

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**THE CONFLICT SENSITIVE APPROACH AND SUSTAINABLE  
DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF KENYA'S SAMBURU COUNTY  
(2002 – 2011)**

**BY**


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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of a  
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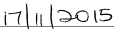
## DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for award of a degree in any other university.



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This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors.



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Date: 18/11/2015

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## **DEDICATION**

To my late parents, who considered the pursuit of knowledge as a pure joy of living.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION .....	II
DEDICATION .....	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....	IV
LIST OF ACRONYMS .....	VIII
LIST OF TABLES .....	IX
LIST OF FIGURES .....	X
LIST OF MAPS .....	XI
ABSTRACT.....	XII
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY .....	1
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM .....	4
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	6
1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY .....	7
1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY.....	7
1.6 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY .....	8
1.7 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS .....	9
1.8 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK .....	10
1.9 HYPOTHESIS .....	12
1.10 SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS .....	12
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW .....	17
2.1 INTRODUCTION .....	17

2.2 INTERVENTIONS IMPLEMENTED PRIOR TO ADOPTION OF CONFLICT-SENSITIVITY IN CONFLICT-AFFECTED AREAS .....	17
2.3 SUSTAINABILITY OF OUTCOMES OF CONFLICT-SENSITIVE DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS .....	20
2.4 CHALLENGES TO THE CONFLICT SENSITIVE APPROACH.....	25
2.5 THEORETICAL ANALYSIS.....	26
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....	29
3.1 INTRODUCTION .....	29
3.2 STUDY SITE.....	29
3.3 SAMPLING PROCEDURES .....	32
3.4 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES.....	33
3.5 DATA ANALYSIS .....	35
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS, DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION .....	36
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	36
4.2 OUTCOME OF INTERVENTIONS IMPLEMENTED IN SAMBURU COUNTY PRIOR TO INTRODUCTION OF CONFLICT SENSITIVE APPROACH .....	36
4.3 OUTCOMES OF CONFLICT-SENSITIVE DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS AND THEIR SUSTAINABILITY IN SAMBURU COUNTY .....	44
4.4 CHALLENGES TO THE CONFLICT SENSITIVE APPROACH.....	58
4.5 LINKING CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND THEORETICAL ANALYSIS WITH THE STUDY FINDINGS.....	60
4.6 SUMMARY.....	62
CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....	64
5.1 INTRODUCTION .....	64

5.2	SUMMARY OF FINDINGS .....	64
5.3	CONCLUSIONS .....	67
5.4	RECOMMENDATIONS .....	68
5.5	AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDIES .....	69
	REFERENCES .....	70
	APPENDICES AND ANNEXES .....	1
	APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DATA COLLECTION .....	1
	APPENDIX 2: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE .....	1
	APPENDIX 3: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE .....	1
	APPENDIX 4: LIST OF INTERVENTION INITIATIVES IMPLEMENTED IN SAMBURU COUNTY BETWEEN 2002 AND 2011 .....	1
	RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION .....	4
	FIELD PHOTOGRAPHS .....	5

## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

ACTED – Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development

CAFOD – Catholic Agencies for Overseas Development

CODES – Community Organization for Development Support

DFID – Department for International Development

ENCISS – Enhancing the Interface and Interaction between Civil Society and State to  
Improve Poor People’s Lives

FGDs – Focus Group Discussions

IPLP – Integrated Peacebuilding and Livelihoods Project

KNBS – Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

NGOs – Non-Governmental Organizations

NORAD – Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation

OECD – Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development

PVA – Participatory Vulnerability Analysis

RPP – Reflecting on Peace Practice

SID – Society for International Development

UK – United Kingdom

USAID – United States Agency for International Development



**LIST OF TABLES**

**PAGE**

Table 4.1: Summarised List Showing Type and Percentage of Interventions Implemented in Samburu County between 2002 and 2011 .....38

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

## **PAGE**

Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework for Linking the Adoption of the Conflict Sensitive Approach to Sustainability of Outcomes of Development Interventions .....	11
Figure 4.1: Whether Conflict Arose Because of the Implemented Interventions.....	41
Figure 4.2: The Contribution of Adopting the Conflict Sensitive Approach towards Sustainability of outcomes of Development interventions in Samburu County.....	48
Figure 4.3: Contribution of Adopting the Conflict Sensitive Approach towards Sustainable Peace in Samburu County .....	52
Figure 4.4: Whether Peace Initiatives were launched because of the Adoption of the Conflict Sensitive Approach in Samburu County.....	55
Figure 4.5: Whether Development Agencies need to adopt different Strategies when Implementing Development Initiatives in Samburu County in the future.....	57

**LIST OF MAPS**

**PAGE**

MAP 1. LOCATION OF SAMBURU COUNTY ON THE MAP OF KENYA ..... 30

MAP 2. ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS OF SAMBURU COUNTY..... 31

## **ABSTRACT**

This study examined the sustainability of outcomes of conflict-sensitive development interventions. The study used a case study of Samburu County. It sought to respond the question: what is the sustainability of outcomes of conflict-sensitive development interventions in Samburu County?

The study utilized both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained through a sample size of 86 respondents from communities and institutions. The process of data collection entailed the use of participant observation, structured interviews, two focus group discussions and key informant interviews. The target individuals included funding agency officials, evaluators of development interventions, practitioners of the conflict sensitive approach, local community members, local community elders, local beneficiaries of development interventions, County Government officials. The institutions that participated in this study include the Kenyan Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, funding agencies targeting Samburu County; implementing agencies that work in Samburu County, the County Government and local learning institutions targeted for peace initiatives.

This study found that organizations that have adopted the conflict sensitive approach have changed the way they design, implement and evaluate their development interventions targeting Samburu County. In addition, the study found that with the adoption of this approach in Samburu County, members of beneficiary communities are increasingly gaining interest to know the impact of donor-funded interventions targeting their own communities. Further, the study found that conflict-sensitive development interventions in Samburu County yielded positive impact and sustainable outcomes. The study further pointed out that conflict-blind development interventions implemented in Samburu County caused negative impact and yielded outcomes that were unsustainable.

According to this study, adoption of the conflict sensitive approach provided development agencies a profound opportunity to shape their development interventions in order to accomplish their intended goals and at the same time avoid negative impact

in contexts of conflict. While the conflict sensitive approach seeks to ensure that development agencies working in Samburu County achieve their intended goals, the study presented a number of factors that limited the adoption of this approach. These include policy challenges, operational challenges, internal management and capacity challenges as well as political issues.

# **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

## **1.1 Background to the Study**

In the early 1990s, researchers and practitioners realised that well-intentioned donor-funded development interventions inadvertently exacerbated existing conflict in conflict-affected areas (Reychler, 1996; De Waal, 1997; Uvin, 1998; Anderson, 1999 and 2003; Leonhardt, 2002; Paffenholz, 2005). As a result of this realization, development practitioners began to search for more effective ways of implementing development interventions in conflict-affected areas. This search culminated into the 'do no harm' framework (Anderson, 1999) which gave rise to the Conflict Sensitive Approach. The adoption of this approach is what this study considers as conflict sensitivity. The African Peace Forum (2004, p. 1) defined the conflict sensitive approach as the ability of an aid agency to understand the context in which it operates; understand the interaction between its initiatives and the context; and act upon the understanding of this interaction, in order to avoid negative impact and maximise positive impact with respect to implementation of interventions in areas affected by conflict. Like the proponents of this approach, the resource pack published by the African Peace Forum (*ibid*) views the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach to be applicable within the context of implementation of interventions by development agencies in areas affected by conflict. The proponents of the conflict sensitive approach believed in the capacity of development aid to foster development in conflict-affected areas. They however, advocated for a redefined development model to consider the underlying conflict dynamics that may be in play within a given conflict-affected area.

The above definition points to three fundamental steps that should be considered by development agencies when adopting the conflict sensitive approach. According to the African Peace Forum (*ibid*), in the first step a conflict analysis of the target context is carried out. This is updated regularly to ensure that the aid agencies are aware of any changes in the dynamics of conflict. The second step entails linking the outcome of the conflict analysis with the programming cycle. The third step entails planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating intervention activities with careful consideration of what impact the activities may have on the existing conflict.

In essence, the conflict sensitive approach aims to ensure that the processes and actions of development agencies minimize negative and maximize positive effects within a given conflict-affected region – based on the awareness about the interaction between the said processes and actions, and the particular context (Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, 2010, p. 1).

Development and conflict have an inverse relationship, whereby more conflict portends underdevelopment. According to Brachet and Wolpe (2005, p. 4), conflict undermines progress in all sectors by disrupting livelihoods and thus makes development untenable in conflict-affected areas. Development aid workers working in conflict-affected areas therefore have many obstacles to avoid in their effort towards achievement of sustainable outcomes of development interventions in such areas. The proponents of the conflict sensitive approach developed it in cognisance of this inverse relationship between conflict and development.

Similarly, development interventions have the potential to exacerbate conflict or even cause violence if designed and implemented without consideration of existing conflict dynamics of a given conflict context (Anderson, 2004, p. 2; Saferworld, 2008, p. 1). However, according to Saferworld (*ibid*), in the best-case scenario, development interventions that result into sustainable development outcomes are capable of addressing the root causes of conflict and contribute towards lasting peace. This emphasizes the relationship between conflict and development.

The conflict sensitive approach was applied by development and peacebuilding agencies working in conflict-affected areas in Asia and Africa with the aim of sustaining development and peace. In Asia, the adoption of this approach was steered by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD). In this region, this approach was adopted in Nepal and Sri Lanka. These two countries were not only recovering from civil strife but had also experienced a dismal development record connected to conflict.

Regarding the application of the conflict sensitive approach in Nepal, Ingdal, Singh and Holtedahl, (2007, p. 24-43) pointed out that the aid agencies that adopted this approach

in implementing their interventions had changed the way they work in conflict-affected areas. Consequently, implementers of development interventions designed and implemented interventions in a conflict-sensitive manner. As a result, community beneficiaries of conflict-sensitive development interventions have experienced, to a certain extent, sustainable outcomes in terms of development and peace.

In Africa, the conflict sensitive approach was applied in development and peacebuilding interventions in Burundi in 2004, Sierra Leone in 2010 and in Kenya, it was piloted in 2009. Application of the conflict sensitive approach in Burundi was achieved through a project implemented by the World Bank in 2004. According to Brachet and Wolpe (ibid), the application of this approach made possible the identification of a wide range of areas in which development assistance could help address the sources of conflict in Burundi. In addition, the report outlined how such development assistance in Burundi could achieve its intended objectives by adopting this approach.

