. The area is endowed with the following wildlife protected areas, South Turkana National reserve, South Island National Park, Mount Elgon National Park, and Nasalot National Reserve. Apart from Mt Elgon National Park which receives few tourists, the others are not visited.

The Turkwel Power generating on situated in the area has also been affected as the two communities are laying claim that the plant is situated within the area. Due to this the staff working in the plant has to operate from Kitale town and on shift basis. This in turn affects the effectiveness and also it is an extra cost.

Education has been hard hit as very few children go to school as they opt to herd their families' livestock. Besides this some of the young boys are sometimes involved in cattle rustling. Very few schools are found in this area. According to Kamenju near the common border with the Pokot, Karamojong and the Toposa, large areas have been uninhabited due to displacement. Schools have been abandoned. Six schools on the Turkana side have been deserted.

The government has invested a lot of resources on security in terms of the anti stock theft units, GSU personnel and the regular police who are constantly arbitrating between the two communities.

#### **1.4 Conceptual Framework**

The conceptual framework used to analyze the Turkana and Pokot conflicts is the conflict systems approach. The systems approach according to Mwangi has been derived from the systems theory, as postulated by scholars like Kaplan who argue that all science in the world is organized along systemic lines; it has systemic properties which can be revealed through the system. A system is “a set of interrelated parts, working independently and jointly, in pursuit of common objectives of the whole, within a complex environment”

Mwangi posits that certain things become evident when conflicts in a region are surveyed through the conceptual glasses of a conflict systems approach. First the system of interlocking and overlapping conflicts in a region becomes discernible. Secondly, it becomes apparent, on close analysis that those conflicts are played out against the backdrop interfacing and competitive regional politics and diplomacy. A conflict systems approach therefore involves seeing a problem or a conflict as a system or part of a system, and designing and developing organized systemic approaches, as opposed to a one time problem solving or dispute resolution initiative, to address it. The systems approach is essential for a correct understanding of the characteristics and of the dynamics of a conflict and, as a consequence, for the decisions that are taken within a conflict.

Figure 1: Systems approach on Turkana and Pokot conflict

The systems approach was used to analyze the Turkana and Pokot conflicts through identifying the actors, the issues, the historical dimensions of the conflict, the structural and contextual factors ( political , economic and social factors, external dimensions and factors ), how do the parties interpret the conflict ( cultural and perception factors) , how can the conflict resolution options be framed and long term conflict management solutions.

Similarly the conflict can be analyzed at International level, Regional level, national and local level. At international level, the conflicts between Ethiopia and Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan



have contributed to the conflicts as it has resulted to proliferation of arms which find their way into the conflict area. These arms are used by both the Turkana and the Pokot during cattle rustling.

The Horn of Africa contains the largest grouping of pastoralist in the world. This region experiences a lot of conflicts between pastoralists. Conflicts involve the Karamoja of Uganda and the Pokot of Kenya, the Toposa of Ethiopia and Turkana of Kenya.

At the national level conflicts involve Turkana, Pokot, Samburu and Marakwet pastoralists while at local level the conflicts are between the Turkana and Pokots.

Analysis of these conflicts therefore requires Conflicts Systems analysis.

## **1.5 Justification of the study**

The conflict between these two communities impacts negatively towards tourism. Investments such as Kengen Power company has been affected a lot as currently they operate from Kitale due to the insecurity in the area. The government has also invested a lot on security in terms of the anti stock theft units, GSU personnel and the regular police who are constantly arbitrating between the two communities. Education has been hard hit as very few children go to school as they opt to herd livestock for their families' livestock which are the major source of conflict. Conservation of wildlife has also been affected since the communities are adjacent to the protected areas, like south Turkana National reserve, South Island National Park, Mount Elgon National Park, Nasalot National Reserve, among others. Without these stakeholders living in harmony conservation of flora and fauna will be compromised. Possession of illegal fire arms by

these communities to tender their livestock is also a major threat to wildlife conservation. Therefore, recurrent conflicts between these communities will jeopardize conservation efforts.

There is need to discern the root cause of this problem in order to put in place right mitigation measures. This cannot be known without thorough investigation into the problem through scientific research so as to advice decision makers on the cause of action.

Following this enmity many Kenyans (Pokot and Turkana) have lost their lives and many more maimed and rendered handicapped. In addition, these have negative implication on the country's economy.

## **1.6 Methodology**

Primary data was collected using questionnaires administered to both communities. From preliminary information the conflicts between the two communities were concentrated in areas within the common border of the two communities. It is for this reason that this study of the conflicts between the two concentrated in this area. The questionnaire used in this study (appendix 1) was a structured one (closed ended) as in Nachmias and Nachmias Respondents were offered a set of answers and asked to choose the one that most closely represent their views. Respondents were randomly selected. The structured questionnaire was preferred because it has several advantages that made it more suitable for this kind of study. First, the questions are easier to analyse since they are in an immediate usable form. Secondly, they are easier to administer because each item is followed by alternative answers and thirdly it is economical to use in terms of time and money. Interviews with law enforcement agents were conducted. These included police officers and Kenya Wildlife Service officers based in Nasolot National Reserve in West Pokot County and South Turkana National Reserve in Turkana County. Secondary data

was collected from journals, books, theses and government documents such as Annual reports, and District Development Plans of both Turkana and West Pokot counties. Old Annual reports dating back to colonial era were sourced from Kenya National Archives. The purpose of this reports were assist on information on how long the conflicts have been there. The District Development Plans were to give more information on the conflicts, how the conflicts affect government development agenda in the two counties and how the government is dealing with problem. Incidents report for 2008 and 2009 were collected from Kainuk Police Station which is next to the boundary of the Pokot and Turkana communities. Kainuk Police Station was the most appropriate for data collection as all the raids reports are made here due to its proximity to the conflict area.

Newspaper reports on raids and attack incidents were used to establish the current situation as regards the conflict. The newspapers referred to were Daily Nation, Sunday Nation, The Standard and The standard on Sunday for the period 2012 to 2013.

Journals, reports, books and online search were used to get more information on conflicts in other areas.

Data was statistically analyzed using Excel and Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) statistical packages. Data is presented using graphs, pie charts and tables. The data collected was used to come up with a map showing the main conflict areas, causes of conflict

## **1.7 Hypothesis**

The hypothesis to be tested in the study

- The conflict between the two communities is due to livestock raids

- That cattle raids are due to commercial reasons whereby stolen livestock is sold for commercial purposes

### **1.8 Chapter summary**

This chapter has dealt with the issues of pastoral conflicts in Africa, East Africa, Kenya and those of Turkana and Pokot. Chapter two deals with conflicts between pastoralists and between pastoralists and agriculturalists. This chapter also examines causes, factors and the effects of the conflicts. Chapter three is on Pokot and Turkana conflicts. This chapter highlights information on the conflicts from reports, data from Kainuk Police Station and the questionnaires. Chapter Four is on the critical analysis of the information from chapter three. Chapter Five is on conclusions from the study and recommendation.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **PASTORAL CONFLICTS: CAUSES AND EFFECTS**

## **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses conflicts between pastoralists. It also discusses conflicts between pastoralists and agriculturalists in different parts of the world and especially in Africa where such conflicts are prevalent. The causes and factors contributing to the conflicts have been examined.

## **2.2 pastoral conflicts**

Many of the world's pastoral communities have a long history of conflict among themselves.

These conflicts extend to neighbouring sedentary communities and also with the state. The level of violence used varies with some of these conflicts erupting into armed violence.

The overriding factor that makes pastoral communities prone to conflict is their ambiguous relationship with the state and the majority sedentary populations that reside within them.

Historically, pastoralism adapted to sparsely-populated, arid regions where seasonal, migratory grazing maximized nutritional gain.<sup>8</sup> As a result, pastoral communities emerged at the periphery of the more populated regions that would later become trading and administrative centres and, later still, the nuclei of states.

In many regions, the pastoral periphery is in a state of flux. Climactic changes have led to desertification and narrowed the belts of pasture upon which the pastoralist mode of production depends, drastically reducing access to rangeland. At the same time, growing sedentary populations, and resulting demand for arable land, have decreased the relative opportunity cost of farming in arid regions. Assisted by government and internationally-sponsored irrigation schemes and changes in land use, sedentary 'encroachment' has further diminished the range of pastoral transhumance.

Many pastoral regions also comprise large territories within states. The limited presence of state apparatus, combined with inadequate communications infrastructure, and a laissez faire approach to managing peripheral regions, means that government's ability to monitor, mediate and police disputes in these areas is curtailed. In addition, increasing competition over scarce resources, and growing urban populations adjacent to pastoral regions, has resulted in increases in economically-motivated crime, such as 'commercialized' livestock raiding. This has contributed to a climate of 'lawlessness' – fuelling a self-sustaining dynamic where minimal socio-economic investment allows crime and violence to flourish, which further deters investment of all kinds.

Pastoralists are typically minorities within national populations. In addition political borders are often drawn through traditional territories of pastoralists. They are therefore prone to remoteness from the centre of state/nation. From lands rights perspective, it is easier for farmers to claim ownership and access it. Pastoralists do not own the land they use and settle on. In many countries, pastoralism is not recognized as productive use of land and as a consequence pastoral land have been subject to expropriation by the state and marginalized in favour of agricultural use.

African pastoral communities have become synonymous with high levels of armed violence and severe under-development. Governments and international agencies alike often frame pastoralism as a thorn in the side of state-led development and violence reduction policies. There are a number of reasons for this: the fact that many pastoral communities function outside of state administrative and security frameworks; the view that the pastoral lifestyle is fundamentally incompatible with the state; malfunctioning conflict mediation systems within pastoral

communities; and the apparent contradiction of the pastoral mode of production to agrarian economies

In pastoral communities across Africa, raids undertaken to increase stocks and compensate thefts have been normalised and accepted as part of traditional intra-pastoral relations. In many cases, raids and counter-raids are (and traditionally have been) accompanied by high levels of armed violence. Raiding is one of the key features of pastoral conflict, but one that cannot operate as it has in the past within the state system, particularly with the advent of modern small arms.

Southern pastoral populations of Ethiopia inhabit the rangelands located in Borana Zone of Oromia and Liban Zone of Somali region characterized by semi arid climate and extremely diverse natural resources, ecology and pastoral inhabitants. The area has extensive borders with neighbouring Somalia and Kenya.

Traditionally the area is endemic to conflicts between rival pastoral groups for pastoral resources. During the 1990s, the frequency and magnitude of conflicts has increased. For instance, in 2000, three major conflicts occurred between major rival pastoral groups (Borana versus Garri, Merehan versus Digodi, Digodi versus Borana). These conflicts resulted in the death of hundreds of people and combined with severe drought, they resulted in dislocations leading to the formation of IDP camps. There are many types of conflict in this area: competition over access to water for humans, livestock and small-scale irrigation, and land for farming and pasture are principal sources of social tension.

Apart from conflicts between pastoralist communities pastoralists who are migratory also have conflicts with proximate sedentary communities who are in most cases farmers. Although pastoral populations often exist peacefully with sedentary communities in some areas, competition over land and resources has created tensions that, in some contexts, have escalated into armed violence. These conflicts tend to occur either on the fringes of pastoral regions, where transhumance and agriculture co-exist; or where pastoral groups have encroached onto land populated by sedentary farmers due to seasonal or climactic factors.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Southern United states, pastoralists were gradually pushed out from the best pastureland by agricultural settlers who cleared and fenced the land and brought along their own smaller herds. This phenomenon dates back to ancient times where agricultural economy has driven the livestock grazer into deserts and mountains. In mountainous countries like Greece and much of the Balkans, livestock grazing assumed more importance than agriculture and was thus able to displace the farmer from agricultural lands.

One of the primary causes of conflict appears to be the incompatibility of grazing and farming in the same space. Livestock can cause considerable damage to crops, leading to disputes. In Niger, for instance, 114 people were killed in fighting between farmers and nomads in Niger's Guidan Roumji Region. The presence of pastoral groups, in search of land and water in traditionally sedentary regions of northern Côte d'Ivoire, has also led to violent disputes in which numerous people have been killed and injured.

In Nigeria conflict between pastoralists and farmers has existed since the beginnings of agriculture, but the prevalence of tsetse and low settlement densities kept the incidence of clashes



at a low frequency until the twentieth century. The introduction of cheap trypanocides and other veterinary drugs increased herd sizes to levels that compelled herders to seek pastures outside their traditional ecological range. At the same time improved human health has increased overall population and thus pressure on arable land. The marked expansion of riverine and valley-bottom cultivation since the 1980s has meant that herders and farmers are now competing very directly for access to river banks with a consequent increase in conflict.

Increasing political control of farming populations has meant pressure both to invade land reserved for grazing and to exclude pastoralists from high-productivity areas. Increasing availability of modern weapons has increased the intensity and violence of these disputes.

Farmers and pastoralists conflicts in Mali's Niger River Delta started to occur when the delta became drier and the local farmers began cultivating deeper parts of the delta including stock routes leading to the flood plains. Consequently, pastoralists resorted to crop damage initiating conflict. In Northern Benin conflicts between farmers and pastoralists developed as a result of expansion of agricultural cultivation into grazing and watering points.

As populations in many developing countries expand, peripheral regions offer an increasingly attractive – although often unviable – means of increasing food production. Despite the fact that most pastoral rangeland is unsuitable for large-scale agriculture, governments and regional authorities have often encouraged sedentary farming, thereby constraining traditional pastoral modes of existence and displacing pastoral groups. This is compounded by a tendency to view pastoral regions as both uninhabited and under-productive. In addition, there has been considerable pressure to develop pasture into arable land or terrain for market-oriented cattle

herding. In Kenya, for instance, a policy of sub-dividing rangeland into group ranches, not only forced the pastoral Maasai, Boran and Rendille into dryer regions, but arguably proved less productive than pastoralism. The proliferation of policies of this kind suggest that decision-makers, when forced to choose between the concerns of pastoral communities and farming or market-oriented cattle production, tend to side with sedentary populations. There are a number of reasons for this, including: the preponderance of agriculture in most developing nations; the very real need to feed populations; and the stronger role of agriculturalists in the state political sphere.

### **2.1.1 Cattle rustling**

Cattle raids are the major conflicts between the Turkanas and Pokots. For a long period, raiding other groups for livestock has been a traditional method of replenishing herds after drought and diseases as well as loss to raiders

Traditionally cattle raiding among the two communities and other pastoralists were a culturally accepted activity. Successful raiders were respected. Paying of dowry was a major factor contributing to raiding. It has also moved beyond limited rustling among pastoralist communities as it has become embedded in wider criminal networks serving national and regional black markets. Responses by pastoralists to try to protect and defend their livestock have often tended to exacerbate the problems, as they contribute to local 'arms races' and local overgrazing as herds are concentrated into defended areas.

### **2.1.2 Factors contributing to cattle rustling**

There are many factors contributing to the risk of violent conflict involving pastoralists, and these have tended to become mutually reinforcing. Some conflicts within and between pastoralist communities, such as raiding and cattle-rustling, have a long history and have to some extent become an aspect of traditional pastoralist culture. However, such ‘traditional’ conflicts have become increasingly destructive and less manageable.

### **2.1.3 Loss of grazing areas**

Over time in East Africa, pastoralists have lost access to key dry due to alienation of land to other uses and occupation by other people. Boundaries imposed by the colonialists in many cases cut off pastoralists from their traditional dry season and drought reserve areas. Over a century ago, Pokot pastoralists grazed their herds on the plateaus of the western highlands of Kenya. Today, the majority of land on these plateaus is used for mixed farming, ranging from small plots to large commercial holdings eliminating an important safety net for pastoralists during dry seasons. Pastoralism is now practiced almost entirely in semi-arid and arid areas in Kenya. A large number of pastoralists are now crowded onto marginal lands with little or no access to adequate dry season grazing areas.