In Sierra Leone, the adoption of this approach in 2010 was steered by the Sierra Leone Conflict Sensitivity Consortium whose focus was on the following: to identify gaps in existing conflict analysis research undertaken in the country; to generate a common understanding of the key conflict issues in the region; and to review the tools and methodology used in field-based conflict context analysis. This consortium adopted the conflict sensitive approach through a CARE International-funded Conservation Agriculture Project that was implemented in Koinadugu District.

This CARE International-funded project adopted the conflict sensitive approach in its design as well as implementation. The project had three objectives: first, it sought to increase the adoption of sustainable agricultural practices by 11,000 people in 40 communities in order to increase productivity and incomes through environmentally friendly use of land. Second, the project sought to improve the social and economic position of women and other marginalized groups (e.g. youth) by fully and directly involving them in agricultural development; and third, it aimed to establish land use agreements for marginalized groups, including women, livestock farmers, immigrants as well as youth. The application of the conflict sensitive approach through this project



made it possible to identify ways of minimising negative impact in this donor-funded development intervention.

In Kenya, the Kenyan Conflict Sensitivity Consortium was given the responsibility of promoting the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach. The overall mandate of this consortium was to promote the adoption of this approach in all projects overseen by its members whose work targeted conflict-affected areas. The consortium's membership comprised ActionAid, Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD), CARE International, Catholic Diocese of Maralal, International Alert, Plan International, Responding to Conflict, Saferworld, Save the Children, Skillshare International and World Vision. This consortium aimed to effect changes both at organizational and programmatic levels among its members. In addition, it aimed to focus on advocacy and outreach, learning strategies and field test pilots in order to promote conflict-sensitive approaches to implementation of development interventions. The consortium applied the conflict sensitive approach through a development project titled Integrated Peace and Livelihoods Project (IPLP) funded by CAFOD and implemented by the Catholic Diocese of Maralal in Samburu County. The project commenced in 2009 and ended in 2011. The activities of this project aimed to demonstrate the utility of adopting the conflict sensitive approach and to enhance sustainability of outcomes of development and peace interventions in Samburu community.

In the different regions in Asia and Africa highlighted in the foregoing, development agencies have adopted the conflict sensitive approach in an effort to achieve sustainability in the outcomes of donor-funded development interventions in conflict-affected areas. As a result, some of the development agencies have minimized negative and maximized positive effects within the said conflict-affected contexts.

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

The study of the complexities of implementing development interventions in conflict-affected areas such as Samburu County is a concern for many authors focusing on sustainability of outcomes of development interventions and conflict. Anderson's (1999) ground-breaking work provided a foundation for the coining of the conflict

sensitive approach. Other important contributions to the field are by Uvin (1998 and 2002); Reychler (1996 and 1998); Leonhardt (2002) and Paffenholz (2005).

The above-mentioned and other existing literature focused on more prominent conflict-affected areas in Sri Lanka, Nepal, Sierra Leone and Burundi. Additionally, existing literature on the conflict sensitive approach focused on discussions revolving around the origin and meaning of this approach, the extent of its application and its relation to sustainability of outcomes of development interventions in the above-mentioned prominent conflict-affected areas.

The role of the conflict sensitive approach in sustaining development and peace in conflict-affected Samburu County had not been adequately discussed, more so the effect of adopting this approach on sustainability of outcomes of development interventions in this county. Anderson (2004) concentrated on the interaction between development aid and development agencies' efforts to alleviate suffering within the context where the agencies provided funding for development. This author did not discuss the case of Samburu County. An analysis of the impact of conflict-sensitive work in conflict-affected areas offered by the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation (2008) focused on conflict-affected regions in Nepal, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Pakistan. It offered no discussion on the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach in Samburu County. Similarly, a World Bank study (2004) which examined the impact of donor-funded development interventions in conflict-affected areas limited its focus on the conflict-affected areas of Uganda, Timor-Leste, Cambodia and Afghanistan and offered no discussion on Samburu County. The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD] (2009) also limited its focus on the conflict-affected areas in Sri Lanka and does not discuss the application of this approach in Samburu County.

The limited examination notwithstanding, there is an urgent need to find effective ways of implementing development interventions particularly in conflict-affected Samburu County. This is because, while the central goal of implementing development interventions was to achieve sustainability of outcomes of development interventions, two decades of development work by development agencies had failed to yield

sustainable development in this county (Wepundi, 2010; p. 2). Some development agencies had experienced inadvertent negative impact in their work focused on this county. For instance, the Catholic Diocese of Maralal which serves as the development wing of the Catholic Church in Samburu County funded a road construction project aimed at linking the Turkana and Samburu Communities. The purpose of this project was to enhance trade between members of these two communities. The implementation of this project was however perceived by some community members as providing direct access to members of communities perceived as the ‘enemies’. The animosity that ensued following commencement of this project brought it to a halt thus hindering the achievement of infrastructure development, which would otherwise have contributed towards sustainable development in the affected region. It is against this background that this study focused on Samburu County as a less studied example with respect to the conflict sensitive approach and sustainable development. This study sought to find out if the adoption of this approach had any relationship with the sustainability of outcomes of development interventions in Samburu County. In addition, the study sought to assess the challenges to the conflict sensitive approach in this county.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The study was guided by the following overall research question: to what extent are the outcomes of conflict-sensitive development interventions sustainable in Samburu County?

The specific research questions were:

- i. What is the outcome of interventions implemented prior to the introduction of the conflict sensitive approach in Samburu County?
- ii. What is the outcome of conflict-sensitive development interventions implemented in Samburu County?
- iii. How sustainable are the outcomes of conflict-sensitive development initiatives implemented in Samburu County?
- iv. What were the challenges to conflict-sensitive development in Samburu County?

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The overall objective of the study was to examine the sustainability of outcomes of conflict-sensitive development interventions in Samburu County.

Specifically, the study sought:

- i. To examine the outcome of interventions implemented prior to the introduction of the conflict sensitive approach in Samburu County;
- ii. To examine the outcomes of conflict-sensitive interventions implemented in Samburu County;
- iii. To examine the sustainability of the outcomes of conflict-sensitive initiatives implemented in Samburu County;
- iv. To assess the challenges to conflict-sensitive development in Samburu County.

#### **1.5 Justification of the Study**

Academic considerations, policy concerns and situational issues in Samburu County motivated the undertaking of this study. On the academic front, this study aimed to address the superficial attention accorded to the relationship between the conflict sensitive approach and sustainability of outcomes of development interventions in the county. While there are several actors seeking effective ways of implementing development interventions in Samburu County, the effect of adopting the conflict sensitive approach as a possible means to sustainable outcomes of development interventions in this county has not been studied adequately. By examining the effect of adopting this approach in Samburu County, this study had the potential to provide useful literature and to move the search for ways of achieving sustainable outcomes of development interventions forward. With regard to policy, this study aimed at helping policy makers, development agents and stakeholders in the development enterprise targeting Samburu County to come up with policies and solutions for effective implementation of development interventions. Regarding situational issues, this study aimed to assist development practitioners, stakeholders and policy makers in the following three ways: first, to help them recognize the complex dynamics that hinder the attainment of sustainable outcomes of development interventions in the county. Second, to raise their awareness about the search for ways of achieving sustainable outcomes of development interventions in contexts of conflict. Finally, to propose the

conflict sensitive approach as a way of working around the challenging conditions of conflict-affected Samburu County.

### **1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

This study examined the effect of adopting the conflict sensitive approach on sustainable development in conflict-affected Samburu County. It mainly examined the sustainability of outcomes of conflict sensitive development interventions in this county. It excluded discussions on the conflict sensitive approach in the contexts of peacebuilding and humanitarian interventions. The study specifically looked at the sustainability of outcomes of development interventions implemented in Samburu County during the period before and after the introduction of the conflict sensitive approach. It also examined the challenges to the conflict sensitive approach in Samburu County. The study was limited to the timeframe between 2002 and 2011.

During discussions held with the selected practitioners of the conflict sensitive approach as well as members of the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, an important piece of background information became apparent: that discussions regarding this approach in Samburu County commenced in 2002. In spite of this, the various development agencies working within Samburu County did not necessarily adopt this approach in their work until about 2008. As indicated earlier in this study, the Catholic Diocese of Maralal, which is one of the main development actors in Samburu County, actively adopted the conflict sensitive approach from 2009 in the design, implementation and evaluation of the IPLP Project whose implementation ended in 2011. The period between 2002 and 2011 was therefore important for this study because it provided a basis for measuring the effect of adopting the conflict sensitive approach in this county.

In collecting relevant data, this study faced challenges related to the nature of the respondents' lifestyle (pastoralism), long distances between the dwellings of the members of beneficiary communities, difficulty in finding vehicle drivers willing to travel long distances in areas prone to insecurity and on unfavourable terrain, coupled with harsh weather conditions that characterize the county. The nomadic nature of the pastorals in the county posed a challenge in finding the members of the community

targeted by this study. This is because at the time of data collection, some of the community members had gone away in search of pasture and water for their livestock. The study overcame this by taking advantage of community gatherings such as market days and peace meetings to reach the targeted respondents. This is because the majority of community members are always expected to be present at such gatherings. Specifically, the study utilized individuals conversant with the study area to obtain the information from respondents during market days on two occasions and during one peace meeting.

In overcoming the challenges of vast distances between the respondents' homesteads, difficulty in finding vehicle drivers willing to travel long distances on rough terrain, the study took advantage of community gatherings to reach the available respondents. In addition, the study used the assistance provided by the Catholic Diocese of Maralal office in the form of an off-road motor vehicle and a driver with experience driving through the study area. Furthermore, the study used the help of two research assistants attached to the study. The research assistants used motorbikes to reach the areas that could not be reached using a motor vehicle. In dealing with the challenge of harsh weather conditions, the study avoided to undertake data collection during the rainy season. During this season, movement by any means of transport would be curtailed.

### **1.7 Definition of Concepts**

**The conflict sensitive approach** as defined by the African Peace Forum refers to the ability of an aid agency to understand the context in which it operates; understand the interaction between its initiatives and the context; and act upon the understanding of this interaction, in order to avoid negative impacts and maximise positive impacts. As used in this study, it refers to project implementers being aware of the existing conflict dynamics in Samburu County and making a deliberate and systematic effort to ensure their interventionist processes and actions result into sustainable outcomes of interventions.

**Conflict-blindness** as defined by the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium refers to aid agencies designing and implementing interventions without consideration of their

impact on existing conflict dynamics within the context of a conflict-affected area. As used in this study, it refers to project implementers working without being aware of the underlying conflict dynamics that have the potential of generating negative impact from development interventions.

**Livelihood** as defined by the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies refers to a means of making a living, encompassing people's capabilities, assets, incomes and activities required to secure the necessities of life. As used in this study, livelihoods is the means by which the pastoral households obtain and maintain access to the resources necessary to ensure their immediate and long-term survival.

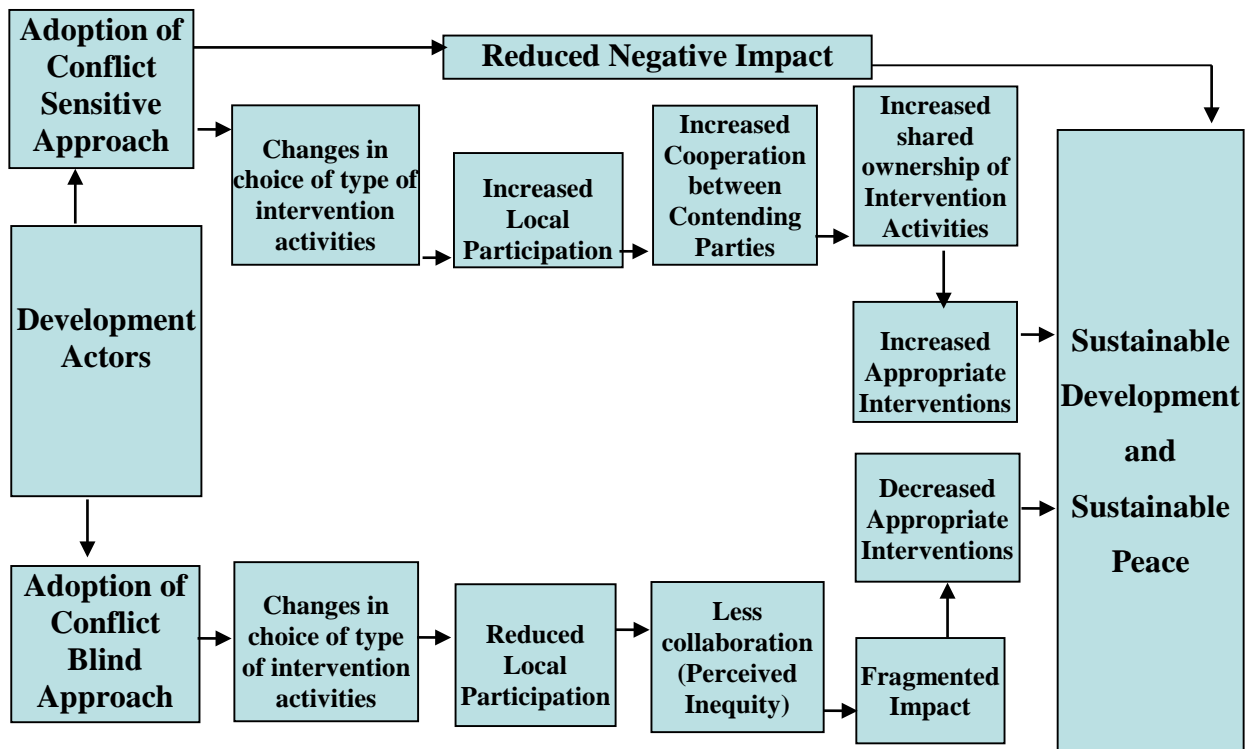
**Sustainable peace** as defined by the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium as the persistence of non-violent cooperative relationships through time. As used in this study, it depicts a situation where community members can perceive their localities with a sense of permanence in cooperative relations among the communities and consider their concerns to be taken care of in a sense of manner that allows no encroachment and thus allows them develop.

**Sustainable development** as defined by the International Institute for Sustainable Development as economic progress that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. In the context of this study, it represents the freedom by the individual pastorals to strategize and plan with a knowledge that there will be no displacements, interruptions or attacks on their achievements.

## **1.8 Conceptual Framework**

The relationship between the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach and sustainable development is conceptualised in Figure 1.1 below.

**Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework for Linking Adoption of the Conflict Sensitive Approach and Sustainability of Outcomes of Development Interventions**



Source: Author, 2015

Figure 1.1 depicts the relationship between the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach and sustainable development as a multi-stage relationship whereby a causal factor (the conflict sensitive approach) influences various intermediate indicators, which then determine the outcome in terms of sustainable development and peace in conflict-affected settings. Any attempts by development actors to sustain the outcomes of development and peace interventions in conflict-affected areas should therefore, consider the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach adjusting the model to suit their situation. Further, the figure points to the fact that both the implementers and beneficiaries of development interventions have a role to play in the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach. The implementers of interventions have a role to play by designing conflict-sensitive interventions by changing the type of intervention activities to adopt activities that reduce negative effects and foster sustainability of outcomes of interventions. The change in type of activities entails the implementers of projects allowing for increased local participation by members of beneficiary communities. This would foster cooperation between warring parties and thus increase shared ownership



of intervention activities. As a result, the members of the beneficiary communities will benefit by having interventions that are appropriate for their specific contexts.

The members of the beneficiary communities have a role to play by participating in decision making to determine the appropriate interventions for their respective contexts and by providing feedback necessary for constantly updating the conflict analysis of their contents. Ultimately, this yields positive impact of interventions and leads to sustainable outcomes of development activity.

In essence, development interventions delivered without considering the interaction between the intervention and the context are potentially counterproductive. Such conflict-blind interventions operate basing on reduced local participation as well as less collaboration between contenting parties among the members of the beneficiary communities. Collaboration between community beneficiaries and implementers of interventions is also curtailed under the conflict-blind arrangement. The ultimate outcome under this path is that members of beneficiary communities will experience fragmented impact of implemented interventions. In order to deal with the negative impact arising from implementation of such development interventions, development workers focusing on conflict-affected areas need to adopt the conflict sensitive approach in their work.

### **1.9 Hypothesis**

The following hypothesis guided the study:

1. Conflict-sensitive interventions are positively related to sustainable outcomes.

### **1.10 Situational Analysis**

Since Kenya gained independence in 1963, Samburu County has exhibited a persistent trend of underdevelopment. The underdevelopment manifests itself mainly in the low standards of living among the members of the communities living in this county. The county's underdevelopment is rooted in its history, economics as well as social organization. The history of Samburu County reveals it as one of the neglected regions in Kenya since the country gained independence in 1963 (Overview of Samburu

County, 2015). The county has been neglected in terms of economic development. Samburu County is therefore considered to be a marginalized region.

As mentioned earlier, Samburu County is one of those regions nationally perceived to be marginalized developmentally. The downgrading of this county is not only reflected economically, but it is also displayed politically, socially and culturally. The underdevelopment in Samburu is driven by factors highlighted by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics [KNBS] and Society for International Development [SID] (2013) in their report titled Exploring Kenya's inequality. These factors include governance, social norms, practices that fuel discrimination and obstruct access to social services at the local level, governance, accountability and policy issues that do not favour equal opportunities for the disadvantaged. These factors both in isolation and in combination complicates the process of designing appropriate policy responses that would promote sustainable development in the region. As a result, the county has been pushed towards livelihood insecurity and poverty.

The KNBS and SID (ibid) report goes further in its analysis of socio-economic standards of Samburu County. It begins by shading light on the levels of education of the residents of this county. According to the report, only 6% of Samburu County residents have a secondary level of education, 26% have a primary level of education and that 68% of the residents have no formal education. In terms of energy consumption, the report pointed out that less than 1% of residents in Samburu County use liquefied petroleum gas, 1% use paraffin, 81% use firewood and 17% use charcoal. Regarding sources of lighting, the report showed that only 6% of the residents in this county use electricity as their main source of lighting. A further 11% use lanterns and 19% use tin lamps. 61% of the residents use wood fuel. In terms of flooring of houses, the report indicated that 16% of the residents of the county have homes with cemented floors, 83% have earth floors and less than 1% have wood or tile floors. As regards roofing, the report showed that grass roofs constitute 23% of homes, 22% of residents have corrugated iron sheet roofs and 38% have mud/dung roofs. In terms of walls, the report pointed out that 1% of the homes in the county have corrugated iron walls, 5% have grass thatched walls, 6% have either brick or stone walls, 72% have mud/wood or mud/cement walls and 8% have tin or other walls. This report underlines the situation

of underdevelopment in the county, which requires redress through carefully articulated policies for development.

Majority of the residents of this county are nomadic pastoralists who mainly keep cattle, camels, sheep and goats. Their dependence on animal husbandry is complicated by scarcity of water and pasture in the county. Competition over scarce pasture and water is often severe and violent. In addition to livestock, some also depend on subsistent agriculture, but this is also hampered by unreliable rainfall and cyclical drought, which causes food scarcity. The education level of the pastoralists in this county is also low with large numbers out-of-school. In addition, the county is also ravaged by internal and cross-border conflict related to cattle rustling. The latter, traditionally practiced, has become more destructive with increasing poverty and proliferation of illicit arms and has caused high levels of civil insecurity. Furthermore, the management of conflict is made difficult due to the remoteness of the area and nomadism of pastorals. Moreover, there is inadequate state security, whereas influence of traditional governance systems is diminishing in this county (Pragya, 2012). As a result, the county exhibits high levels of poverty.

Conflict in Samburu has disrupted livelihoods and thus caused unemployment among young pastorals, a situation that has turned them into key participants in perpetuating conflicts. Additionally, the existence of conflict in this county has hampered the provision of welfare facilities and led to the destruction of some of them. This situation has left affected children without access to education and health services. Perpetual conflict in Samburu has made it difficult to carry out effective development action and infrastructure building. The situation has caused frequent loss of life and property, displaced people leaving them without access to livelihoods. Overall, the persistent conflict in Samburu County and its constantly changing conflict dynamics have hampered sustainable development.

Many development agencies have been working in Samburu County to implement development interventions for more than two decades. However the agencies did not achieve sustainable development in this county (Wepundi, 2010; p. 2). In fact, some of the development interventions implemented by these agencies during this period caused

further conflict that is attributed to conflict-blindness. For example, the Catholic Diocese of Maralal funded a road construction project aimed at linking the Turkana and Samburu Communities. The purpose of this project was to enhance trade between these two communities. The implementation of this project was however perceived by community members as providing direct access to communities perceived as the 'enemies'. Animosity set in between the members of the two communities almost immediately after the commencement of this project. As a result, the project was brought to a halt, hindering the achievement of infrastructure development, which is crucial in contributing towards sustainable development in the affected region.