### **2.1.4 Government policies**

Pastoralists have suffered government repression from the colonial period to date. This has negatively affected the pastoralist social, economic and political developments. Pastoralist communities. British colonialists, in Kenya and Uganda, adopted inimical policies that contributed to the economic and political marginalization of the pastoralist communities.

National parks and reserves were gazetted in livestock grazing areas taking large tracks of land and crucial sources of water and dry grazing land. The Mount Elgon and Kidepo National Parks are results of the colonial and post-colonial government policies of gazetting livestock grazing areas without due consideration of pastoralists. Access by pastoralist to water and pasture especially during the dry season has been greatly hindered

### **2.1.5 Poverty**

Poverty is one of the most evident characteristics among pastoralists in the region. Kenya's National Poverty Eradication Plan 1999-2015 reports that the highest incidence of poverty in the country occurs in the arid and semi-arid districts where the poor account for nearly 80% of the population. Pastoral groups have limited access to education, health services and safe water supplies. Physical and administrative infrastructure is poorly developed. Although livestock is the basis of the economy in this region, there are very little opportunities for livestock marketing.

The pastoralists find a solution to their situation in raiding of livestock from their neighbors in order to make ends meet.

### **2.1.6 Proliferation of Automatic Weapons**

Several decades of regional instability has adversely affected Eastern Africa. The civil war and related problems in Southern Sudan since 1955; the many years of civil war and internal rebellions in Uganda nearly two decades of civil war in Ethiopia; and the collapse of the central government in Somalia in 1991 have contributed to increased cattle rustling. The instability has contributed to increase in the availability of modern weapons. Availability of

weapons has made traditional raiding more deadly, which in turn has made conflict management and resolution more difficult. Insecurity from criminal activity has increased as a result of wider access and use of semi-automatic weapons, particularly in relation to livestock rustling by criminal gangs.

Pastoral communities seem to be arming themselves for several reasons. First, they need to protect themselves against being plundered by hostile groups. Second, the weapons are used to defend their animals against other armed pastoral communities. Third, arms are used forcefully to steal stock from other pastoral communities. The porous borders, without clear security procedures, make it easy for arms to move to and from one country to another. The arms issue is a cross-border problem and arms acquisition is now both a cause and consequence of insecurity and conflict in the pastoral communities in the Horn of Africa. The problem of small arms is made more complex by a new dimension: the commercialization of cattle rustling whereby rich urban merchants fund raids in the pastoral communities. The economic implications of obtaining a gun are more attractive now than in the past

### **2.1.7 Climate Change**

Environmental stress plays a vital role in causing conflicts. Pastoralists have been faced with harsh conditions and have adapted through nomadism and other strategies to secure food and water resources for themselves and their animals. Conflicts may arise due to competing demands for a resource. Developing countries like Kenya and Uganda are more vulnerable and stand to suffer from the effects of climate change, including threat to food security, health and economic growth.

Climate change may result to migration leading to competition, ethnic tension and distrust. In Africa, impoverishment and migration have been identified as important social effects of environmental scarcity, which in turn serves as an important cause of violent conflicts. Although the very nature of pastoralists' lives depends on moving from place to place, climate change has now increased the frequency and distance of the migration, forcing groups to encroach on territories of others in order to find land for grazing. This is likely to trigger conflict when a group encroaches on an area where resources are already scarce and tensions already exist.

Climate variability and change have led to increased droughts and floods which have resulted in the loss of animal and human lives, displacement and destruction of property, reduced pasture availability and scarcity of water. This leads to increased poverty and competition of scarce resources. In Turkana, conflicts are most frequent in the dry season when herds are driven to distant borders where grazing and browse is more plentiful

### **Political dimension**

Politicians have been known to spread propaganda which promotes conflict. Sometimes they make ethnic statements in the name of protecting the rights of their communities. They use ethnic identity to make ethnic sentiments to endear themselves to their communities. Politicians in pastoral areas have on occasions incited their communities against others. By not intervening on conflicts politicians may facilitate the conflicts

### **2.1.8 Commercialization of cattle raiding**

The transformation of cattle raiding into a commercial and entrepreneurial activity has increased the intensity of raiding. It is creating a black market for commercial cattle trading in urban areas

and the wider region. Access to small arms has become essential to successful commercial cattle raiding. The financing of cattle raids for commercial purposes appears to originate in the towns and cities, with local organising ‘agents’ in the rural areas.

### **2.1.9 Boundary disputes**

Disputes related to boundaries have been a cause of conflicts among pastoralist communities. The Turkana and have a dispute over the common boundary between the two communities. Newspaper reports indicate a long time dispute over the boundary. Sunday Nation reported that ‘elders from both Pokot and Turkana wanted the government to rely on the original map drawn by the colonial administration to resolve the boundary row’. Local leaders and the elders said this would end the deadly clashes between the two communities. The Daily Nation of 5<sup>th</sup> September 2013 quote the Turkana Women Representative Joyce Emanikor saying ‘West Pokot residents have been frequently encroaching on our land and using guns and other home made weapons to drive us out’. In the same report the Turkana Governor was quoted as follows “Most of Turkana South District land has been forcefully acquired by armed Pokot invaders”

## **2.2 The Effects of Cattle Raiding Conflict**

Victims and culprits in the two counties have lost herds of cattle and livestock in the cattle raiding process and the individuals and communities that are deprived of their livestock and hence livelihoods. The conflict is a major hindrance to effective development. It interferes with normal trade and local development efforts, and greatly reduces the willingness of Government officials and NGO staff to work in the areas. Investors have shied away due to insecurity and the level of development is very low. The performance of the Turkwell Hydroelectric power plant

has been affected by insecurity due to the conflicts. Staffs in this plant are operating with constant fear and they operate on shift bases meaning that there are no permanent staff. A lot of resources are wasted by taking the staff to and from Kitale town where they operate from. Transport form Kitale to lodwar is also affected affecting the economy of the two areas. Insecurity is a serious impediment to improving economic and social conditions, which are essential to effective, long-term reduction of poverty.

Large tracts of Turkana County have become inhabitable because of conflict. This includes valuable grazing areas on the borderlands between the two communities. Both Turkana North and Turkana South districts have acknowledged insecurity as affecting the districts. Below are extracts from both North and South Turkana Districts Development Plans 2008-2012.

Insecurity is a recurrent problem affecting the district. Pastoralist communities neighbouring the Turkana districts have cultural habits that encourage cattle rustling and it has adversely affected the district. During such raids the district suffers a lot in terms of loss of life, loss of property, displacement of families, and the destruction of infrastructure such as schools, water and health facilities and disruption of education. Recurrent incidences of insecurity caused by banditry on the roads, unclear land patterns, livestock raids in the grazing areas was one of the obstacles to development during the previous plan. These conflicts will not augur well especially to the development agents with projects on the ground as they will disrupt activities hence lead to non completion of projects

Turkana North District Development Plan 2008-2012



Insecurity has been a major drawback to economic development in the district. Most of the cases of insecurity reported in the district are related to cattle rustling. Livestock has been stolen, lives lost, schools and houses burnt. This has increased illiteracy in the district, put pressure on health facilities and has discouraged investors and tourists from investing in the district. It has also led to poor land tenure systems because majority of the population live in small villages and also along the rocky escarpments especially along the Kerio and Turkwel rivers leading to less productivity thereby increasing poverty levels.

Turkana South District Development Plan 2008 - 2012

### **2.3 Tourism**

Tourism has been affected by insecurity from the conflict. The conservation areas in this area include Nasolot National Reserve, South Turkana National Reserve, South Island and Central Island National Parks. Visitation in these protected areas is very minimal and some do not receive any visitors at all.

Education has also been affected with school children dropping out due to insecurity. At the same time others drop out to go and protect their families' livestock while others engage in raiding. Due to this enrolment to schools is very low and some schools have been closed.

### **2.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has dealt with conflicts between pastoral communities as well as conflicts between pastoral communities and agricultural communities in the world. The causes and factors of the

conflicts have been highlighted. Some of the factors contributing to the conflicts include proliferation of small arms commercialization of cattle rustling and climate change. The effects of these conflicts and in particular the conflicts between Pokot and Turkana have been discussed. Such effects include loss of lives and injuries, insecurity, poor development, low level of education and government expenditure in maintenance of security.

## **CHAPTER THREE POKOT AND TURKANA CONFLICTS**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes the study area of the conflicts. The two conflict communities have been described. At the same time it gives an account of the conflict incidents. These incidents have been collated from Annual reports of Turkana and West Pokot districts dating from 1924 collected from the Kenya National Archives and from the records from Kainuk Police station. Incidents from newspapers have also been highlighted. The chapter also gives the results of the questionnaire administered in the study area.

### **3.2 Study Area**

The area of study includes West Pokot and the Turkana counties. Figure 1 shows a map of the study area. These two counties are in the north western part of the republic of Kenya.

### **3.2.1 West Pokot County**

West Pokot County has an area of 9,100 sq km and located between 34° 37' and 35° 49' East longitude and 1° 07' and 2° 40' north latitude. It borders Trans Nzoia and Elgeyo Marakwet counties to the south, Baringo and Turkana to the east and north respectively, and republic of Uganda to the West. The county is comprised of high mountains, low semi arid plains and hills as well as ridges of various altitudes, often steep, with long narrow valleys in between. There are both seasonal and perennial rivers.

Climatic conditions vary throughout the year. Over 1,500 mm annual rainfall is recorded in some areas while in arid areas it is less than 500mm. Rainfall pattern and probability vary regularly from lowlands to highlands. Long rains are in March to September while the short rains are in October

### **3.2.2 Turkana County**

Turkana County occupies the area of north western Kenya to the west of Lake Turkana. The county covers a total area of about 70,000 square kilometers. It shares to the north and west international boundaries with Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda. Domestically, it has to the east Lake Turkana, to the south-east, Samburu county and to the south, Baringo and West Pokot counties. The county consists predominantly of a vast low-lying plain from which protrude isolated mountains and ranges of hill, mostly laying in a north – south direct ion following the general structure of the eastern rift valley. The county is between 600 and 900 meters above sea level.

Average annual rainfall on the plains is about 300 – 400 mm falling to less than 150 mm in the arid central regions.

The two major river systems are the Turkwel and Kericho, both of which rise from the highlands south of Turkana. Other water sources can be found both in numerous stream beds and from springs and wells dug in the sand rivers.

The vegetation of the County is therefore sparse except on the higher mountain slopes. As a consequence of this pastoralism remains the main economic activity and the Turkana's dependence on the pastoral sector is an appropriate adaptation to the County's environment.

Climatically, Turkana County is classified as an arid to semi-arid lands region (ASAL). The temperatures are high and fairly uniform through-out the year with an average daily level of about 24°C around Lodwar. In the central plains strong winds are frequent, usually coming from

the east to south-east sweeping across the district.

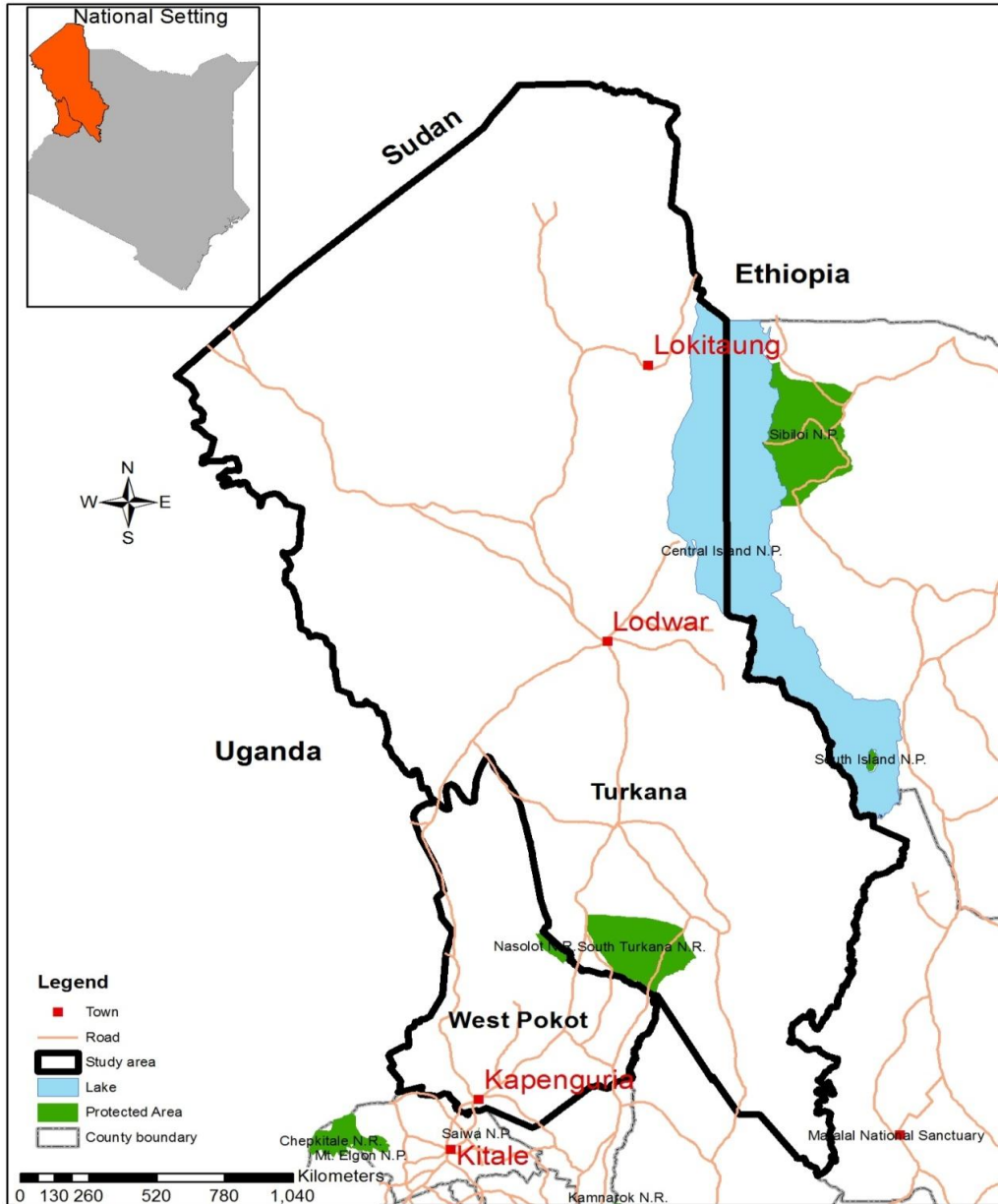


Figure 2 Map showing the

Study Area

### 3.2.3 The Turkana

The Turkana are the second most populous group of pastoralists in Kenya. These nomadic people dominate Turkana District. They have learned to survive by taking advantage of every opportunity that comes their way, including expansion into non-Turkana areas. Neighboring people include both herders and agriculturalists: El Molo, Samburu, Pokot, Rendille, Borana, and Endo-Marakwet. The Turkana have shown their openness to change by adapting to life in fishing communities, agricultural schemes, and in towns whenever possible. The Turkana language is close to the Toposa language and somewhat more distantly related to the Karamojong and Maasai groups.

Livestock is central to the Turkana culture and all aspects of their social, political, and economic life revolve around them. Cattle, camels, sheep, and goats are vital to their lives and are the primary source of food (milk and meat). Livestock also play an important role in payment for bride wealth, compensation for crimes, fines for fathering illegitimate children, and as gifts on social occasions

The Turkana rely on several rivers, such as the Turkwel, Kerio and many other seasonal streams, for their livestock and daily use. When these rivers flood, new sediment and water extend onto the river plain, which is then cultivated. When the rivers dry up, open-pit wells are dug in the riverbed to be used for watering livestock and human consumption. There are few developed wells, and often families must travel several hours in search of water

### **3.2.4 The Pokot**

Traditionally, the Pokot are nomadic pastoralists whose lifestyle is rapidly changing to sedentary mixed farming, especially in areas where conditions permit. Based on area and cultural differences, the Pokot people can be divided into two groups: the hill and the plains Pokot. The hill Pokots live in the rainy highlands in the west and central south of the Pokot area and practice both farming and pastoralism. The plains Pokot live on the dry and infertile plains and herd cows, goats, and sheep. This is the group that is involved in cattle raids and counter-raids with their Turkana and Karamojong neighbors.

Pokot customs have much in common with those of the Turkana and Karamojong. Among all groups, wealth is measured by the number of cows one owns. Cows are used for barter, exchange, and most significantly as a form of bride wealth. A man is permitted to marry more than one woman as long as he has sufficient cows to offer her family in exchange. This is the primary traditional way for wealth and resources to change hands in Pokot society.

Due to their small territory the Pokot have remained the most ethnically cohesive of the three societies, and often their competition with the Turkana is as much about community survival as anything else. Most of the Pokot were made landless by the colonial administration and European settlers who pushed them off the most fertile land into the drier parts. To a large extent, therefore, cattle raiding by the Pokot are both a natural response to disasters such as drought and an attempt to increase their livestock in good seasons as insurance against bad seasons.

### 3.3 Findings of the study

#### 3.3.1 Incidents from the Annual Reports

West Suk (West Pokot) District Annual Report of 1924 reported the killing of 3 and wounded one Suk (Pokot) and carried off 1377 heads of cattle, 930 sheep and 133 donkeys. In the same year in November, seven Turkana women and 8 children were murdered. In December same year, a Pokot chief was murdered by Turkanas.

In March 1925, Turkana raided the Pokots and killed 16 Pokots and injured one and took off with 2072 heads of cattle, 1028 sheep and goats and 239 donkeys. Two days after the raid two Turkana men and three women were murdered. In November a Pokot was killed by Turkana

Turkana District Annual Report of 1950 indicates the relationship between the two communities as follows:

The Suk are the traditional enemies of the Turkanas and relations between them as tribes are never really cordial

#### 3.3.2 Incidents from Kainuk Police Station Reports

The Table below shows incidents reported to Kainuk Police Station in 2008 and 2009. Kainuk Police Station is the closest station to the conflict area and that was the reason that information was collected there. Efforts to obtain recent records failed.

Date	Location	County	Incident
19 .2 .2008	Kakong	Turkana	Pokots raided Kakong and took away



			630 goats belonging to Turkanas
20. 2.2008	Kapelbok	Turkana	Pokots raiders attacked Kapelbok and stole 500 cows. They killed one male and injured another
18.2.2008	Kakong	Turkana	Pokot raiders took away 470 sheep and goats
23.2.2008	Kainuk	Turkana	Pokots shot dead 4 Turkana boys
2.3.2008	Kapelbok	Turkana	Raid by pokots 300 heads of cattle and 600 goats taken away
4.3.2008	Lorogon	Turkana	Pokot shot at Turkana tribesmen
11.3.2008	Loyapat	Turkana	50 Pokot raiders attacked herdsmen but were repulsed
17.3.2008	Kapelibok	Turkana	Raiders made away with 400 sheep
17.3.2008	Sarmach	West Pokot	Turkana bandits attacked but were repulsed
21.3.2008	Lorogon	Turkana	Pokot raiders stole 42 goats
23.3.2008	Nakwamoru	Turkana	30 armed pokot raiders attacked and stole 250 goats. One Pokot was injured
27.3.2008	Kalomwe	Turkana	Attacked and made away with 600 herds of cattle
29.3.2008	Katilu	Turkana	Pokot raided and made away with unknown number of livestock
5.4.2008	Kapelbok	Turkana	20 pokots raided the area but were repulsed by locals and half of the raiders were gunned down
8.5.2008	Kakong	Turkana	Attempted raid by Pokots
21.5.2008	Sarmach	West Pokot	4 Turkanas raided and took away 10 herds of cattle

13.7.2008	Kakong	Turkana	Pokot attacked and made away with unknown numbers of donkeys
23.7.2008	Orwa	West Pokot	4 Armed Turkanas attacked the village and made away with 30 goats
8.8.2008	Juluk	Turkana	50 armed Pokots attacked and made away with 472 cattle
28.10.2008	Kakong		Pokot attacked the village but were overpowered
		<b>2009</b>	
14.1.2009	Nakubosan	West Pokot	Turkanas attacked a person grazing took 22 goats
26.1.209	lobokat	Turkana	Shoot out
29.1.2009	Katilu	Turkana	Pokot shot Turkana injured male
15.2.2009	Kainuk	West Pokot	24 calves stolen by Turkanas
26.2.2009	Loyapat	West Pokot	20 Turkanas invaded
8.3.2009	Kainuk	Turkana	About 100 pokots attacked turkana herdsmen and took away 2039 goats/sheep. 1 female lady shot dead
10.3.2009	Kainuk	Turkana	Pokots shot dead Turkana adult male and injured 1 adult female
27.3.2009	Turkwell	West Pokot	Turkana male shot on the left side of abdomen
29.3.2009	Nakwamoru	West Pokot	Turkanas shot 2 children
10.4.2009	Nakwamoru	Turkana	Pokot raid made away with 500 herds of cattle
14,4.2009	sarmarach	West Pokot	Skirmishes between Pokot and Turkana. Turkanas killed a number of pokot cattle
8.5.2009	Kainuk	Turkana	Shootout between pokot and turkana.

			Male Turkana Short on Thigh

From the above table, 22 raids were conducted by Pokots against Turkanas while 9 were conducted by Turkanas against Pokots.

### 3.3.3 Incidents from Newspapers

Below are some incidents of conflicts from newspaper reports between 2012 and 2014

On 27<sup>th</sup> November 2012, Turkanas raided Katimokor/Turkwell area of West Pokot County, killed 30 people and took away 14 goats and sheep.

On 4<sup>th</sup> September 2013, a Turkana woman was killed and two pupils were injured when Pokot raiders invaded Lokoron village in Turkana South District.

A 13 year old boy was on November 20<sup>th</sup> 2013 shot dead by suspected Turkana raiders in West Pokot County.

Scores of families have fled five villages in West Pokot and Turkana counties, following attacks and counter attacks that have left 25 people dead.

On December 30<sup>th</sup> 2013 a police reservist was shot dead at the border of West Pokot and Turkana counties where a boundary dispute has claimed more than 30 lives in two months

On 9<sup>th</sup> February 2014 two Merille from Ethiopia were killed in confrontation with Turkanas over pasture and water. Two Turkana herdsmen were injured in the incident.

An 11 year old pupil of Turkwell Primary School was killed on 9<sup>th</sup> February 2014 after armed bandits opened fire on him at Kases, West Pokot County. One of the assailants was killed.

### **3.3.4 Findings from the questionnaires**

Questionnaires (annex 1) were used to acquire primary data. A total of 40 questionnaires were randomly administered 20 to each community. Twenty questionnaires were received from Pokots and 19 from the Turkanas. Therefore the number of questionnaires analysed were 39.

Microsoft Excel and the Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) softwares were used to analyse the data. In both types of analyses, the first stage was the coding of raw data. The questionnaires were numbered from the first to the last respondent

The responses were then assigned to numbers to ease the analysis process. For instance in coding the category of age, the respondents were grouped into two categories; the youths and the elderly, in this case, serial number 1 was assigned to the youths while serial number 2 was assigned to the elderly respondents after which the resultant outcome is fed to a microsoft excel worksheet for each respondent- from the first to the last respondent. The same procedure was repeated for all other responses in the questionnaires.

After coding data analysis was conducted. In Excel, the analysed results were presented using pie charts and graphs while in SPSS tables were used.

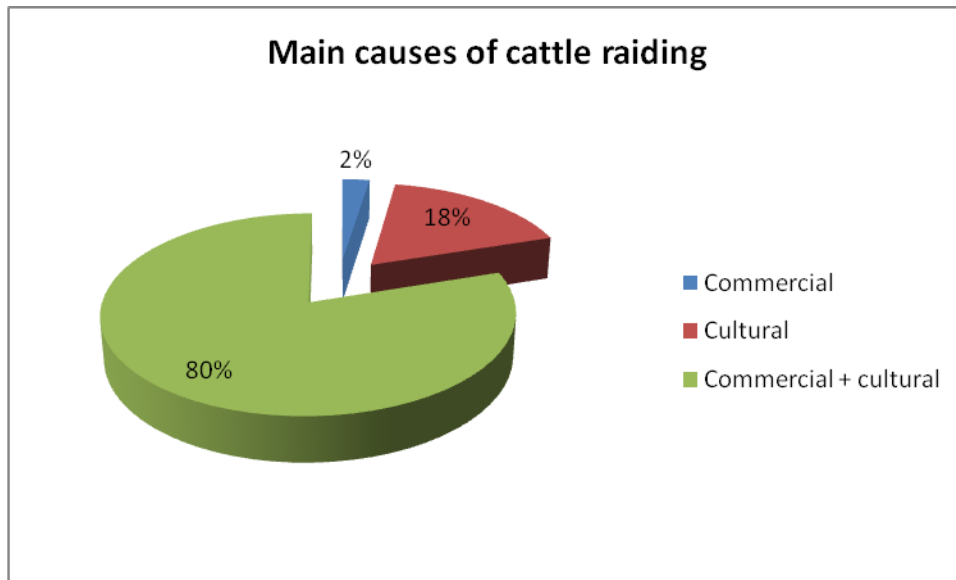
In this study, pie charts were used to illustrate responses through percentages, simple bar graphs were used to illustrate frequencies while comparative bar graphs were used to illustrate relationships between analysed parameters. Tables were used to depict the outcomes of t-test

analyses. In the t-test analyses, if the significance level was less than 0.005, then there existed a strong relationship between the two variables under study.

The outcome of the analysis process was systematically used in attempting to answer the research questions thus ultimately leading to objectives realization.

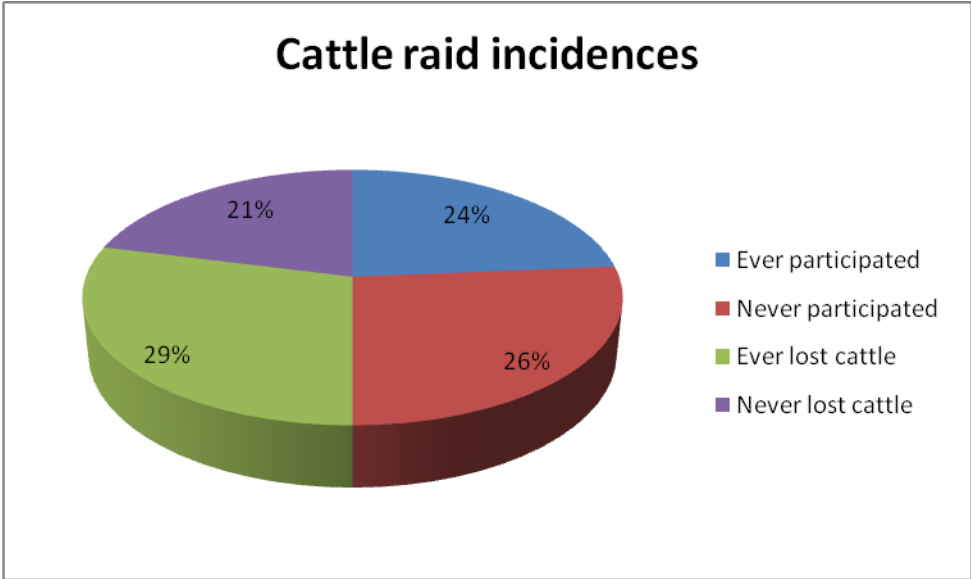
### **3.3.5 Main causes of cattle raiding**

The study revealed three main causes of cattle raiding as clearly illustrated in the figure below

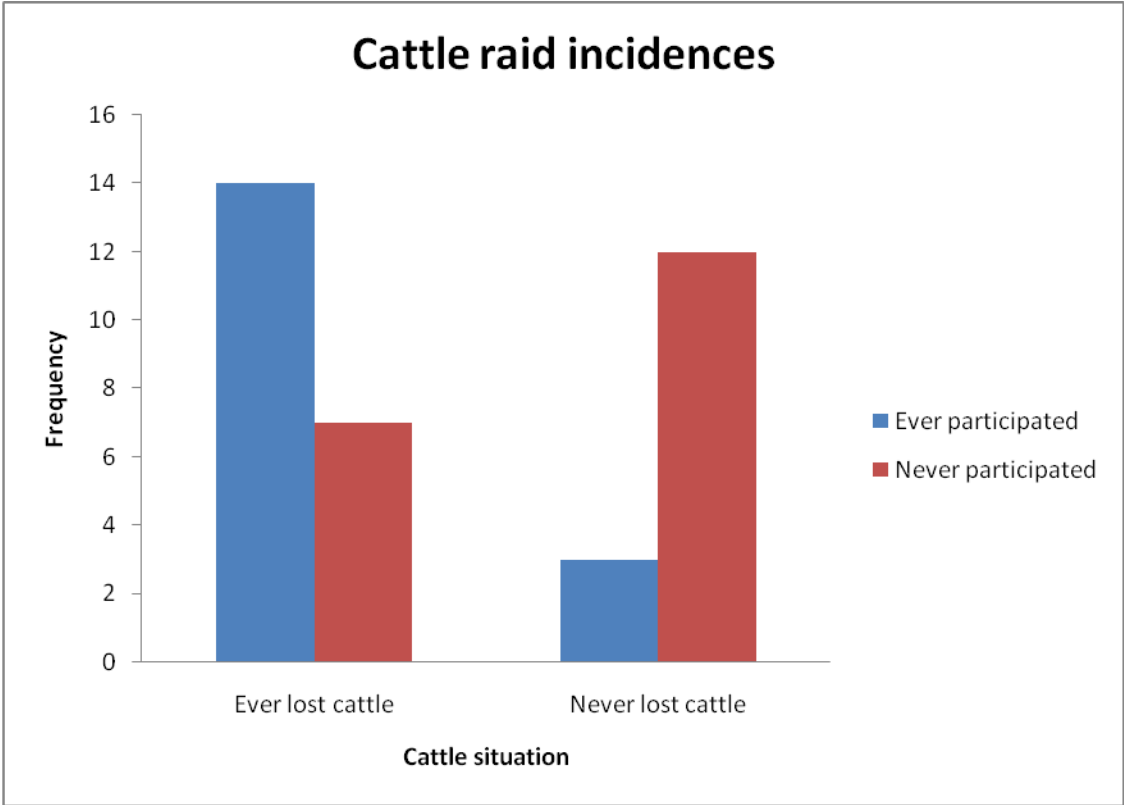


According to the figure, 80% of the respondents noted commercial plus cultural aspects of the community as the main causes of cattle raiding while only 2% percent suggested commercial reasons. 18% of the respondents noted that cattle raiding was mainly caused by cultural reasons.

The research findings indicated that cattle rustling incidences between the Pokots and the Turkanas occurred with varying intensities depending on whether the respondents lost or never lost their cattle as shown in the figure below



From the figure, 26% of the respondents never participated in cattle raid incidences while 24% of the respondents participated in cattle raids. 29% of the respondents lost their cattle while 21% of the respondents never lost their cattle. This is further elaborated in the figure below





From the figure, majority of the respondents participated in cattle raids after losing their livestock through rustling while most respondents never participated in cattle rustling because they never lost their livestock. Additional research findings indicated that cattle rustling incidences were triggered by three key factors as shown in the table below

Count

		Rustling incidences				Total
		E v e r participated ever lost	E v e r participated never lost	N e v e r participated never lost	N e v e r participated ever lost	
Main cause	Commercial	1	0	0	0	1
	Cultural	2	1	2	2	7
	Commercial + Cultural	12	2	11	4	29
Total		15	3	13	6	37

Majority of the respondents who ever lost their cattle attributed their participation in rustling to commercial and cultural reasons.