The World Vision also implemented a school project in Lolmolog. The project entailed construction of classrooms for the pupils who were initially learning from under the shades of trees. The project however did not involve the community members in its planning as well as implementation. After the completion of the project, pupils never went back to continue with learning. As a result, the school remained deserted.

A water tank was constructed in Samburu Central for purposes of supplying water to the dwellings of the members of Samburu and Pokot communities. However, the tank was located in an area predominantly populated by the Samburu Community. The conflictual relations between members of these two communities complicated access to the water tank by members of the Pokot community, who were also targeted by the intervention. In deciding the location of the tank, the implementers of this intervention failed to consider the strained relations between the members of the two communities in question. In addition, the implementers did not consider coming up with a formula to ensure equal access to the resource and therefore despite the fact that the project targeted members of both the Samburu and Pokot communities, the Pokot were excluded from the benefits of the project. The difficulty in accessing this water point by the Pokot community introduced new dynamics to the existing animosity and strained further the relationship between them and the members of the Samburu community.

The foregoing analysis of the situation in Samburu County reveals some of the factors that stand in the way of sustainable development in this county. Additionally, it

highlights some of the failed attempts by development agencies to achieve sustainability in the outcomes of development interventions because of conflict. The undertaking of this study therefore comes at a time when the county is in need of better ways to implement development interventions for sustainable outcomes.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Scholars in the subject of effective implementation of donor-funded development interventions have generated substantial literature. These scholars agree that implementation of development interventions targeting conflict-affected areas should aim to do no harm – meaning that it should consider the underlying conflict dynamics of the target conflict-affected area. In addition, these scholars all adopt the view that the implementation of donor-funded development interventions must be carried out within a peacebuilding framework in order to be effective in conflict zones. This literature review consists of three categories of scholarly works. The first category comprises scholarly works on the outcome of implementing donor-funded development interventions in a conflict-blind manner in conflict-affected areas. The second covers scholarly works on the outcome of implementing conflict-sensitive development initiatives in conflict-affected areas with respect to sustainability of outcomes of development interventions. The third consists of scholarly works on challenges to conflict sensitive development in conflict-affected areas.

### **2.2 Interventions Implemented Prior to Adoption of Conflict-Sensitivity in Conflict-Affected areas**

Regarding conflict-blindness, it appears that majority of development interventions implemented in conflict-affected areas prior to the advent of the conflict sensitive approach were conflict-blind. As a result, these interventions had a negative effect on the sustainability of development outcomes in conflict-affected areas. In a research article by Collier and Dollar (2004, p. 244-267), one question is addressed which guides this study. If development interventions aim to enhance development in Third World countries affected by conflict, why hasn't poverty and conflict reduced with time? The authors focused on development aid given directly to national governments of conflict-affected countries. They found development interventions to be conditionally effective. According to the authors, there are circumstances in which development interventions reduced poverty, reduced conflict risk or assist policy and there are circumstances where they do not. The authors concluded that in order for development interventions

to be effective in conflict-affected areas, all factors that impede their success must be considered. These authors acknowledged the existence of obstacles to sustainable development and thus emphasized the need to consider them when implementing development interventions. The authors however, did not discuss the effect of interventions implemented directly in conflict-affected Samburu County. In view of this, our study examined the sustainability of outcomes of conflict-sensitive development interventions in Samburu County.

Conflict-affected societies tend to have conflict dynamics that threaten them with emergence of violence. Agerbak (1991, p. 151-158) claimed that post-conflict situations in particular are packed with many issues which continue to threaten conflict-affected societies with a renewed round of violence. Similarly, Collier (2005, p. 45 - 56) reinforces this argument in his study which focused on Uganda. Collier (ibid) points out that this risk of conflict emanated from the fact that the risks that generated the previous conflict as well as those generated during the ended conflict always remain. According to Agerbak, in the context of conflict, interventions should seek to address underlying problems and causes of conflict. In conclusion, Agerbak highlighted the need to design and implement interventions basing on careful assessment of existing conflict dynamics to ensure that aid interventions do not exacerbate any underlying tensions. While Agerbak's study highlighted the need to be conflict-sensitive, it failed to discuss the effect of conflict sensitivity on sustainability of development interventions. Our study sought to fill this gap.

Sustainable peace is a pre-requisite for development; however, its achievement in conflict-affected societies has been elusive. Lederach (1997, p. 1-11) sought to understand the basic framework that undergirds sustainable peace in conflict-affected societies. According to the author, the contribution made by development agencies is only useful if their interventions are designed and implemented with consideration of the existing conflict dynamics. Lederach concluded that it is essential to consider the existing conflict dynamics when developing a peacebuilding framework targeting conflict-affected areas. The author points out the need for interventions targeting conflict-affected areas to consider existing divisions in the targeted conflict setting if they are to be effective. In essence, Lederach's arguments advocate for development

agencies' adoption of the conflict sensitive approach when working in conflict-affected areas. However, the author does not discuss the effect of adopting this approach which falls within the objective of our study.

The negative effects of conflict-blindness seem to cut across all conflict-affected regions despite the distances separating them. Anderson (1999, 37-67) examined the interaction between aid and conflict in the Third World's conflict-affected countries. The author focused on case studies undertaken in Tajikistan, Lebanon, Burundi, India and Somalia. The author found that, conflict-blind interventions have affected conflict negatively in the conflict situations within all of the above-mentioned countries; and that the interactions between donor-funded development interventions and the various internal specific contexts produced familiar, repeated and predictable outcomes such as the exacerbation of conflict. Anderson's study suggests therefore, that it is possible for development practitioners to anticipate the impact of their interventions on existing conflict dynamics if they adopted do no harm principles that gave rise to the conflict sensitive approach. Anderson's study highlights the need for development agencies to adopt this approach, which is in line with the focus of our study. The author however, fails to assess the effectiveness of the conflict sensitive approach in sustaining the outcomes of interventions in Samburu County. Our study will fill this gap by providing discussions on the sustainability of outcomes of conflict-sensitive development interventions in Samburu County.

In an effort to emphasize the negative effect of conflict-blindness in conflict-affected areas, Junne and Verkoren (2006, p. 6-11) examined the challenge of development in conflict settings with a focus on case studies undertaken in Cambodia, Palestine, Afghanistan, El Salvador and Mozambique. The authors found that for development to be effective in areas affected by conflict, development interventions must take into account the existing conflict dynamics within the given conflict-affected context. According to the authors, the development interventions designed for conflict-affected areas in the Third World should seek to address the grievances of the groups involved in the conflict. Likewise, the authors recommend that such development interventions should be designed to allow for compromise between contending factions and offer sufficiently attractive alternatives to the main opponents in a given conflict-affected



setting. The authors also recommend that any future-oriented development planning in conflict-affected countries needs to take the realities of a conflict-affected society into account and conceive development strategies that help to overcome existing divisions rather than perpetuate or aggravate them. The authors focus on conflict-affected areas in general and fail to provide discussions focusing on Samburu County, which our study aims to address.

### **2.3 Sustainability of Outcomes of Conflict-Sensitive Development Interventions**

The inclusion of conflict prevention tools in the design of development interventions to foster sustainable development dates back to the early 1990s. As was the case in most conflict-affected areas, development aid was considered a crucial component of the development process in such settings. However, following the realization that the well-intentioned development interventions inadvertently caused negative impact, development practitioners sought to find effective ways of implementing development interventions in conflict-affected areas.

The conflict sensitive approach, therefore, came about as a result of a search for effective ways of implementing development interventions in conflict-affected areas. According to Barbolet et. al., (2005, p. 3), the approach is a culmination of insights gleaned from Anderson's 'Do No Harm' (1999) work; the macro conflict assessment work undertaken by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development, the United States Agency for International Development, the World Bank and other donors; the writings of Jonathan Goodhand; and over thirty years of peace and development academic discourse. The conflict sensitive approach therefore came about following an acknowledgement by various development workers that their well-intentioned development interventions were inadvertently causing negative impact.

The conflict sensitive approach entails gaining a sound understanding of the two-way interaction between intervention activities and the conflict context and acting to minimise negative impacts and maximise positive impacts of interventions on conflict (Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, 2010, p. 4). According to Anderson (1999, p. 69), the approach rests on the assumption that when interventions are applied in the context of

conflict, they become a part of the context and thus part of the conflict. Similarly, development interventions are capable of introducing new dynamics to the existing conflict. However, the author points out that development interventions also have the potential to reduce tensions and strengthen people's capacities to disengage from fighting and seek peaceful means of resolving problems.

What steps should agencies take in order to be conflict-sensitive? The adoption of the conflict sensitive approach by aid agencies is a five-step venture (Africa Peace Forum (ibid); Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, 2012). The first step is to conduct a structured conflict analysis, which should be updated regularly throughout all stages of the project cycle (Anderson, 1999, p. 70; Africa Peace Forum, ibid; Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, 2012). According to the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium (ibid), conducting a conflict analysis entailed taking a systematic approach to: understanding the background and history of the conflict, identifying all the relevant groups involved, understanding the perspectives of the said groups and how they relate to each other, and identifying the causes of the existing conflict.

The second step is to undertake a participatory vulnerability analysis. The participatory vulnerability analysis involves engaging the communities and other stakeholders in a process of identifying and understanding the nature of the threats and hazards they face. Undertaking a participatory vulnerability analysis enables them to identify the root causes of their vulnerability and to agree on actions that they can take to address those issues and increase their resilience.

The third step in applying the conflict sensitive approach is the integration of the approach in aid agencies' programme cycle. The programme cycle consists of the needs assessment, project design, project implementation and the monitoring and evaluation stages. This entails using the findings of the conflict analysis to review and inform the objectives, implementers, beneficiaries or participants, timeline and target community of the project.

The fourth and fifth stages in the application of the conflict sensitive approach involves embedding the approach within the monitoring and evaluation plans of the

interventions. This means that aid agencies would require reflecting upon the interaction between their interventions and context that their interventions target. In particular, aid agencies will have to consider the impact of the intervention on the wider community and context. Lessons drawn throughout the programme cycle would inform adjustments on ongoing project as well as inform effective aid delivery in future projects. In effect, the conflict sensitive approach provides an opportunity for development agencies to implement their interventions with an understanding of what impact their interventions will have on the conflict-context. The approach also generates useful information, which enables development practitioners to determine whether adjustments in the design of their interventions is necessary in order to avoid negative impact.

Regarding the effect of the conflict sensitive approach, the details of a development programme determines whether its impact either reinforces the divisions or the connectors (Anderson, 2004, p. 1-10). Anderson examines the impact of aid interventions in conflict-affected areas. The author focuses on two studies undertaken in the global conflict zones by various aid agencies. The first study, the Local Capacities for Peace Project, sought to understand the interaction between aid agency efforts to alleviate suffering and to support local development with the conflict contexts within which they provide aid. The outcome of the study provided insights into the characteristics of conflicts that have important implications on how aid and conflict interact.

The second study, which also focused on all conflict zones globally, was titled: Reflecting on Peace Practice (RPP). The RPP sought to identify which of the activities undertaken by the involved aid agencies are effective and which ones are not. In addition, it sought to understand the circumstances under which aid agency actions do, or, do not work. For Anderson, a thorough knowledge of the context of conflict is essential for effective intervention work. Such knowledge, the author observes, enables aid agencies to know what and who needs to be stopped in the conflict context; what and who needs to be supported; and what the external and internal factors are in relation to the conflict. Anderson's studies highlight the importance of working in a conflict-sensitive manner, which is what our study seeks to emphasize.

Most Non-Governmental Organizations in Nepal are adopting the conflict sensitive approach in their interventions (Ingdal, Singh and Holtedahl, 2007, p. 4-14). These authors recognize the Maoists as key players in determining the kind of interventions implemented in Nepal. According to the authors, the Maoist insurgency has compelled most of the development agencies to rethink their strategies while addressing the underlying causes of conflict and the disappointing development record. Because of this compulsion, many organizations in Nepal have revisited their development and peacebuilding practices increasingly focusing on self-critical examinations of their intended missions. These organizations are also focusing on accountability as well as being more transparent (ibid). The authors conclude that the application of the conflict sensitive approach in Nepal has changed the way development actors design and implement their interventionist initiatives. Today, actors in Nepal strive to understand the context within which they are working before embarking on the design and implementation of their initiatives. As a result, community beneficiaries of conflict sensitive development initiatives have experienced to a certain extent, sustained development and peace.

Adoption of the conflict sensitive approach has enhanced the sustainability of development outcomes in Sri Lanka and therefore, enhanced peace (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2009, p. 1-6 & 53-57). This claim followed a study conducted by the OECD to evaluate conflict-sensitive donor-funded development interventions in Sri Lanka. One of the development projects whose outcome this report focuses on is the North East Irrigated Agriculture Project implemented in Sri Lanka in 2005. The project had 275,000 beneficiaries - more than double the anticipated number. It achieved increased agricultural productivity, created employment opportunities and improved capacities for self-reliance. In addition, as a result of this project, the beneficiary population became more resilient to conflict through their better socio-economic status and local capacity. In addition, it highlights the challenges faced by agencies implementing development initiatives. According to the report, the main challenge lay within the centralized nature of Sri Lankan politics, which made it impossible for interventions targeting the local level to have a real impact on peace. However, the OECD acknowledges that, in the cases where the conflict

sensitive approach has been applied, it has made it possible for donors to identify the local obstacles to peace. The obstacles identified lie in the climate of mistrust by the national government, which has led to donors being denied the opportunity to undertake independent and objective studies. Adoption of this approach in Sri Lanka has also yielded baselines from which the impact of interventions can be measured.

The United Kingdom Conflict Sensitivity Consortium (2012a, p. 1-5) carried out a study to examine the impact of the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach by donor agencies in Sri Lanka, Nepal and Kenya. The study endeavoured to examine the relationship between the Department for International Development's (DFID) programmes and conflict in the target areas. The study found that DFID's activities in the above-mentioned three countries risked fuelling conflict in a number of ways. According to the UK Consortium, DFID's aid focused on capacity building and awareness-raising and this was found to benefit the elites among target beneficiaries, but provided little benefit to those whom the benefits were intended for. This consortium also found that aid which demanded community contributions placed an unfair burden on the poor. Consequently, the poor people resented such interventions. As a result, the consortium highlights that aid from DFID risked consolidating the very divisions and patterns of exclusion that gave rise to conflict in the first place. Likewise, this study highlights the need for aid agencies to understand the context in which they target interventions, in line with the objective of our study.

The adoption of the conflict sensitive approach has a positive effect on the effectiveness of development interventions by sustaining development outcomes within conflict contexts. This is according to the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation [SDC] (2008, p. 8-18) which carried out an assessment of the impact of their conflict-sensitive work in the conflict affected areas of Nepal, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Pakistan. This assessment also identified various key elements that aid agencies need to consider in order to enhance the utility of the Conflict Sensitive Approach. First, the SDC report indicates that it is not enough for development interventions to react to changing circumstances, but possible future scenarios need to be conceptualized and incorporated in the implementation cycle of the interventions. According to the study, this will pave way for possible means of continued engagement by aid agencies in conflict-affected

areas. The author also highlights that while the monitoring of changes in the dynamics of conflict is useful, the utility of such efforts only lies in the mechanisms that aid agencies put in place to adapt to the changes.

Thirdly, the SDC report also points out that development interventions in conflict-affected areas require engagement at political level and not only at the operational level. Therefore, the political preconditions and implications of such varying interactions need to be recognised and dealt with accordingly. The authors also found that identifying linkages between field realities and policy decisions depends on regular monitoring of the target conflict contexts. This, according to the authors, creates favourable conditions whereby adjustments can be made on the interventions whilst at the same time contributing to informed policy decisions related to matters of development initiatives. This assessment highlights the importance of aid agencies' adoption of conflict sensitivity and identifies ways through which the utility of this approach can be enhanced. It makes important contributions towards the debate of effective implementation of development interventions.

#### **2.4 Challenges to the Conflict Sensitive Approach**

Like any other concepts that need to be adopted in order to improve the way stakeholders in development work, the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach faces challenges. In order to understand the kind of challenges facing the adoption of this approach, Lange and Quinn (2003, p. 16-17) conducted a study to examine the challenges faced by aid agencies working in conflict-affected areas in Sri Lanka, Liberia and Afghanistan. The authors categorised their findings into three broad areas: Policy challenges, operational challenges, and internal management and capacity challenges. The authors found that policy challenges range from competing and conflicting government agendas which fail to provide a framework for effective aid delivery, to restrictive funding parameters which limit agencies' ability to invest in systematic adoption of the conflict sensitive approach.

In addition, the authors found that operational challenges include diversion of aid to belligerents and threats to staff security. The authors also found that the challenges of

internal management and capacity included insufficient resources and high staff turnover, which lead to loss of institutional memory and thus undermined agencies' analytical capacity. According to the authors, the first and the second challenge could be alleviated by understanding better the existing conflict dynamics to provide agencies with a basis for making informed decisions about aid provision and security arrangements. The authors conclude that aid agencies should deal with these challenges accordingly in order to move forward the public discourse on the conflict sensitive approach.

The foregoing studies provide meaningful insights into the nature and effect of the conflict sensitive approach. These studies also emphasise the importance and need to adopt the conflict sensitive approach. The studies have the following two points of convergence: that the conflict sensitive approach takes credit for the attainment of sustainability in the outcomes of intervention initiatives implemented by aid agencies working within the above-mentioned conflict contexts; and that in order to enhance the practice of conflict sensitivity, the impact of adopting this approach needs to be continually assessed. The bias in the literature's focus on more prominent conflict zones of Sri Lanka, Liberia, Afghanistan, and Timor-Leste also becomes apparent and thus the exclusion of the Kenyan case in the various assessments of the impact of adopting conflict sensitivity. This highlights the need to assess the impact of adopting this approach on development interventions and peace in Samburu County, which constitutes the focus of our study.

## **2.5 Theoretical Analysis**

The central goal of implementing development interventions is to achieve sustainable development outcomes, which will enable individuals to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living. The implementation of development interventions in areas affected by conflict regions without consideration of existing conflict dynamics has however inadvertently caused conflict or exacerbated existing conflict. The foregoing literature review generates three main theoretical themes: conflict and development, normative institutionalism (Peters, 2005;19) and the conflict sensitive approach. The theme on conflict and development considered effective

delivery of development interventions as possible only within a peacebuilding framework. This theme enabled the study to appreciate the inherent nature of conflict in every society and to understand development as a process of improving the quality of human lives. The theme on normative institutionalism viewed effective delivery of development interventions by aid agencies from a normative perspective, which expects development agencies to regulate their behaviour by ensuring that their interventions do not cause harm within conflict-affected areas. The interplay between socio-economic and political variables support the themes.

Our study employed the conflict sensitive approach as the main theory. The conflict sensitive approach is a culmination of insights gleaned from different sources: Mary Anderson's 'Do No Harm' work; the macro conflict assessment work undertaken by DFID, USAID, the world bank and other donors; the writings of Jonathan Goodhand; and over thirty years of peace and development academic discourse (Barbolet et.al.;2005:3). A conflict sensitive approach entails gaining a sound understanding of the two-way interaction between activities and context and acting to minimise negative impacts and maximise positive impacts of interventions on conflict (CSC, 2010:4). According to the theory, development assistance delivered without consideration of existing conflict dynamics in conflict-affected areas can inadvertently cause negative effect.

The conflict sensitive approach provides a holistic framework for analysis of the needs of conflict-affected communities. Within the conflict sensitive approach, there is an important set of concepts that can be derived about the effectiveness of aid in conflict-affected areas. These are of importance to Samburu County because the same concepts are applicable to the development-related aggression present in the County. The approach is particularly concerned with the negative impact of development interventions. It helps to explain the occurrence of conflict in the face of interventions intended to address the same conflict. Consequently, it helps to develop strategies that address the conflict-generating impact of development interventions, which tend to make development untenable. The approach also aims to enable development agencies attain the optimum utility of their interventions. For practitioners working in conflict-



affected areas, the conflict sensitive approach represents a means of intervening without causing negative impact in conflict-affected areas.

## **CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the study site, sampling procedures, data collection techniques used in the study. In addition, the chapter briefly describes how data will be analysed and presented.

### **3.2 Study Site**

Samburu County is located in the former Rift Valley Province. It borders Baringo County to the West, Laikipia County to the South, Isiolo County to the East, Turkana County to the Northwest and Marsabit County to the North. The county comprises Samburu Central, Samburu East and Samburu North. Samburu North comprises Baragoi and Nyiro divisions, which are predominantly populated by the Samburu and Turkana communities. Samburu Central consists Loroki, Maralal and Kirisia divisions. Kirisia and Loroki divisions are inhabited by Samburu and Pokot communities. Maralal is the most cosmopolitan administrative division. According to a publication of the Commission of Revenue Allocation titled 'Kenya: County Fact Sheets' (2013, p. 37), the population of Samburu county as per the census that took place in 2009 is 223,947. Samburu County residents are mainly pastoralists although the region faces scarcity of water and pasture. Because of this scarcity, the three communities living in Samburu County (Turkana, Samburu and Pokot) compete over water and pasture and this competition partly accounts for conflict in the County. Samburu County, which is among the least developed regions of Kenya, has experienced conflict for more than two decades (Wepundi, 2010, p. 2).