Few respondents suggested that rustling incidences were highly caused by commercial reasons

Generally cattle rustling according to the respondents were mainly triggered by both commercial and cultural reasons. Additional research findings indicated that age played a key role in triggering cattle raiding incidences as shown in the table below

Count

		Rustling incidences				Total
		E v e r participated ever lost	E v e r participated never lost	N e v e r participated never lost	N e v e r participated ever lost	
Age	Youth	11	2	12	4	29
	Elderly	4	1	1	2	8
Total		15	3	13	6	37

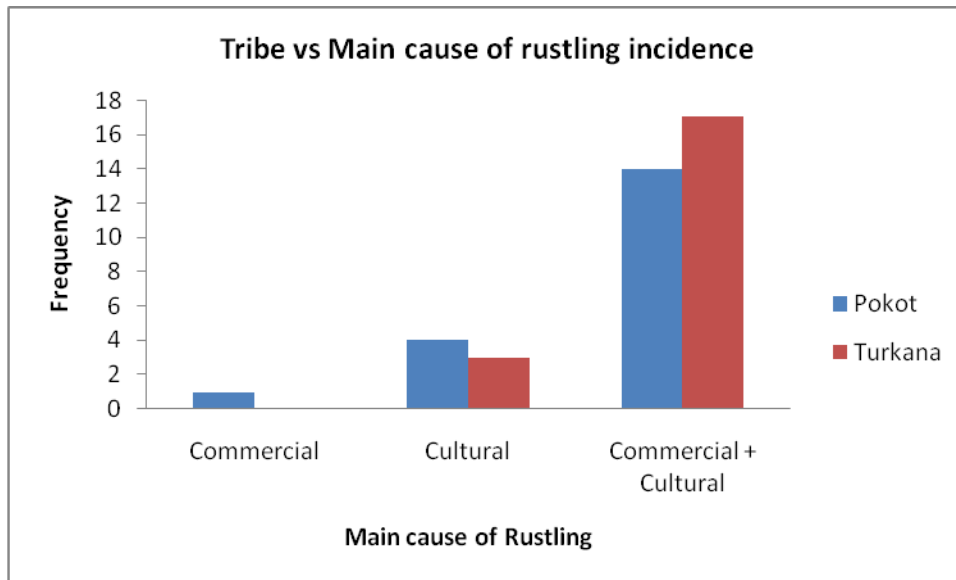
Generally, the youths largely involved themselves with cattle rustling.

Majority of the respondents regardless of their age never participated in cattle rustling because they never lost their livestock.

Majority of the elderly respondents were involved in cattle raiding after losing their livestock through cattle rustling.

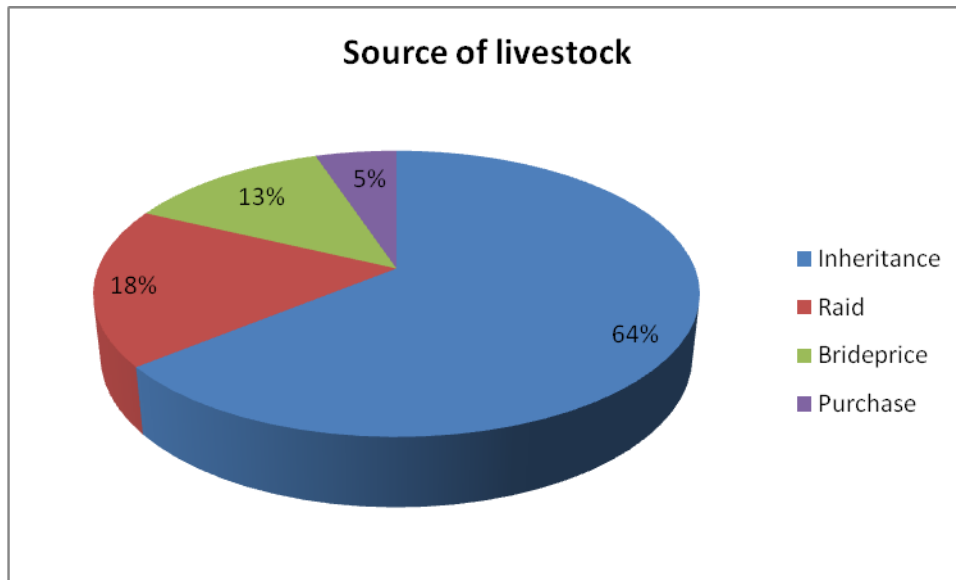
### **Tribe vs main cause of cattle raiding**

Tribe played a key role in triggering cattle rustling incidences as shown in the figure below

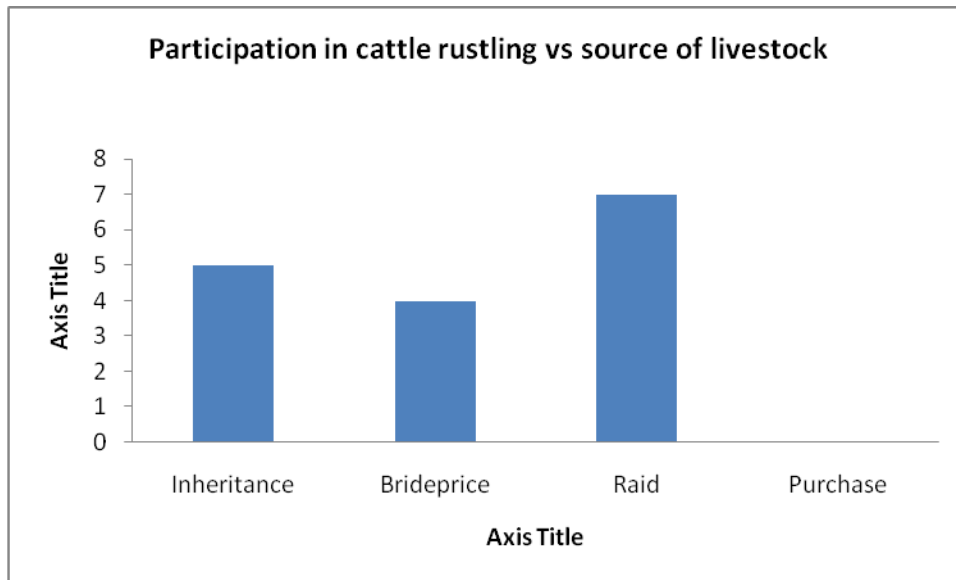


From the figure, only the Pokots noted the main cause of rustling incidence as commercial,

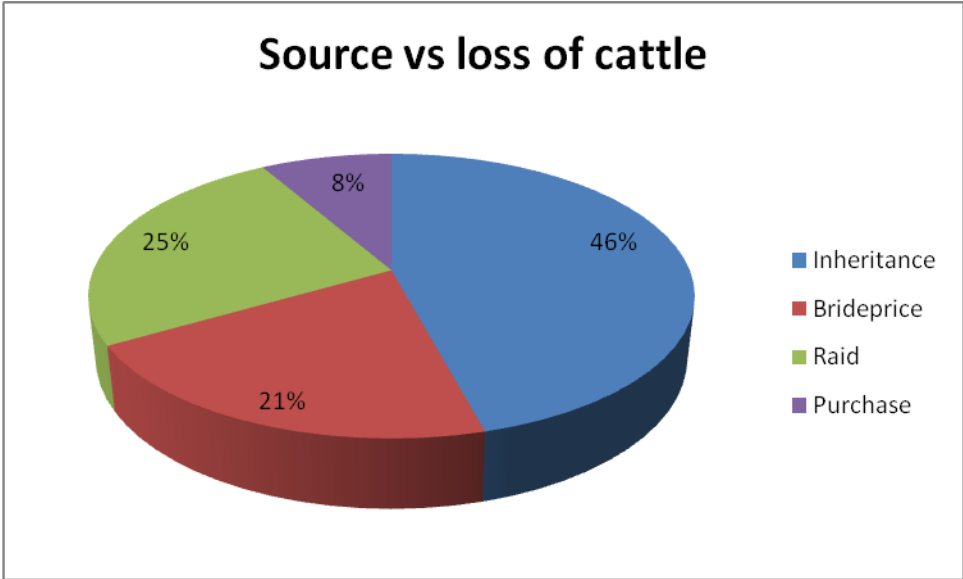
Majority of the Pokots and the Turkanas suggested commercial and cultural as the main cause of rustling incidences. Some respondents proposed the main cause of rustling incidences to be cultural. The research findings also indicated that tribe highly triggered rustling incidences as clearly shown in the figures and the figure below



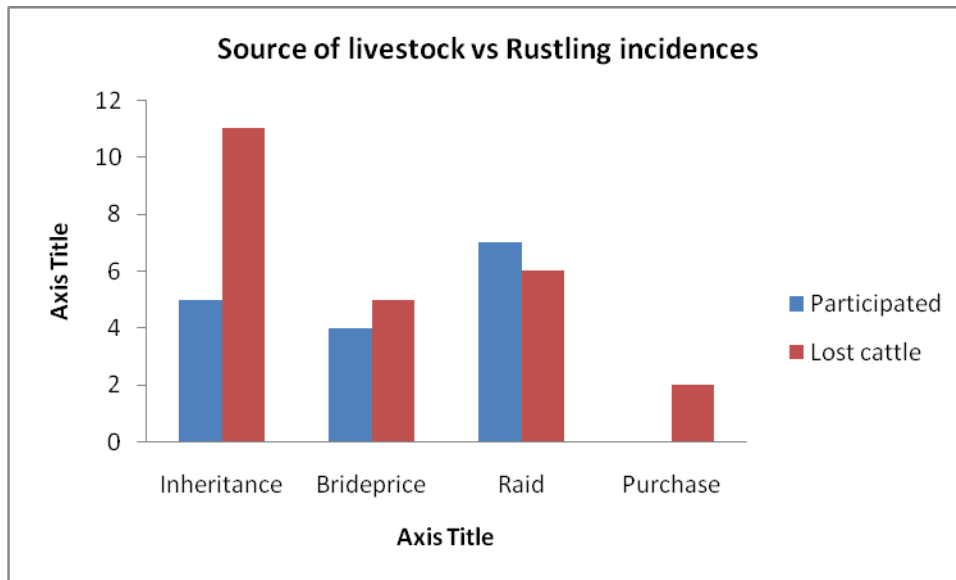
From the figure, 64% of the respondents inherited their livestock while 18% of the respondents engaged themselves in cattle raiding to acquire livestock. Research findings also indicated that the manner in which the respondents acquired their livestock influenced rustling incidences as in the figures below:



From the figure, majority of the respondents who acquired their cattle through raiding participated most in cattle rustling compared with those who acquired their wealth through bride price and inheritance. It is also evident from the figure that the respondents who purchased their cattle never engaged in cattle rustling. The research findings indicated that respondents engaged themselves in cattle rustling at varying intensities depending on whether they lost cattle or not as shown in the figure below:



From the figure, most respondents who lost their cattle had inherited them while those who purchased their cattle least lost them. Further findings indicated that generally the respondents who highly lost their cattle were highly involved in cattle rustling as opposed to those who least lost their cattle as shown in the figure below



From the figure, most respondents who acquired their cattle through raids were highly involved in cattle rustling while most respondents who inherited their cattle highly lost their cattle through raids. It is also evident that although the respondents who purchased their cattle lost their livestock, they never participated in cattle raids. This is as clearly depicted in the table below

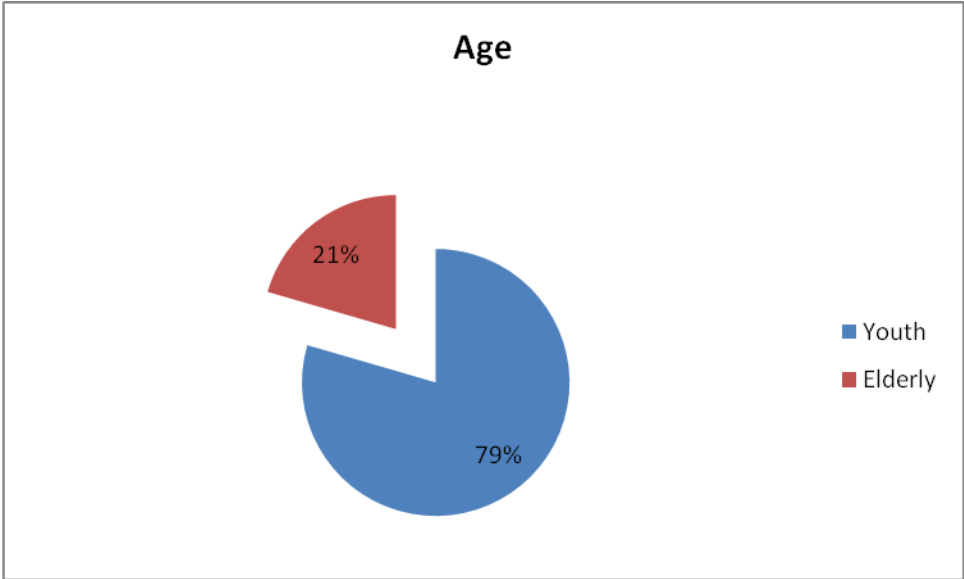


	Rustling incidences				Total
	E v e r participated ever lost	E v e r participated never lost	N e v e r participated never lost	N e v e r participated ever lost	
Source of Inheritance	5	1	12	5	23
livestock    Bride price	4	1	0	0	5
Raid	6	1	0	0	7
Purchase	0	0	1	1	2
Total	15	3	13	6	37

From the table, majority of the respondents who acquired their livestock through raiding highly participated in rustling. Most of the respondents who acquired livestock through bride price least engaged themselves in cattle rustling. Majority of the respondents who never participated in cattle rustling purchased their cattle.

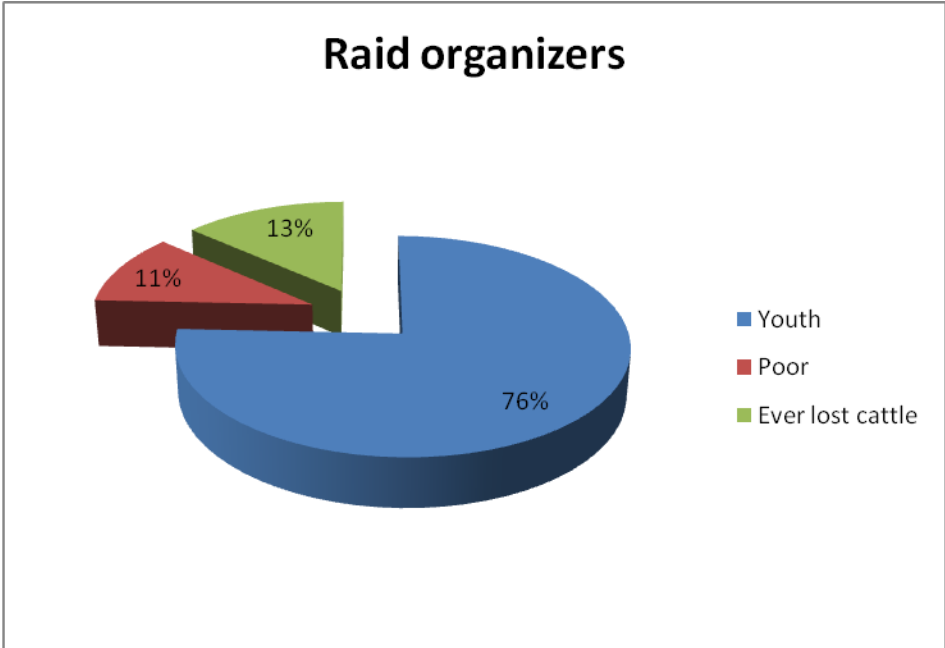
**Age and cattle rustling**

Majority of the respondents were youths as illustrated in the figure below



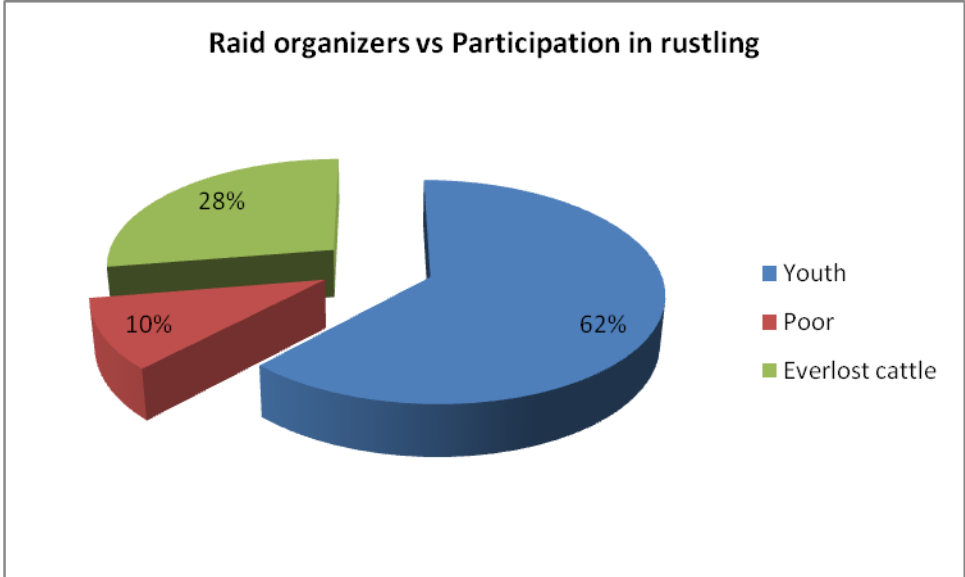
79% of the sampled population comprised the youths while 21% of the respondents were elderly.