**Map 1. Location of Samburu County on the Map of Kenya**

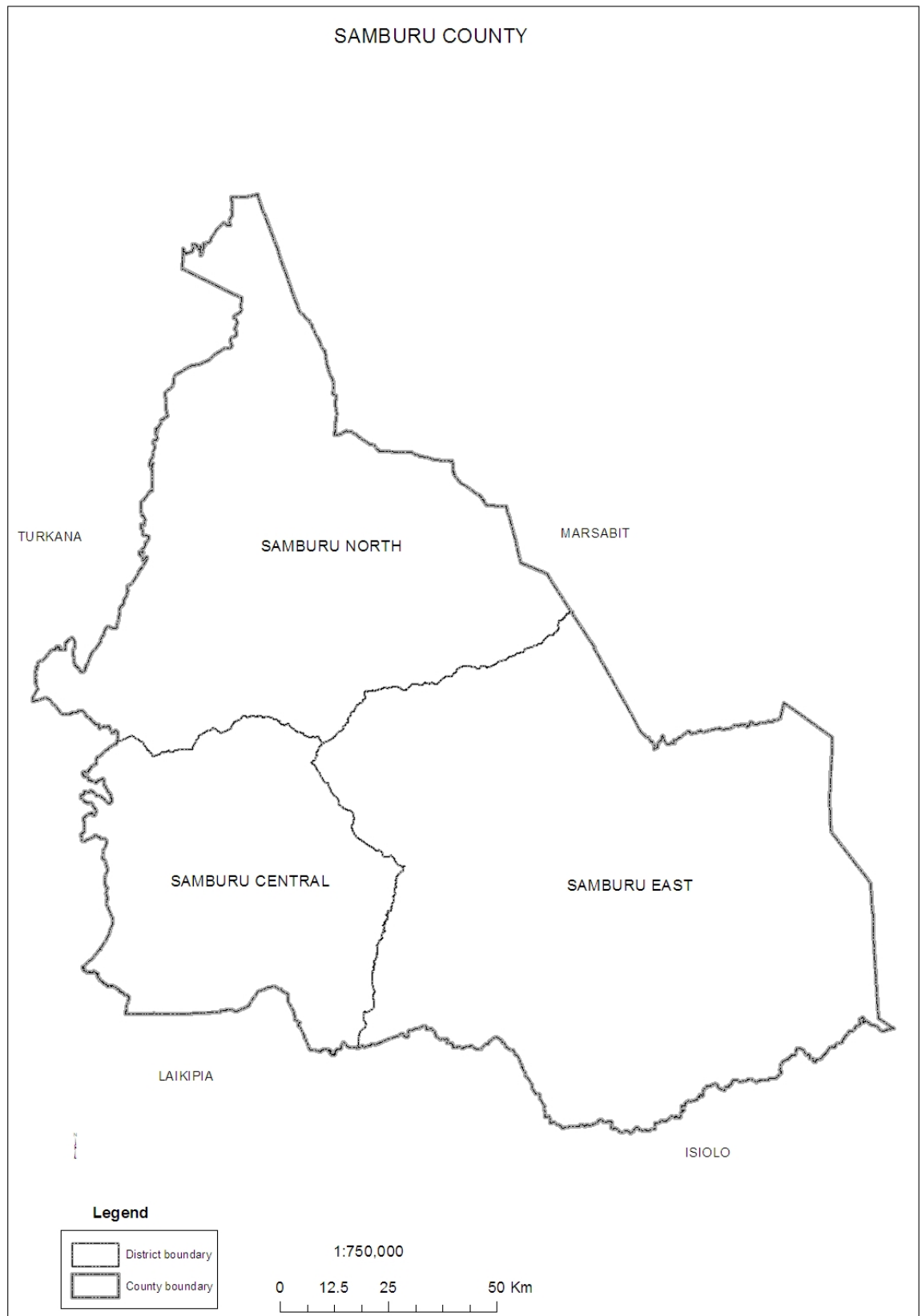


Prepared by Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, Cartography/GIS Section  
 Source: 2009 Kenya Population & Housing Census

This map is not an authority on delineation of boundaries

**Source: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2015**

**Map 2. Administrative units of Samburu County**



**Source: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2015**

The choice of Samburu County was purposive for this study for two main reasons. First, Samburu County is a conflict-affected area that has benefitted from development interventions implemented by various development agencies whose work targets the county. However, for a long period, development interventions implemented in this region failed to generate sustainable outcomes. Secondly, the County is the only area in Kenya where the conflict sensitive approach has been applied on experimental basis. Therefore, the period prior to the application of the conflict sensitive approach in Samburu County provides a baseline against which the effect of adopting the approach could be measured.

### **3.3 Sampling Procedures**

The study considered nine categories of respondents. These included: funding agency officials, evaluators of conflict-sensitive development interventions, members of the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium who are also the practitioners of the sensitive approach, officials of the Catholic Diocese of Maralal, local community members who lived within Samburu County during the period 2002 to 2011, local community elders, local community beneficiaries of implemented development interventions, officials from Government Ministries working in Samburu County, and local administrative officials (chiefs and assistant chiefs).

This study sampled respondents at two levels of analysis, namely: institutional and individual. The institutional level comprised nine organizations selected by way of purposive sampling. The institutions selected by the study were CAFOD, Catholic Diocese of Maralal, Saferworld, World Vision in Samburu, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands, two learning institutions and finally the County Government. One individual was purposively picked from each of these organizations except for the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium from which four individuals were drawn, the Catholic Diocese of Maralal where two individuals were selected and the local administrative officials where one assistant chief and two chiefs were interviewed.

Secondly, seventy-two individual respondents were selected purposively to provide information about the outcomes of conflict-sensitive development interventions implemented in Samburu County within the period under study.

The individuals from the beneficiary communities were first identified using cluster sampling by the cluster they belong to, namely: Turkana, Samburu and Pokot. Thereafter, the households which benefited from the Integrated Peacebuilding and Livelihoods Project were identified by way of purposive sampling. In order to ensure that all parts of the population are represented in the sample, the individuals from the households were thereafter selected through stratified sampling in the following strata: adult males, adult females, male youths and female youths. Eighteen individuals were selected from each of the four strata to ensure that the sample was representative.

### **3.4 Data Collection Techniques**

This study adopted qualitative approaches to data collection and utilized both primary and secondary sources of data. Qualitative data was collected by way of participant observation, structured interviews, focus group discussions and key informant interviews as illustrated below.

The researcher stayed in Samburu for a period of three weeks. This made it possible for the researcher to become familiar with the study area, develop rapport with local community members and to observe both the subtle and blatant nuances of the local communities concerning the sustainability of development interventions in general and that of conflict-sensitive development interventions implemented in the county. The researcher also observed the cultural practices of the communities living in Samburu County and how these and cultural beliefs interacted with and affected the sustainability of the outcomes of development interventions. In addition, the researcher observed first-hand challenges faced by community members and how these affected the process of development in the county. Further, the researcher also familiarised herself with the challenges development workers encounter while working in Samburu County. The researcher achieved this by attending a church meeting with community members, a gathering attended by various development workers and community members where

community members were expected to provide feedback on the benefits of an ongoing development intervention and by visiting the market place on one of the market days during the stay in county. The researcher had to act in such a way as to blend with the community members so that the community members acted naturally. In this way, the researcher gained first-hand information on the perspectives on conflict-sensitive development in the county.

Structured interviews were conducted to obtain data from the adult males, adult females, male youths and female youths selected from the beneficiary communities. The study utilised the help of two research assistants who were well versed with English, Swahili, Turkana, Samburu and Pokot languages. The assistants served both as local guides and language translators and they translated English into the three local languages back and forth to facilitate the data collection process. The data collected were stored in the following ways: first, with the permission of respondents and after reassuring the respondents regarding the purpose for which the data was being collected, conversations were captured and stored in a voice recorder. Second, important aspects of the discussions were noted in form of detailed field notes in a field notebook. At the end of each data collection day, the researcher together with the research assistants had a session of reviewing, verifying and organizing the collected data. The research referred to these records when preparing the research report. Additionally, the research assistants facilitated movement to the areas targeted by the study by showing direction. The interviews were guided by an integrated survey instrument (Appendix 1).

The study also utilized two focus group discussions (FGDs) each with seven participants. The participants of the FGDs comprised community elders, local community members and church leaders. The focus group discussants were individuals familiar with matters pertaining conflict sensitivity and development in area. Data collected through the FGDs were captured on a voice recorder with the permission of the discussants. Data collected from the FGD discussants were also captured and stored by note taking. The FGDs were utilised to triangulate data collected from the beneficiary communities. The FGDs were guided by a focus group discussion guide (Appendix 2).

Data were also obtained through key informant interviews guided by a key informant interview guide (Appendix 3). The key informants comprised staff members of organizations that are members the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, officials from the Catholic Agency For Overseas Development, the Catholic Diocese of Maralal, Saferworld, ActionAid Kenya, Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands, Ministry of Agriculture and the Local Government. The researcher contacted the selected key informants to arrange face to face or telephone interviews with them. During the interviews, the data collected was recorded in a field notebook. The key informants were interviewed each independently.

Secondary sources of data were useful for this study particularly in the initial stages. They served as a source of background information on the conflict sensitive approach and sustainability of outcomes of development interventions both at international level, regional level and in the study area. Specifically, the secondary sources helped in specifying the relationships between variables used in this study. This enabled the researcher to gain both local and international perspectives on the subject matter of this study. Secondary data was obtained from selected policy briefs, hard and soft publications from relevant organizations, selected scholarly books and journal articles. The gathering of secondary data from the above-mentioned sources was guided by the research questions.

### **3.5 Data Analysis**

The content of data collected in this research was analysed thematically. The themes that guided this analysis include the effect of conflict-blind interventions, the outcomes and sustainability of conflict-sensitive interventions and finally, the challenges to conflict-sensitive development in conflict-affected areas. The collected data was edited and coded. Data from closed questions was entered into the computer and analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences to generate tables, graphs and pie charts. Content analysis was used to analyse the qualitative data obtained from the open-ended questions. The data obtained was presented in a descriptive manner.



## **CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS, DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter the findings of the study are presented. The first part discusses the outcomes of interventions implemented in Samburu County prior to the introduction of the conflict sensitive approach. Part two discusses the sustainability of outcomes of conflict-sensitive interventions in Samburu County. The third part presents findings relating to the challenges facing the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach.

### **4.2 Outcome of Interventions Implemented in Samburu County Prior to Introduction of Conflict Sensitive Approach**

This section discusses the outcome of interventions implemented without adopting the conflict sensitive approach. In order to meet its objective, the section responded to three questions: What is the meaning of conflict-blindness? What interventions were implemented in Samburu County between 2002 and 2011? What was the outcome of the interventions implemented in Samburu County between 2002 and 2011?

#### **4.2.1 Conflict-Blind Interventions**

The idea that well intentioned interventions can do harm is attributed to the claim by Anderson (1999). According to this author, development interventions implemented in the context of conflict become a part of conflict. The author further points out that the interaction between intervention activities and the conflict context has the potential of yielding negative impact particularly if the intervention is conflict-blind. By conflict-blind, the author means that the intervention fails to adopt the conflict sensitive approach. The author therefore argued that if an agency works in a conflict-blind manner within a conflict-affected area, the outcome will be in form of negative effects. Some of the negative effects that may arise as a result of conflict-blindness include exacerbation of already existing conflict, introduction of new dynamics to the existing conflict, causing divisions where they never existed before, causing some groups to be

vulnerable and increasing feelings of marginalization and disenfranchisement among certain groups.

This study sought to find out stakeholders' understanding of conflict-blindness. In response, one key informant said as follows:

Conflict blindness occurs when interventions are designed without considering the conflict dynamics within the conflict context. Many people will shy away from considering the impact of their interventions on the conflict just because they are not peace organizations. Experience has shown that aid always interacts with the dynamics of conflict in conflict-affected areas. Therefore aid has the potential to minimize, exacerbate or cause conflict.

As a practitioner of the conflict sensitive approach, this respondent pointed out the fact that the negative effect of development interventions tend to arise from conflict-blindness. This is in line with the thoughts of Anderson (1999) that good intentioned interventions can do harm when given in the context of conflict. Majority of the respondents with knowledge on the conflict sensitive approach understood the meaning of conflict-blindness. This included the members of the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, practitioners of the conflict sensitive approach, evaluators of aid interventions as well as some community members whose communities benefited from conflict-sensitive interventions.

Majority of the stakeholders without knowledge of the conflict sensitive approach did not understand the meaning of conflict-blindness. One such respondent pointed out as follows:

I have never heard about conflict-blindness. What I know is that the ministry I work for has encountered many challenges related to the conflict in Samburu while attempting to implement interventions in most parts of the county. Some of the interventions work but others fail.

#### **4.2.2 Interventions Implemented in Samburu County between 2002 and 2011**

The study sought to establish the development interventions implemented in Samburu County between 2002 and 2011.

**Table 4.1: Summarised List Showing Type and Percentage of Interventions Implemented in Samburu County between 2002 and 2011**

No.	Project Type	Number of Similar Interventions	% of Similar Interventions
1	Livestock Health	3	9.7
2	Livelihoods	6	19.4
3	Agriculture & Food Security	4	12.9
4	Water	7	22.6
5	Education	3	9.6
6	Peace	5	16.1
7	Health	1	3.2
8	Infrastructure	1	3.2
9	Housing	1	3.2
<b>Total Number of Interventions</b>		<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: (Field Survey, 2015)**

Table 4.1 presents a summary of the interventions implemented in Samburu County within the target period categorised by project type and frequency. According to this table, the interventions implemented in Samburu County were focused on addressing problems in sectors including health, agriculture, education, housing, infrastructure and livelihoods. The state of all these sectors have a direct bearing on the sustainability of development outcomes and the overall development of the region. This multi-sectoral approach towards development has the potential of alleviating challenges to development.

An outstanding feature in Table 4.1 is that majority of the interventions implemented in Samburu County during the period in question were intended to foster the provision of water for the communities living in the county. As noted earlier in this study, the conflict in Samburu County is a function of the scarcity of resources, mainly water and pasture. The scarcity of water and the consequent fights over this resource, constituted one of the major causes of conflict in this region. Therefore, the provision of water through such interventions has contributed to a reduction in incidences of conflict in Samburu County.

According to Table 4.1 peace interventions ranked second in terms of frequency. Given that peace is a pre-requisite for sustainability of outcomes of development interventions

in this county, the effort to foster peace goes in line with the quest by the county government to find lasting peace in Samburu County. It also emerged from the study that a large number of interventions implemented in Samburu County between 2002 and 2011 were donor-funded (see appendix 4). This meant that the development agenda in the county is largely donor-driven. Given that this county is one of the regions considered neglected by the national government for many years, the work done by aid agencies in Samburu County has gone a long way in filling the gap left by the national government. This does not augur well for national government's efforts towards gaining the trust of the members of the communities living in Samburu County.

This study also established that one third of the interventions implemented in Samburu County during the period under review were livelihood related (see appendix 4). This is in tandem with the community's effort towards adopting alternative forms of livelihood beyond the traditional pastoralist mode of production. Adopting additional forms of livelihood would not only enhance development and the standard of living, but also minimize conflict in this region. The study found that the local communities are beginning to appreciate other forms of livelihood beyond the pastoralist mode of production and that is why development agencies are bringing into the community different kinds of development initiatives. Regarding the extent of appreciation however, a local chief remarked as follows:

For the members of the communities living in Samburu County, the pastoralist mode of production is time-honored. The practice has been transferred from generation to generation and therefore buy-in for new forms of livelihood is not easy to achieve. Those who have interventions that can benefit the community should therefore adequately educate the community about the benefits of the new initiatives before introducing them.

Similar sentiments were shared by other government officials. An official from the Ministry of Agriculture in Samburu County remarked that:

The Ministry of agriculture has been working with the communities living in Samburu County towards adopting alternative forms of livelihood beyond pastoralism. This has however been a daunting task because it has not been easy to convince the members of the communities that there can be a different way of surviving.

A local elder demonstrating this attachment to livestock as a means of livelihood by the communities living in Samburu County stated that:

We lost one of the elders because of cattle! On the fateful day, his two sons went out with a herd of cattle in search of pasture – about 200 in number. But in the evening, they returned home without a single cow – they only carried their spears in their hands. The young men began to explain to their father that they lost the cattle to an enemy group. But even before they could finish giving the explanation, the old man collapsed and died.

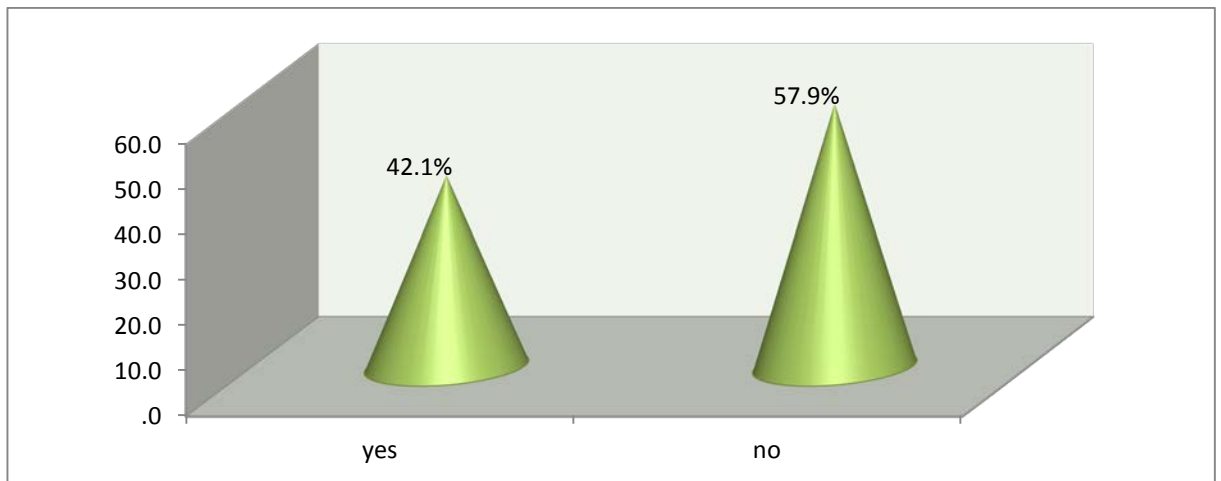
It is also noticeable that most of the interventions that were implemented in Samburu County during the period under review mainly aimed at achieving development as well as peace within the region. Given that conflict is the main challenge to sustaining outcomes of development interventions in this county, this finding indicated the prospect for achieving sustainable development in the future.

The study also highlighted that with only a few exceptions, most of the interventions were implemented in a participatory manner. Given that the methods used in implementing participatory interventions had a direct bearing on the beliefs and visions of the participants in the community, the chances of effective implementation of development interventions was enhanced. This is evidence that majority of development agencies have increasingly become conscious of the impact of their interventions. Regarding those interventions implemented in a non-participatory manner, the study found that their outcomes were not sustainable.

#### **4.2.3 The Outcomes of the interventions implemented in Samburu County between 2002 and 2011**

The study sought to find out whether conflict arose as a result of any of the interventions implemented in the county during the period 2002 to 2011, and if there was, establish the exact location where conflict was experienced. Figure 4.1 indicates an analysis of the findings.

**Figure 4.1: Whether Conflict Arose Because of the Implemented Interventions**



**Source: (Author, 2015)**

Figure 4.1 indicates that majority of the respondents (57.9%) pointed out that no conflict arose as a result of the interventions mentioned above whereas 42.1% pointed out that conflict was experienced as a result of some of the implemented interventions. This result augurs well with the efforts by the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium to ensure that development interventions implemented in the county do not trigger conflict. In order to establish a complete picture about the actual interventions that resulted into conflict, the respondents were further asked to provide details of the interventions that caused conflict, the nature of conflict that occurred and the exact location where the conflict was experienced.

The study found that the construction of ten semi-permanent houses in Samburu Central caused a feeling of disenfranchisement among community members. This intervention was funded by the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development in Samburu County. While the intervention was intended to compensate community members whose houses had been destroyed during violent conflict, the project targeted only a small number of community members and therefore those who were left out felt disenfranchised. The fact that the intervention targeted only a small number of community members also aroused suspicion amongst the rest of the affected community members. Given that the three tribal groups living in this county were constantly suspicious of each another, any action that generated further suspicion enhanced mistrust between these groups and the development agencies working in

Samburu County. This did not augur well with development of trust between the beneficiary groups and the development agencies.