The research findings also indicated that the youths were mainly involved in organizing cattle raids as shown in the figure below

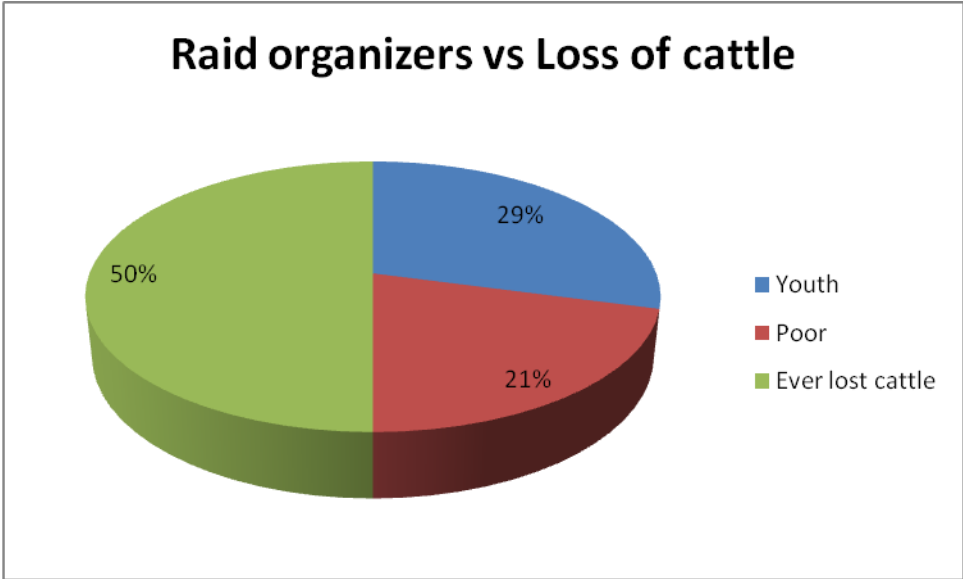


From the figure, 76% of raid organizers were the youths while only 11% were the poor members of the community. The research findings also indicated that the youths who played a key role in

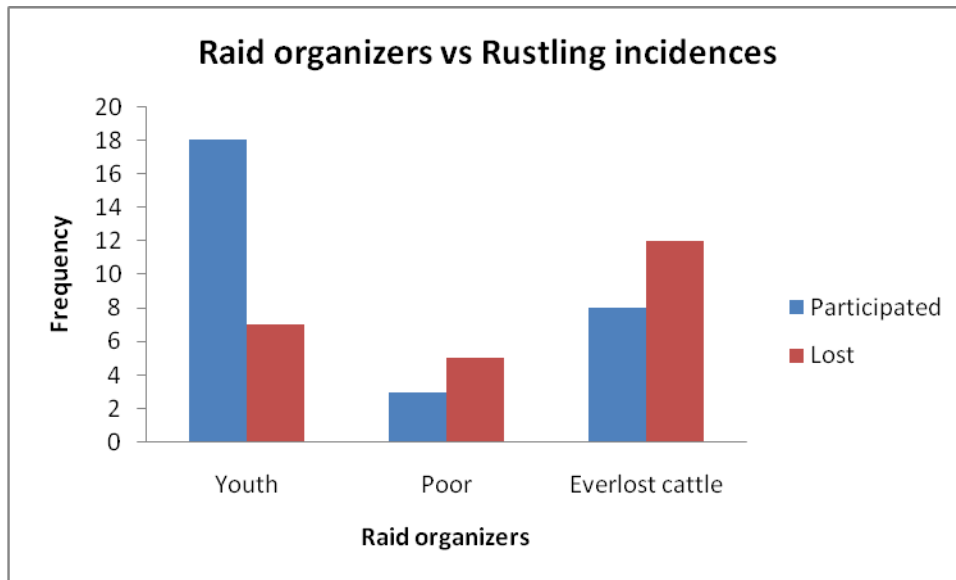
organizing raids were also highly involved in cattle rustling incidences as shown in the figure below



From the figure 62% of the youths were involved in cattle rustling while only 10% of the poor were involved in cattle rustling. Additional research findings indicated that the poor least lost their cattle through raiding as shown in the figure below



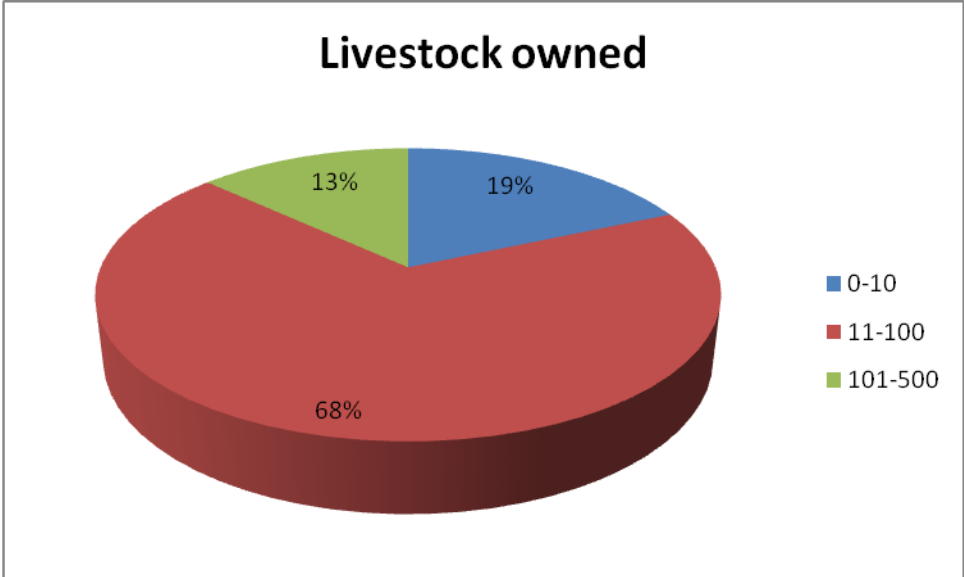
From the figure, 50% of cattle loss was suffered by those who ever lost their cattle while only 21% of the poor ever lost their cattle. Additional research findings indicated that those who ever lost cattle involved themselves in rustling as shown in the figure below



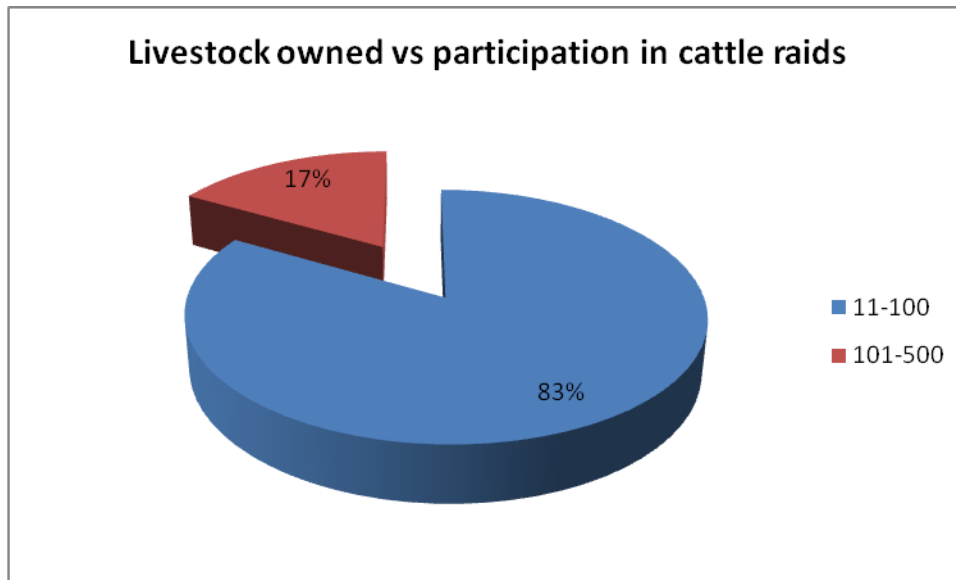
From the figure, the youths were highly engaged in rustling while the poor were least engaged in cattle rustling.

### **Livestock owned**

Research findings indicated that majority of the respondents owned between 11- 100 cattle as shown in the figure below

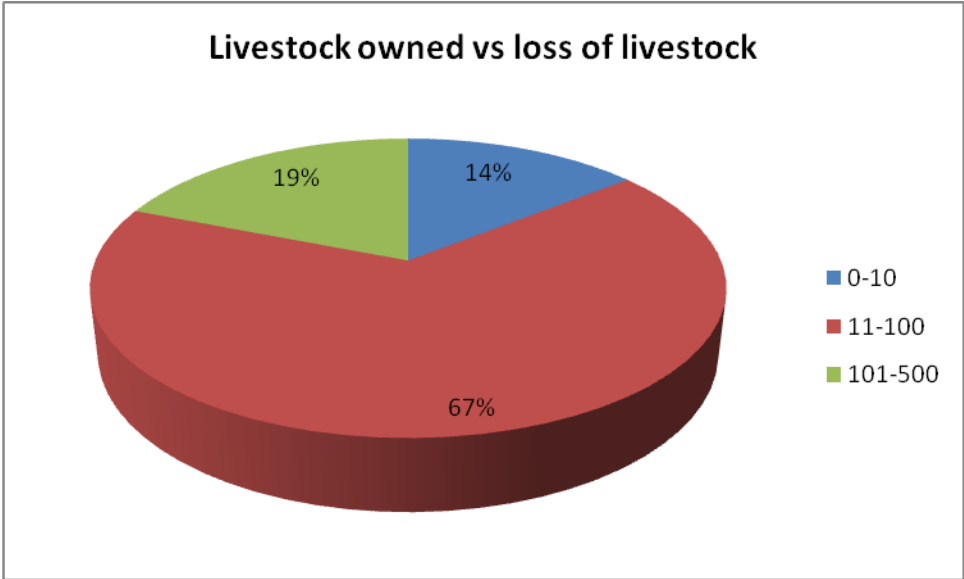


Additional research findings indicated that the number of livestock owned by the respondents highly determined their participation in cattle rustling incidences as shown in the figure below

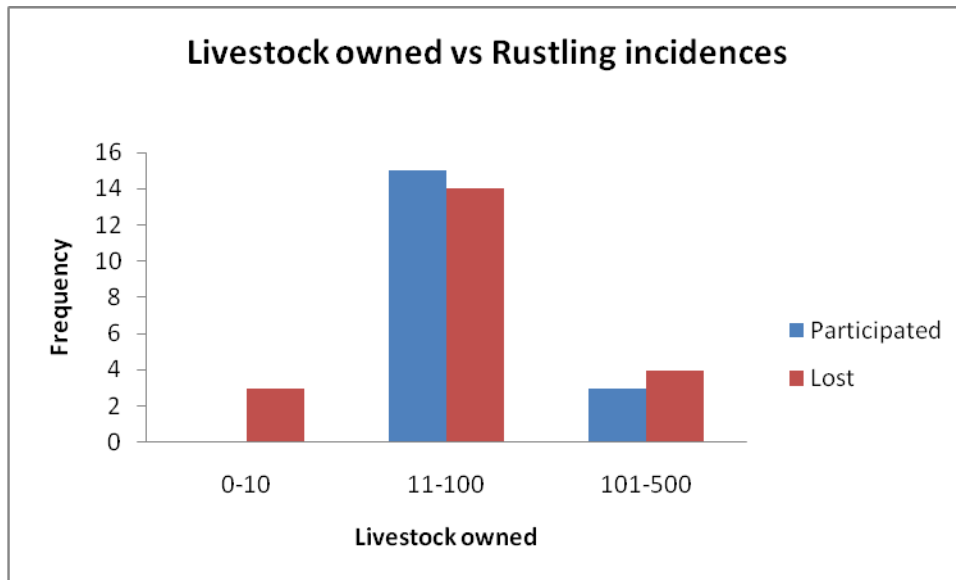


From the figure, 83% of the respondents who participated in cattle raids owned 11-100 cattle while 17% owned 101-500 cattle. Additional research findings indicated that the respondents who highly lost their cattle in cattle raids owned 11-100 cattle as shown in the figure below





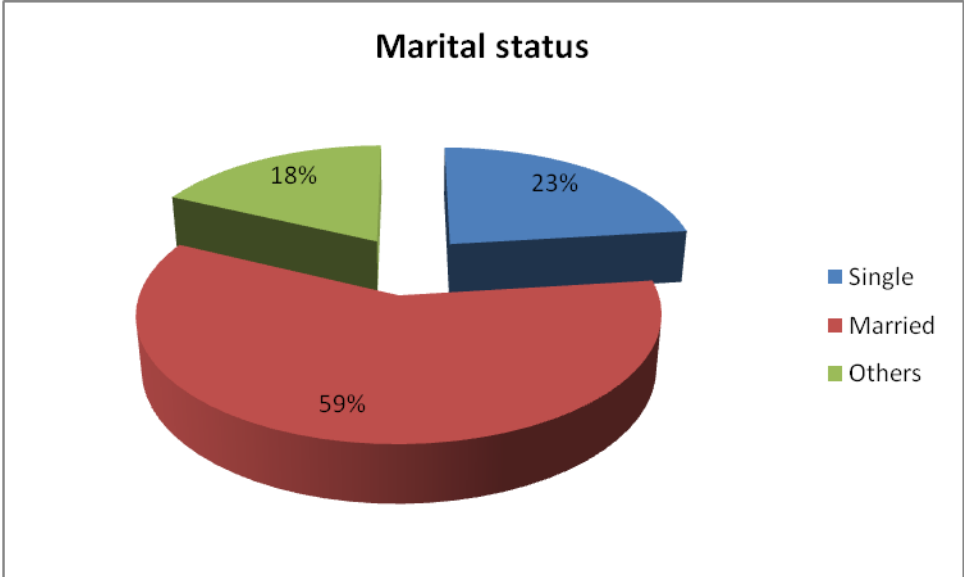
From the figure, 67% of the respondents who lost their cattle through raids owned 11-100 cattle while 14% owned 0-10 cattle. Additional research findings indicated that participation in cattle raids was triggered by loss of livestock as shown in the figure below



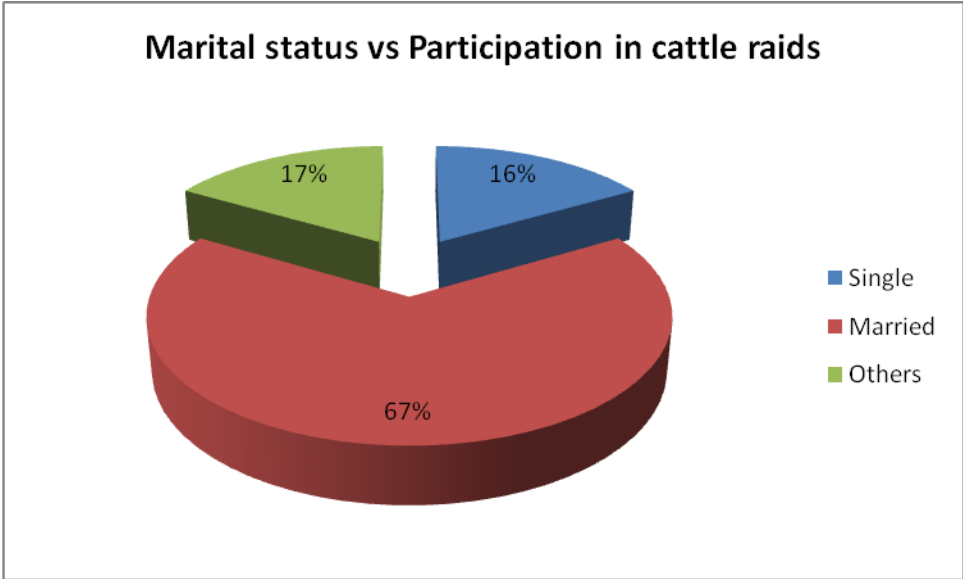
From the figure, the respondents who owned 0-10 cattle lost some of their cattle through cattle raids but were never involved in cattle rustling. Majority of the respondents owning 11-100 cattle lost most of their cattle and thus they highly engaged in cattle rustling.

### **Marital Status**

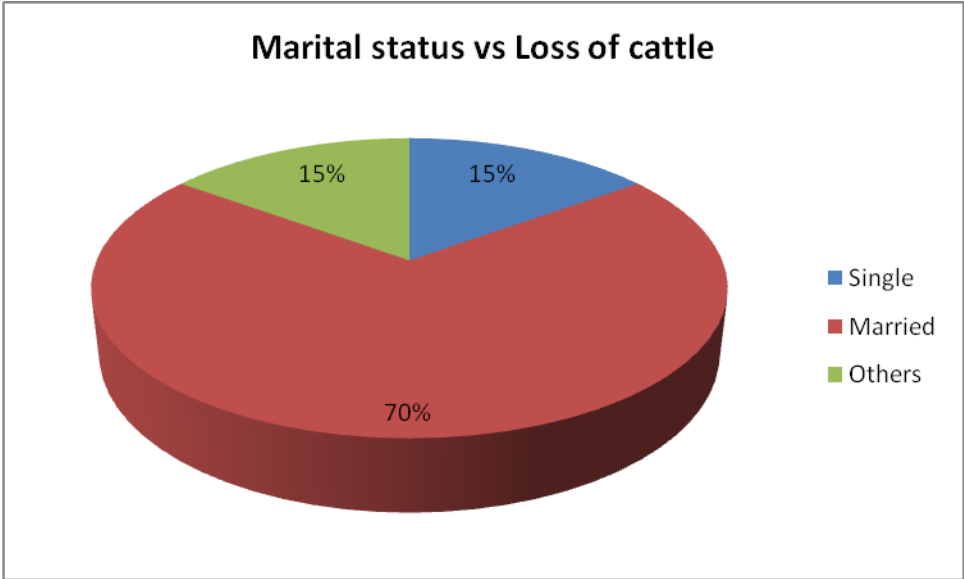
The research findings indicated that majority of the respondents were married as clearly indicated in the figure below



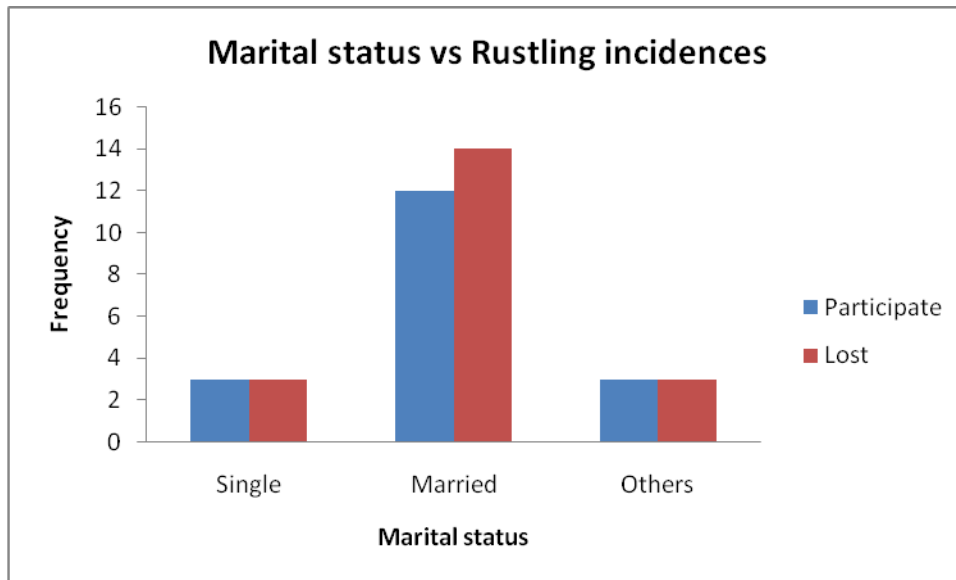
From the figure, 59% of the respondents were married while only 18% of the respondents were either widows or widowers. Additional research findings indicated that the marital status of the respondents determined their involvement in cattle rustling as shown in the figures below



From the figure, 67% of the married respondents participated in cattle rustling while only 16% of the single respondents were involved in cattle raids. Additional research findings indicated that the respondents, despite their marital status lost cattle as shown in the figure below



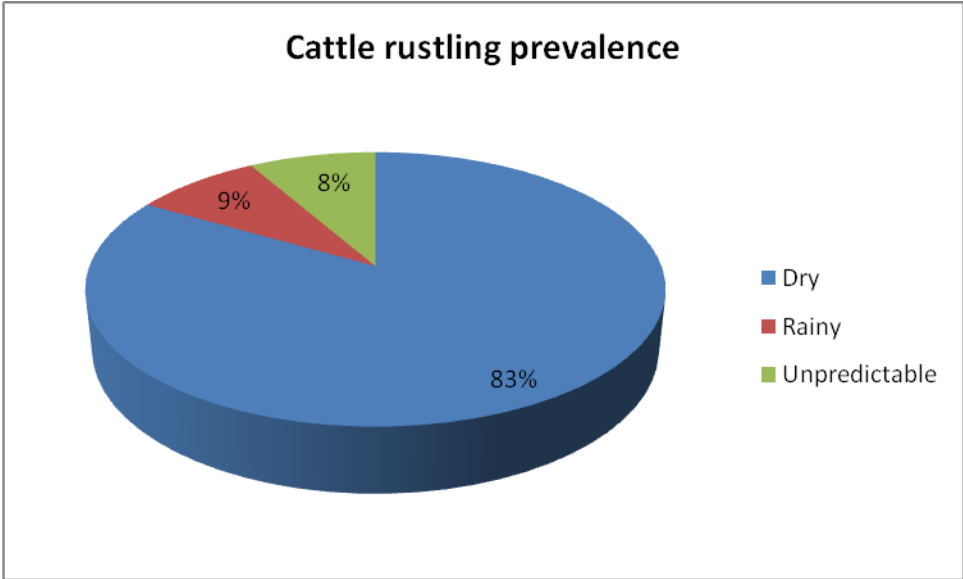
From the figure, 70% of the married respondents lost their cattle while only 15% of the single respondents lost their cattle. Research findings indicated that marital status highly influenced rustling incidences as shown in the figure below



From the figure, majority of the married respondents were highly involved in cattle rustling while few single respondents were involved in cattle raiding.

### **Rustling Prevalence and season**

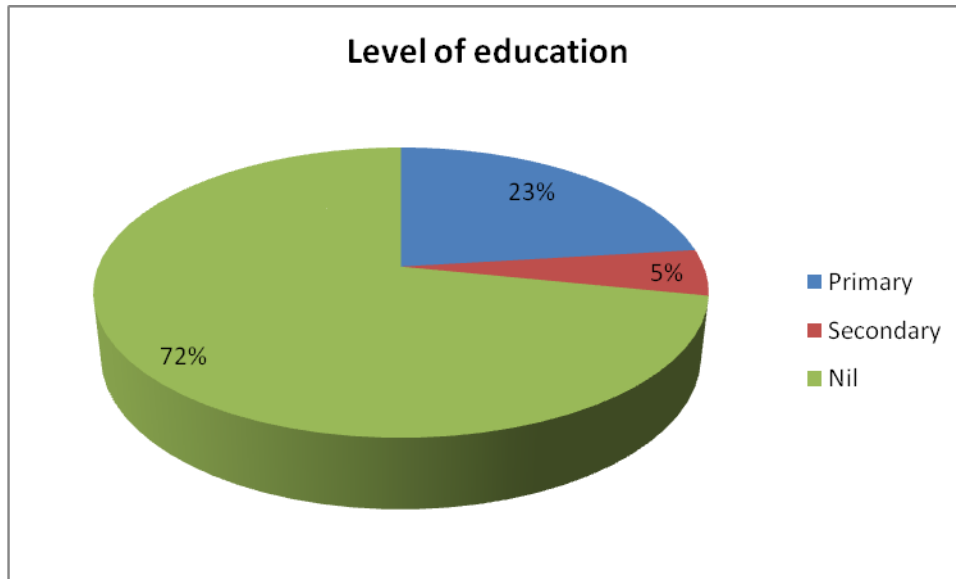
The research findings indicated that cattle rustling were highly prevalent during the dry season as shown in the figure below



From the figure, 83% of the respondents noted that cattle rustling was highly prevalent during the dry season while only 8% of the respondents noted that cattle rustling was unpredictable in nature.

**Education level**

The research findings indicated that majority of the respondents attained no level of education as clearly indicated in the figure

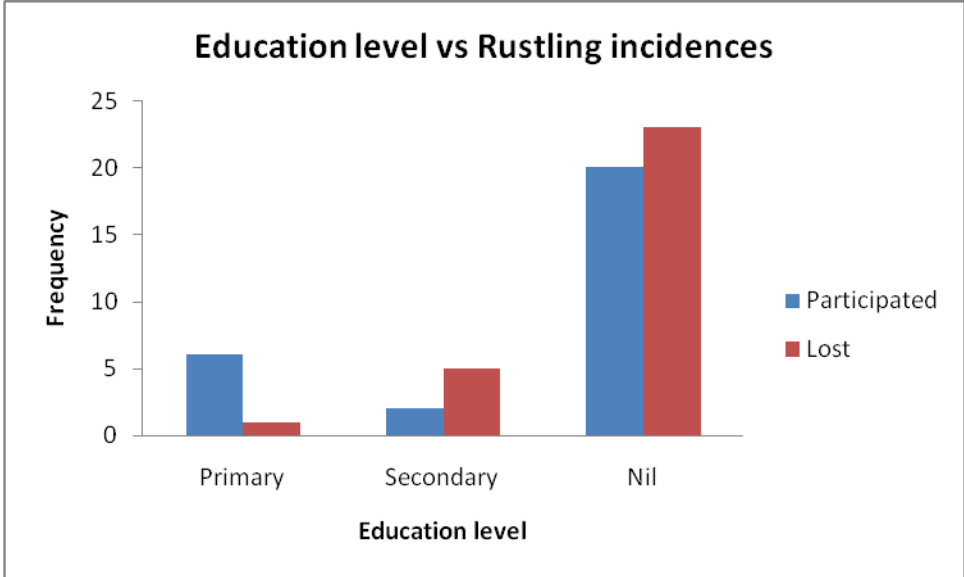


From the figure, 72% of the respondents never went to school while only 5% of the respondents attained Secondary education.



**Education level and cattle rustling**

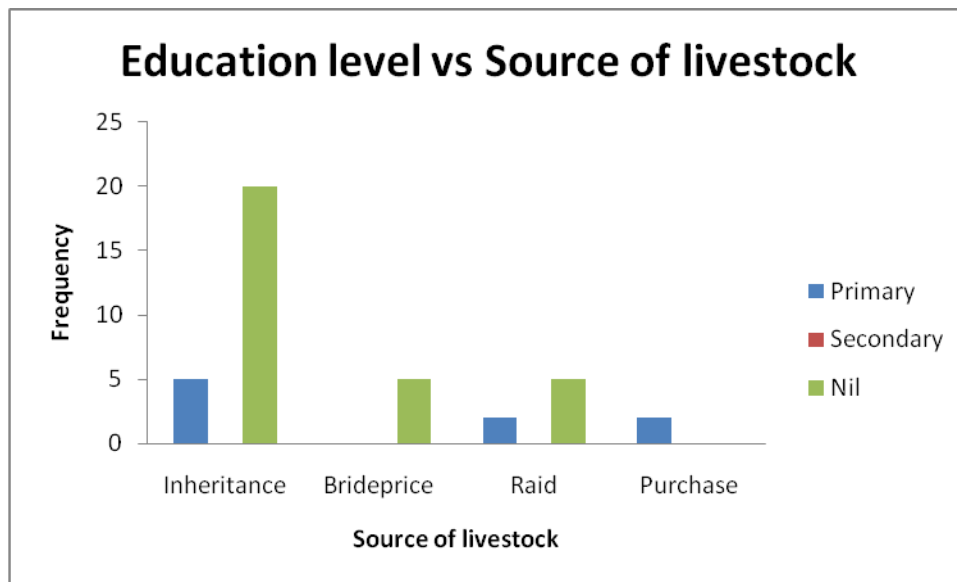
Research findings indicated that the respondent’s level of education determined their participation in cattle raiding as indicated in the figure below



From the figure, majority of the respondents who were involved in cattle rustling had no formal education.

### Education level and source of livestock

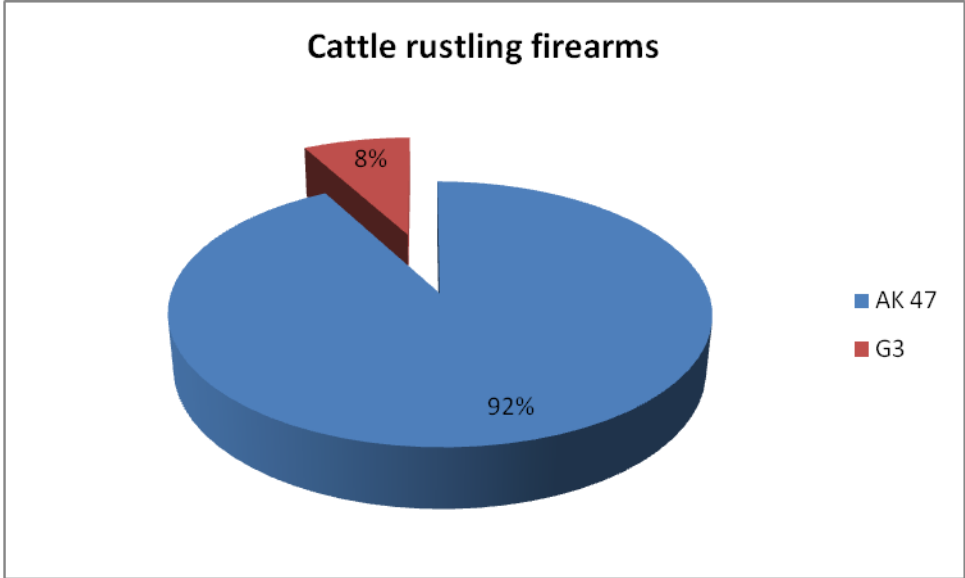
Research findings revealed that education level also determined the source of livestock of the respondents as shown in the figure below



Majority of the respondents with no level of formal education did not purchase their livestock but rather they heavily relied on inheritance and brideprice as key sources of livestock. Some respondents with primary level of education acquired their livestock through purchasing them while only a few inherited livestock while others were involved in cattle raiding.

**Cattle rustling firearms**

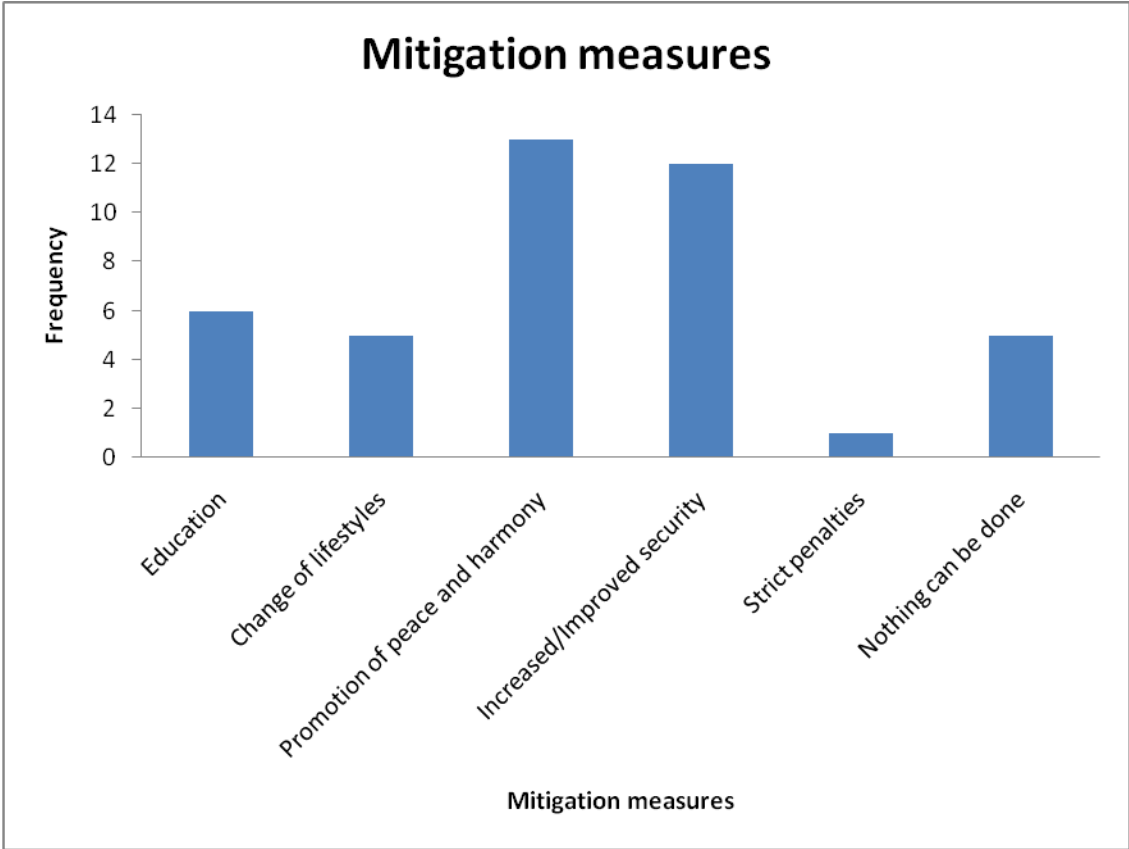
The research findings indicated that AK 47 was the main weapon used for cattle rustling as clearly shown in the figure below



From the figure, 92% of the respondents noted that AK 47 was the main weapon used for cattle rustling while only 8% of the respondents noted G3 as the main weapon used for cattle rustling.

**Mitigation strategies suggested by respondents**

The respondents suggested several strategies that can be adopted to resolve the conflicts between the Pokots and the Turkanas as shown in the figure below.



Promotion of peace and harmony stood out as the key strategy that can be adapted to avoid future raids. Peace and harmony could be promoted through adapting an integrated approach that involves officials from the village, church and the government coming together to dialogue. Increasing and improving security through security deployment to the region as well as enhancing the already existing security systems was highly proposed. Some respondents suggested that nothing could be done to avoid future raids because that was their culture/ their way of life. Change of lifestyles could be achieved through seeking alternative way of livelihood. Strict penalties was least suggested.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter gave description of the study area that is West Pokot and Turkana counties. It has also described the two conflicting communities. The chapter has highlighted incidents of conflicts from far back 1924 up to the recent in March 2014. This was through archived Annual reports, Kainuk Police Station Reports and Newspaper reports. The purpose of this was to show that the conflicts have been there for quite a long time and that they are still persisting up to now. Further information on the conflicts was acquired through questionnaires administered to the two communities. The results of the questionnaires and the analysis have been discussed. Results of the analysis of the responses from the respondents has been presented through Pie charts, Bar graphs and Tables. The information from this chapter is further discussed in the proceeding chapter.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **CRITICAL ANALYSIS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter contains the analysis of the results obtained from the primary and secondary data that was obtained in the course of the study. The primary data was obtained through administration of questionnaires to both the Pokot and Turkana communities in the conflict, while secondary data was obtained from newspapers, Annual Reports, District Development Plans and other Kenya government documents.

#### **4.2 Conflict history**

From Annual reports, information collected from the Kainuk Police Station as well as newspaper reports it is evident that the conflicts have persisted for a long time. Incidents of conflicts were reported way back in 1924 according to the West Pokot and Turkana Districts Annual Reports. Newspaper reports indicate that the conflicts are still persisting up to the present day. The latest incidence in this study was on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2014 where two Turkanas were killed and more than 2000 animals stolen by Pokot raiders.

#### **4.3 Conflicts areas**

From annual reports and newspaper reports it is evident that the conflicts are at the border areas of the two counties. Areas that have frequent livestock raids are all at the centers located next to the boundary of the two counties. These include Kainuk, Nakwamoru and Katilu in Turkana

county and Samarach in West Pokot county. Figure 2 is a map showing areas of frequent raids. Due to the fact that the two communities are close to each other, there is frequent interactions and therefore likelihood of conflict. This is where there is a long standing boundary dispute between the two communities. For example, Logoron is a disputed zone between the two counties is believed to be in West Pokot and dominated by the Turkana and yet a General Service Unit camp located in the area is administered from the Turkana County. According to residents the camp started as a center where traders sold items to workers at the Turkwell power station which is a short distance away. However, the place has turned out to be a center of conflict due to the lack of clarity on administrative boundary. The confusion in administrative issues has spurred animosity between the two communities living at the border with the fights over resources escalating. The Turkwell Power plant has been the source of the tussle between the two counties with each county claiming revenue from the firm. This conflict is likely to persist if this issue is not resolved and especially so with devolution where every county is trying to maximize revenue collection. The Turkwell power plant is very strategic for revenue generation and therefore the ownership would be of interest to the two counties. The other reason why this area is under dispute is due to plentiful of water and pasture. The recent discovery of commercial oil deposits, the development of hydro and geothermal power plants and unexploited mineral deposits are fuelling armed conflicts in the area. Other areas under dispute are Kainuk in Masol location and Nakwamoru in Kasei location are in Pokot land yet they are occupied by Turkana and refuse to be administered from Pokot. According to an elder cited by Sunday Nation revenue from these areas should go to West Pokot County. In the same paper elders from both communities have requested the government to use the original maps drawn by the colonial

administration to resolve the boundary row. Pokot elders claim that the government has not involved the community in drawing up new maps and as such vast tracts of land traditionally belonged to the Pokot have being hived off. One of the contentious maps, which the elders say is to blame for the bad blood between the two communities was drawn in 1992 by the Kerio Valley Development Authority (KVDA) to mark areas the authority wanted to develop.



# CONFLICT INCIDENT LOCATIONS

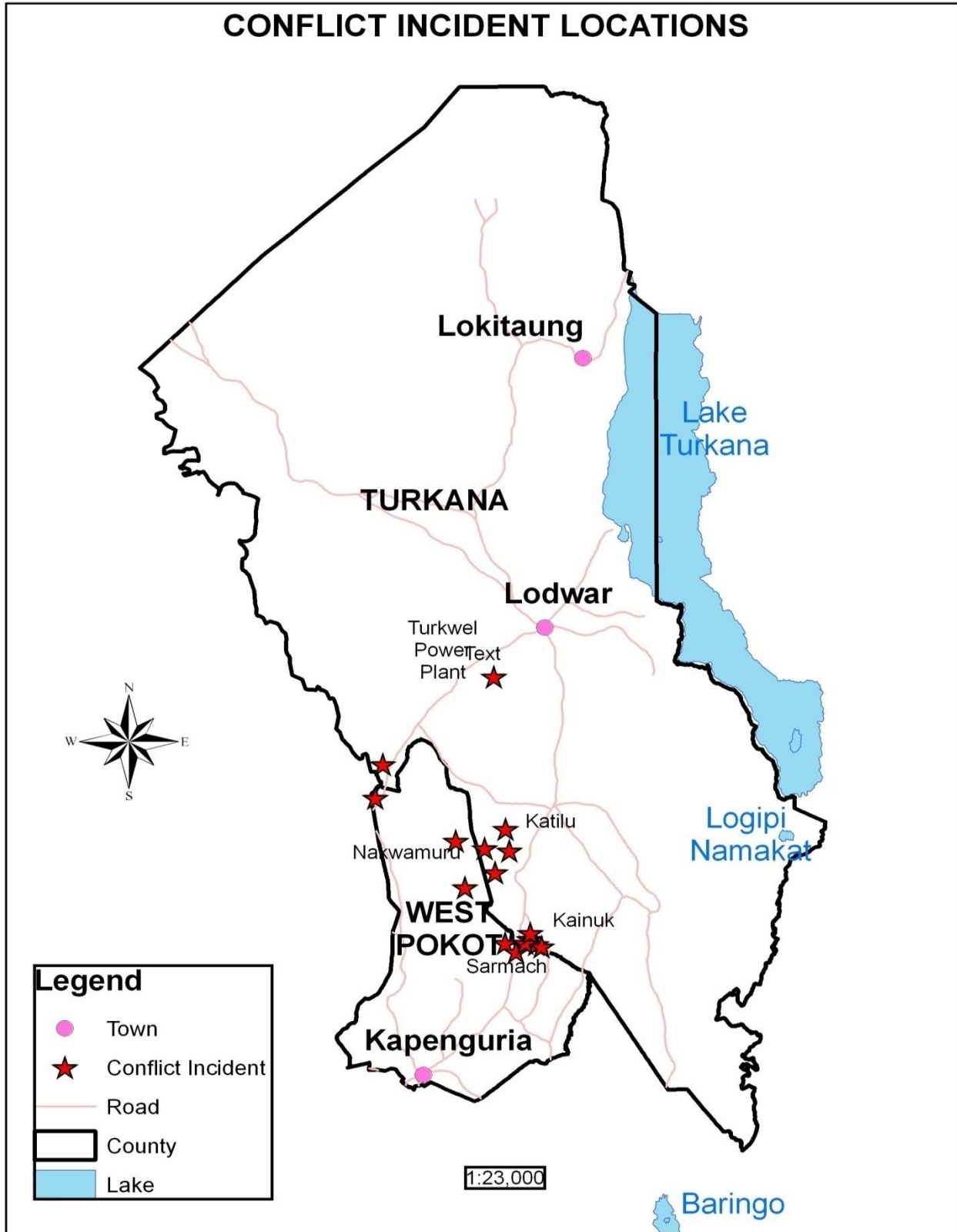


Figure 3 Map showing the Conflict Hot spots

#### 4.4 Cattle raids and their causes

The respondents of the questionnaires identified cultural and commercial reasons for cattle rustling. Cattle raiding has been, and in many areas remains, a culturally accepted activity.

Traditionally, livestock raiding is not considered a crime and successful raiders are respected. Both the two communities pay bride price with livestock. Traditionally, cattle raids were not as violent as it is today. This is because the raiders were using bows and arrows unlike today where raiders are using sophisticated firearms. Cattle raiding has been a long standing tradition and it has cultural and historic connotations and raiders were driven by both symbolic and economic motives, including retaliation for prior attacks, restocking cattle after reduction by drought or disease, obtaining cattle for bride price, demonstrating bravery and competing for social status and prestige. In the past raiding had to be sanctioned under strict rules of preparation, disengagement and conflict resolution in a manner that provided for mediation and compensation. Warriors never harmed women, children and the elderly.

The commercial dimension of the raids has complicated the situation. This is because livestock raiding is done purely for commercial purposes. Wealthy businessmen, many of them based in towns, fund raids.

Data analysis on the causes of raids indicated that 80% of the respondents contributed attributed the raids to a combination of both cultural and commercial reasons. This means that both aspects of cultural and commercial are important factors which lead to raids. The study found that majority of respondents participated in cattle raids after losing theirs through raids. These points

to revenge and also to replenish the lost livestock. These raids and counter raids is an indication that the conflicts will never end if this continues.

#### **4.5 Age and cattle raids**

From this study it is evident that the majority of the raiders are the youth. This study also indicates that majority of the respondents who participated in cattle rustling had no formal education. As such they could not get formal employment and that could be the reason they were involved in rustling for income and also since they are idle most of the time. The level of literacy in this area as the findings show is very low. Only 5% of the respondents have gone up to secondary school and 72% never went to school. The conflicts in the area have affected education and therefore not many people go to school. Some of the schools have been closed down due to insecurity as a result of the conflicts.

#### **4.6 Cattle rustling and Season**

Cattle rustling is prevalent during the dry season. 83 % of the respondent indicated that rustling take place during the dry season. The reason could be due to loss of livestock due to drought and hence the losers would like to replace the lost stock through raiding. At the same time due to drought the pastoralist move from one place to another seeking pasture. It is during this movements in search of pasture that the communities interact leading to conflict. Drought could be as a result of climate change. Environmental effects of climate change such as drought can create conditions that increase the risk of violent conflicts. According to Obika and

Bibangambah, developing countries like Kenya and Uganda are more vulnerable and stand to suffer disproportionately from the effects of climate change including threats to food security, health and economic growth. Faced with multiple stresses such as poverty, hunger, low literacy level, gender inequality, limited technological means; it is evident that the developing countries are in the weakest position to mitigate the adverse effects of climate change.

#### **4.7 Cattle rustling and tribe**

Findings from the questionnaires of the respondents who indicated that they had participated in livestock raids, 52% were Turkanas. The incidents report from Kainuk Police Station indicates that out of the 31 recorded incidents of raids 22 were attacks by the Pokots on the Turkanas against 9 by the Turkanas on the Pokots. From this one can conclude that the Pokots are the aggressors. The pokot who live on both sides of Kenya-Uganda border and cross over frequently, have clashed with their neighbours, the Karamojong.

The Pokot and Marakwet have regularly clashed. The two communities live in Rift Valley Province and both belong to the larger Kalenjin group. Unlike the Pokot, the Marakwet are agro-pastoralists. They farm maize, beans, mangoes, tea, Irish potatoes and vegetables as well as rear cattle, sheep and goats. The two communities have in the past engaged in barter trade with each other. Traditionally, there was much intermarriage. Indeed, some clans are found in both communities. Today, however, tensions are high between the communities. Due to relatively favourable environmental conditions prevailing on the Marakwet side of the Kerio Valley, the Pokot have sought to encroach on their grazing areas. In turn, this has forced the Marakwet to attempt to move onto the grazing land of others, resulting in the displacement of smaller pastoral

communities from the Valley. Currently, the Marakwet may be more armed than the Pokot. They have deliberately armed themselves so that they can strike back at the Pokot and also for their protection.

#### **4.8 Weapons used during raids**

Majority of the respondents (92%) indicated that AK 47 is the weapon used during the raids. As compared to G3 AK 47 is affordable, robust and handy. Proliferation of small arms and light weapons among pastoralist has escalated in the recent times. Proliferation of small arms among Karamoja, Pokot and Turkana may not cause conflict directly, but is a major contributing factor that fuels and sustains conflict, increasing their destructiveness and making reconciliation more difficult. Automatic rifle are used for protection of households and herds as well as for staging attacks in order to enlarge existing herds or to establish new ones. Where governance structures are weak and can be exploited, accessibility to guns is likely to increase as a means of securing livelihood. The increased access to small arms and light weapons has been associated with the escalation of conflicts, insecurity, trauma, violence and crime, disruption of families, infrastructure and development.

Proliferation of arms has lead to young men acquiring weapons. The young armed warriors have become instantly powerful and do not consult elders as it used to be before. Cattle raiding have therefore undergone transformation from the customary raids after drought to an illicit, violent and deadly commercial activity which benefits a few.

There are several international and regional instruments on small arms control such as the UN program for action; the ECOWAS Convention; the Nairobi Declaration and SADC Protocol- all

of which emphasize improving national controls over small arms as a prerequisite to stemming illicit cross border proliferation. These agreements appear to have had little impact on reducing the movement of weapons into pastoral regions.

#### **4.9 Conflict Mitigation Measures**

The respondents identified the following strategies; promotion of peace and harmony, improved security, education, change of lifestyle, strict penalties and others said that nothing can be done since it is their culture to raid for livestock. Promotion of peace and harmony was identified as the most important followed by improvement of security.

The government has established District Peace Committees (DPCs) in the area to try and mitigate on the conflicts. However, it seems like this effort is not bearing any fruits since the conflict is still persisting up to now. One initiative is the formation POKATUSA a peace-building cross-border project originally established in June 1997, whose name is an acronym of the first two letters of Pokot, Karimojong, Turkana and Sebei. It operates in four districts in Kenya and two in Uganda.

It lay relatively dormant until March 2001 and is a relatively new actor on the scene. POKATUSA has two structures that deal with peace and security issues: the District Peace and Reconciliation Committee (DPRC) and the Location Peace and Reconciliation Committee (LPRC). Membership of the DPRC is comprised of local MPs, District Commissioners, teachers, senior fighters, LDUs, traditional healers, women and church leaders. The LPRC is comprised of the same membership less the MPs and District Commissioners. The DPRCs and LRPCs act as an early warning system when cattle raids are imminent and seek to recover raided cattle.

Improvement of security was cited as the second most important strategy by the respondents. The government has deployed Anti Stock Theft Unit (ASTU) of the Police in South Turkana. Thirty officers are deployed in Lolgon and 100 in Lochakula (Kinyanjui, KWS warden Nasolot National Reserve). On top of this, regular police have been deployed in the nearby Kainuk Police Station. This study has identified these two areas as the ones experiencing raids. The presence of the police in this area does not seem to deter raids. The presence of the police in the area is therefore not effective in dealing with the conflict. The government has recruited Kenya Police Reserves (KPR) from the two communities to enhance security. The KPR are not trained and are not paid.

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#### **4.9.1 Disarmament**

Disarming the two communities would be the best solution to minimize the violent conflicts. However, this presents a big challenge due to the fact that other pastoralists in the neighbouring

Uganda, Ethiopia and Sudan are also armed and therefore disarming the Turkana and the Pokot would make them vulnerable from these other Pastoralists across the borders.

Disarmament efforts in the 1980s were heavily dependent upon the use of force. Despite this, relatively few arms were seized. Disarmament efforts of the past were selective and poorly coordinated, they predominantly failed, partly aggravating conflicts between communities. Relations with pastoral communities were badly damaged in the process. This has led to a revised strategy 1995, when the government decided to offer amnesty to anybody who handed over guns. This approach was supplemented by attempts to engage communities in dialogue and continued threats of force. There have been disarmament initiatives on this basis in most years since 1995. Offers of amnesty have not led to dramatically improved outcomes.

The most recent disarmament initiative took place during 2001–2. The government gave the residents of West Pokot, Marakwet and Baringo an ultimatum to hand over arms in exchange for amnesty. Pokot elders argued “it was difficult for the Pokot to live without guns, while their neighbours, including the Karimojong of Uganda, were allowed to use guns. The amnesty period ran out without any arms being recovered. As a result, a public education campaign was launched to persuade the Pokot to surrender their weapons. Local leaders, in particular the chiefs, were used to educate their communities on the importance of giving up their arms. In the background were government threats to seize arms by force if co-operation was not forthcoming.

#### **4.10 Conclusion**



The chapter has given an analysis of the findings of the study as described in the previous chapter

3. First, the causes of cattle rustling have been discussed. The areas of conflicts have been described and indicated using a map. The strategies to deal with the conflicts as proposed by the respondents and the government's efforts have been highlighted in this chapter. The seasons when cattle rustling are prevalent and relation to climate change has also been discussed.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the summary of the findings of the study. It also has a discussion on the findings based on the hypothesis and the objectives of the study. The chapter also gives recommendations on how the conflicts between Pokot and Turkana can be resolved.

#### 5.2 Summary of findings

The study has identified the main causes of conflicts between the two communities. Livestock rustling is a major cause of the conflicts. Cattle rustled are used for paying dowry, to restock lost livestock from raids and drought. Cattle rustling has a long history as indicated by this study. From the study, it is evident that livestock rustling is also for commercial purposes where stolen livestock is sold.

Cattle rustling in the area is prevalent during the dry season as a result of movement of the pastoralists in search of pasture resulting to interaction of the two communities.

The study indicated that the main weapons used during the cattle raids are AK 47 and G3 with AK 47 been preferred to the G3. These two weapons are acquired from the neighbouring countries where there have been civil conflicts.

There has been measures to the conflict which includes formation of peace committees from the two communities and disarmament. The government has deployed Anti-stock Theft Police Unit (ATPU) to deal with cattle rustling, Cattle rustling is carried out by the youth.

Another cause of the two communities conflict is boundary dispute that has been long standing. The boundary between the two counties of these two communities have been contested for quite a long time dating back to the colonial era. The level of education in the area is very low may be due to insecurity caused by the conflicts. Some schools in the area have been closed due to insecurity as a result of the conflicts.

### **5.3 Discussions of findings**

One of the objectives of this study were first to analyse the causes of the conflicts between the Pokot and Turkana. This study has identified cattle rustling and the boundary dispute as the main causes of the conflict. These two issues have been there for a long time. Cattle rustling is due to cultural and commercial reasons.

Another objective of this study was to examine the impacts of the conflict. This study has found several impacts resulting from the conflict. The conflict has resulted to insecurity in the area. Insecurity has led to poor development of the area, low level of education due to closure of schools and involvement in cattle rustling by the youth. Tourism has been greatly affected due to insecurity. The two national reserves – Nasolot and South Turkana are not visited due to insecurity. Similarly investors have shied away due to the same reason of insecurity. The Turkwell power generating plant performance is also affected by the insecurity. The government is spending a lot of money in the area by deploying security officers in the area. Transport between Kitale and Lodwar has been greatly affected.

Death, injury and loss of property are some of the major impacts of the raids.

The study had two hypotheses. One of the hypothesis is that the conflicts are due to cattle rustling. This study has identified cattle raids as the major cause of the conflict between the two

communities. From this study it is evident that commercial factors have contributed to the cattle rustling in the area as per the second hypothesis.

## **5.4 Recommendations**

There is need for effective conflict mitigation that breaks the cycle of violence, retaliation and impoverishment. The conflicts between the two communities have been internationalized due to the fact that the Pokots are found both in Kenya and Uganda. Besides this there are conflicts between Pokot from Kenya and the Karamoja of Uganda. Secondly, the weapons used by the pastoralists are from the neighbouring countries. Other than cattle rustling, the other factor causing conflict between the Pokot and the Turkana is the boundary dispute. Actors in the conflict include the two communities and the neighbouring communities. Other actors include the government and the dealers who buy the stolen livestock. Due to the above, the management of the Pokot and Turkana conflict require the systemic approach which takes into account the diversity of actors, factors and transactions in a conflict. This approach is holistic, recognizes and acknowledges that conflicts are indivisible from the whole. The systemic approach has not been used to resolve the conflicts and that is why the conflict has persisted for quite a long time. The conflicts are likely to persist if they are not resolved through the systemic approach.

### **5.2.1 Early Warning**

Early warning systems should be invested to protect pastoral communities from impending calamities, safeguard their livelihood assets and increase their resilience. Early warning systems help to increase preparedness for drought and other climatic risks. Intervention such as purchasing power during droughts, and community based water development should be

instituted. Microfinance services can be used to widen pastoralists' options before, during and after risk events in order to reduce their vulnerability.

### **5.2.2 Boundary dispute**

The long standing boundary dispute between the two communities should be resolved once and for all. In doing so the government should use the old colonial maps of which the two communities are aware of. The leaders of the two communities should be fully involved in the exercised so that there is ownership. Also there should be wide consultations.

### **5.2.3 Disarmament**

The ever-increasing violence and instability in the area cannot be countered whilst small arms are freely available and continue to flow. Renewed efforts must be made, therefore, to reduce the widespread availability and use of small arms amongst the pastoralist communities and their neighbours. It is vital, however, that disarmament initiatives are pursued simultaneously with other pastoralist across the borders of Kenya, Uganda and South Sudan and in a co-ordinated fashion in order to build confidence in the process and reduce the likelihood of those taking part in disarmament initiatives becoming vulnerable to attack from others who are not.

Disarmament should involve the local people along with public awareness-raising programmes on the dangers of small arms proliferation and misuse. The programmes must be co-ordinated on all countries bordering Kenya in the conflict area. This will ensure success in addressing the small arms problem. The communities should consent to disarmament and the adoption of coercive measures should be seen as a last resort.

### **5.2.3 Providing alternative economic livelihoods**

The government should provide meaningful economic alternatives to cattle raiding and other illegal activities for young men, who make up the bulk of the armed groups. Unemployment and social exclusion, unless tackled effectively, will continue to undermine peace and security in the area.

Education in the area should be revived and strengthened and maximum take-up of free school places at primary level should be encouraged. The schools that have been closed due to the conflicts should be opened. Civic-minded youth associations that can provide opportunities for social interaction should be created.

There is need to establish micro-credit projects and skills training for young men – for example, in carpentry, welding or vehicle repairs.

Irrigation schemes should be established using the recent discovered water in Turkana county. Other should be established using the water from the rivers found in the two counties.

The oil drilling companies of the recently discovered oil should employ the local youths to give the alternatives from cattle rustling.

The provision of alternative economic livelihoods to those currently involved in armed cattle raiding and other illegal activities should form part of broader strategies for promoting sustainable development in the area. The governments should explore possibilities for the diversification of pastoralists' livelihood strategies, whilst not ending the pastoralist lifestyle for example commercial livestock rearing. This will require improved veterinary services to ensure a steady increase in the numbers of livestock.

#### **5.2.4 Identification and Traceability of livestock**

To minimize raids, there is need to come up with an identification program for all livestock in Turkana and West Pokot.

Earlier the government relied on hot iron branding using assigned individual, farm or district codes for the identification of animals. Traditional brand marks and ear notching were useful in recovering animals following theft or loss within small geographical locales. These methods are no longer deterrent due to forceful expropriation and the rapid motorized movement of stock for slaughter and sale in commercial abattoirs. Due to this the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries has proposed the use of Electronic animal identification using Radio Frequency Identification Device (RFID) technology to identify and trace animals. This technology should be introduced in Turkana and West Pokot to deter raids.

#### **5.2.5 Communities empowerment**

The communities should be empowered to participate in all levels of development.

Devolution of power to the County level should be used to enhance the active participation of pastoralists in development planning to ensure projects and programmes are supportive and relevant to their livelihoods.

Land demarcation should be carried out to avoid conflicts between different communities. Demarcation will ensure protection of land from unscrupulous land grabbing and invasion as well as appropriation by the government without proper consultations and compensation.

Government should ensure enforcement of rules and regulations governing the management of pasture and water. Movement into the dry season grazing zones should be strictly regulated through a grazing/migration calendar complemented with reliable early warning/early response mechanisms.

Traditional structures and approaches of conflict resolution should be supported. Extensive consultations should be made regarding, which traditional approaches need to be promoted as some of them are retrogressive and/or one community specific. Opinion leaders and elders should be involved in any review of the traditional structures of governance.



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## **Appendix 1 Questionnaires**

### **QUESTIONNAIRE**

#### **Researchers Details**

I am a student of Nairobi University undertaking a Masters of Arts degree in International Studies. As a fulfillment of the award of the degree I am conducting a research on ‘Conflicts between pastoral communities in East Africa. Case study of The Pokot and Turkana’.

I kindly solicit your kind assistance in providing responses to the questions. The information collected is for academic purposes and the data will be treated in strict confidentiality

Your cooperation on this is highly appreciated.

Thank you in advance

Simon Gitau

Registration Number R50/69714/2013

1.

**NAME OF THE RESPONDENT (OPTIONAL)** \_\_\_\_\_

**2. AGE (PLEASE TICK ONE BOX) 16-20 >\_\_ 16-20 >\_\_ 21-30 >\_\_**  
**31-40 >\_\_ ABOVE 51>\_\_**

**3. TRIBE - POKOT >\_\_ TURKANA >\_\_ OTHER (SPECIFY) >\_\_**

**4. MARITAL STATUS- SINGLE >\_\_ MARRIED >\_\_ OTHER (SPECIFY)**

**5. IF MARRIED IS YOUR SPOUSE - POKOT >\_\_ TURKANA >\_\_ OTHER**  
**(SPECIFY) >\_\_**

**6. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL - PRIMARY >\_\_ HIGH SCHOOL >\_\_ OTHER**  
**(SPECIFY) >\_\_**

**7. ROLE PLAYED IN THE COMMUNITY >\_\_**

**HOME AREA > \_\_**

**8. NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED: 0-10 >\_\_ 11-100 >\_\_ 101-500 >\_\_**  
**501-1000 >\_\_ ABOVE 1000 >\_\_**

**9. MAIN SOURCE OF THE LIVESTOCK: INHERITANCE >\_\_ BRIDE**  
**PRICE >\_\_ RAID >\_\_ PURCHASE >\_\_**

**10. HAVE YOU EVER LOST LIVESTOCK THROUGH RUSTLING: YES >\_\_**  
**NO >\_\_**

**IF YES HOW MANY: 0-10 >\_\_ 11-100 >\_\_ 101-500 >\_\_ 501-1000**

> \_\_ ABOVE 1000 > \_\_

11. WERE YOU ABLE TO GET IT BACK: YES > \_\_ NO > \_\_

IF YES HOW > \_

12. WHEN IS CATTLE RUSTLING MORE PREVELANT > \_

13. HAVE YOU EVER PARTICIPATED IN ARAID: YES > \_\_ NO > \_\_

IF YES DID YOU PASS NEAR ANY PROTECETED AREA: YES > \_\_

NO > \_\_

14. WHAT KIND OF FIREAMS IS USED DURING THE CATTLE RAIDS: \_

15. HAVE YOU LOST A RELATIVE/ FRIEND IN THE RAIDS: YES > \_\_

NO > \_\_

16. WHAT IS THE MAIN CAUSES OF RAIDS:

FOR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES \_\_

FOR CULTURAL PURPOSSES \_\_

FOR CULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL PUPOSES \_\_

17. WHAT ARE THE THINGS WHICH CAN BE DONE TO AVOID RAIDS

18. WHO ORGANISES THE RAIDS