The study also established that some community members viewed the construction of ten semi-permanent houses as compromising the already limited grazing area for their livestock. Community members expressed similar sentiments regarding another intervention involving the ploughing of twenty-eight acres of land to improve agriculture in the community. According to the apprehensive community members, this project also benefited only a particular section of the community. Therefore, besides feelings of exclusion, some community members felt that the intervention undermined their cultural belief that required land to be utilised specifically for grazing purposes. Similar cultural belief and ignorance also hampered the vaccination of livestock against foot and mouth disease in Logorate as will be discussed later in this study.

The study found that the micro-financing project targeting youth groups from both the Pokot and Samburu communities also caused conflict. This intervention was funded by World Vision and the Community Organization for Development Support. The intervention was aimed at providing supplemental form of livelihood beyond the traditional pastoralist mode of production for the youths from the Pokot and Samburu communities living in Samburu County. While there were two youth groups that were eligible to benefit from this intervention, the initiative benefited only one youth group. The study established that while the failure of the project was not due to the lack of adoption of conflict sensitivity, the fact that one group was left out of the project led to feelings of disenfranchisement and suspicion among the members of the alienated group. Consequently, it resulted into hostile relations between the two tribes to which the groups belong.

The other project whose implementation caused animosity is the construction of a water dam by the Ministry of Water and Development. Despite the fact that water is one of the resources often fought over by the three tribal groups in Samburu County, not all the three tribal groups benefited from this intervention. Following funding limitations, the implementers of the intervention designed it without an inclusive formula that ensured fair distribution of the intervention's benefits among the target groups. As a

result, the project benefited only one tribal group, excluding a large part of the community. Consequently, the implementation of this intervention caused differences among the three groups resulting into complaints by those excluded. In addition, this intervention was designed in a manner that it required community members to contribute towards its implementation by paying a minimal fee in order to access the water resource yet not everybody could afford to pay. This intervention caused a feeling of discrimination among the community members who were excluded from the benefits of the intervention. This feeling undermined the Ministry of Water and Development's efforts towards achieving equal access to water as well as buy-in by community members.

Similarly, the study found that the construction of a hand water pump in Samburu North to be unsustainable. This intervention was funded by World Vision. While the project intended to provide access to water for the Samburu and Turkana community members, the beneficiary community members were not furnished with the necessary technical knowledge to enable them maintain or repair the water pump in case of breakdown. When this installation broke down, community members reverted to antagonism due to competition over water.

The study also found that the Pokot community in Longewan was against the idea of vaccinating livestock. This is because previously, they had lost their cattle to individuals who had impersonated themselves as a part of a vaccination team yet they were actually cattle rustlers from 'enemy' communities. In addition, some members of this community were suspicious of the drugs used in the vaccination exercise and as a result, implementation of the livestock vaccination project was not successful. In addition, the findings indicated that some members of the Pokot and Samburu communities did not fully accept this intervention even after peace meetings were held between the two communities to seek buy-in. As a result, the Pokot and Samburu youth did not embrace peace even after participating in several peace meetings. These instances were indicative of the prevailing mistrust between the Pokot and Samburu communities in Samburu County. This mistrust undermined the implementation of the intervention aimed at improving livestock health. This finding also highlighted the notable levels of



ignorance among a large number of the members of the Samburu community, which in the end is an impediment to both peace and development.

It is evident from the analysis above that many actors were involved in the quest for sustainable outcomes of development interventions and peace in Samburu County during the period 2002 to 2011. It also emerged that the issues relating to sustainable development and peace are top priority for various agencies working in this county. Among the agencies is the Catholic Diocese of Maralal, which appeared to be the dominant development actor in Samburu County. The findings show that the Catholic Diocese of Maralal implemented more interventions both independently and as a collaborating partner with other institutions. The findings further indicated that majority of the interventions implemented generated sustainable outcomes of development interventions. The study established that interventions that were designed and implemented without the consideration of the undercurrents of conflict in Samburu County ended up either introducing new dynamics to the already existing conflict among the Pokot, Turkana and Samburu or causing some groups to become vulnerable or to feel marginalized. However, the findings also revealed that factors such as ignorance, cultural beliefs, exclusion from gains derivable from aid interventions, lack of knowledge transfer to facilitate maintenance of equipment installed and suspicion hindered the sustainability of outcomes of some development interventions.

#### **4.3 Outcomes of Conflict-Sensitive Development Interventions and their Sustainability in Samburu County**

The conflict sensitive approach entails gaining knowledge and understanding about how interventions interact with the context where they were applied and acting upon this understanding to minimize negative and maximize positive impact. This section sought to examine the sustainability of outcomes of conflict-sensitive development interventions in Samburu County. The section will respond to two questions: what is the origin and meaning of the conflict sensitive approach? What was the effect of adopting the conflict sensitive approach on sustainability of development interventions in Samburu County during the period 2002 – 2011? The hypothesis that guided this

section was that conflict-sensitive interventions are positively related to sustainable outcomes.

#### **4.3.1 The Origin and Meaning of the Conflict Sensitive Approach**

It has already been established that the advent of the conflict sensitive approach followed the realization that some well-intentioned interventions implemented in conflict-affected Samburu County generated unsustainable outcomes. Given that many of the development actors working in Samburu County have been working in this region for ten years or more, this study found that elements of the application of the conflict sensitive approach were experienced in Samburu earlier than 2009. According to the members of the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, who are the main practitioners of the conflict sensitive approach in Samburu County, the adoption of this approach in the county emerged following the realization that some of their interventions were untenable. The conflict sensitive approach was officially launched in Samburu County in 2009 through the implementation of the Integrated Peacebuilding and Livelihoods Project to serve as a pilot for the application of the approach in the county. The project targeted the Samburu, Turkana and Pokot communities living in Samburu County.

In an attempt to establish the outcome of conflict-sensitive development interventions in Samburu County, this study sought to establish the benefits of adopting the conflict sensitive approach in the county. In response to this quest, an official from the Catholic Diocese of Maralal said as follows:

As a result of the Catholic Diocese of Maralal's adoption of the conflict sensitive approach in all their work targeting Samburu County, the Catholic Church has emerged as a trusted entity in both the discussions about as well as implementation of development and peace projects. In fact, where other organizations are considered as enemy, we still had safe space for our operations. It has given us a lot of satisfaction to see that our interventions have contributed towards peace and development in this county.

This claim underscored the reality that community members had developed trust in the Catholic Church as a development actor who aimed to foster peace in Samburu County. This reality has made the church to become one of the main development actors in the county. Given that the Church also had a wide reach in the community, the study found

that the presence of this wide network had made it possible to educate members of the communities living in Samburu County about the conflict sensitive approach.

Regarding the benefits of adopting the conflict sensitive approach, this study found that this approach enables development actors to be aware of the negative effects that can stem from conflict-blind interventions. An official working for the World Vision to implement development initiatives in Samburu County remarked as follows:

Adoption of the conflict sensitive approach has made us aware of the negative effect arising from the failure to be conflict-sensitive. Conflict sensitivity has also made us able to avoid causing conflict that may arise from our interventions. With conflict sensitivity we are also able to determine what interventions other agencies are working on within the communities that our work targets. As a result, we also avoid duplicating interventions or having interventions that contradict one another.

These sentiments were shared by other officials from the Catholic Diocese of Maralal and the World Vision in Samburu County whom the study established to be the two main organizations fully adopting the conflict sensitive approach in their work targeting this county. The rest of the agencies considered by this study were either not aware of the approach, were partially adopting it or adopted some other forms of conflict-avoidance mechanisms that were not as developed as the conflict sensitive approach.

Similarly, in seeking to establish the outcomes of conflict-sensitive development interventions in Samburu County, the study further sought to find out the extent of adoption of the approach. This study found that members of the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium were adopting either some aspects of the approach or the full approach. To emphasize this, an official from the Catholic Diocese of Maralal said as follows:

The conflict sensitive approach has now become a way of working for the Catholic Diocese of Maralal. The approach is fully entrenched in our activities. All the staff at the Catholic Diocese of Maralal have been trained to apply this approach in their work. Currently, they look at every aspect of their development and peacebuilding initiatives through a conflict-sensitivity lens.

Regarding the same question, an official from the World vision pointed out that:

Staff at the World Vision office in Samburu are aware of the conflict sensitive approach. They adopt the approach in their development

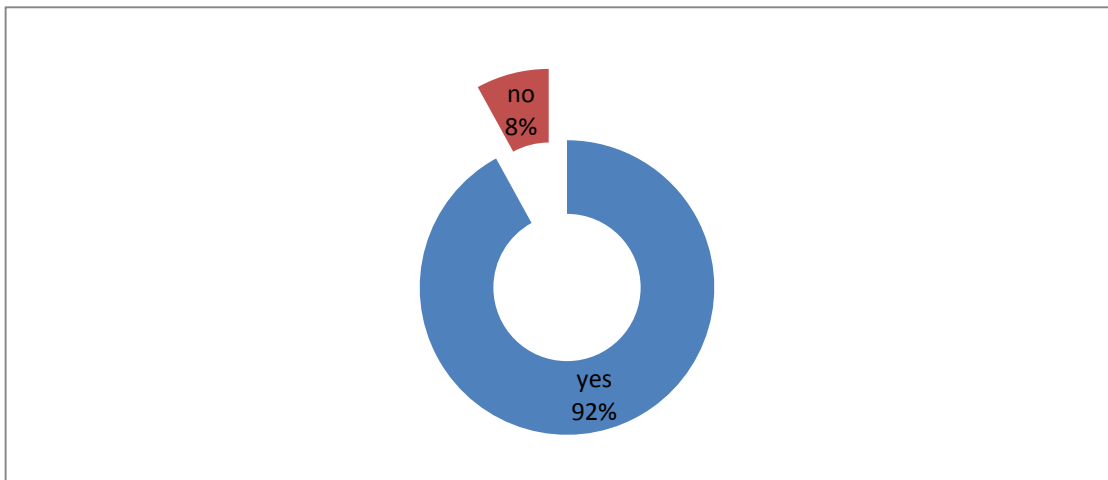
interventions focusing on the county. We mainly work in collaboration with the Catholic Diocese of Maralal in our efforts to avoid conflict. Working in a conflict-sensitive manner has enhanced the effectiveness of our initiatives in the county.

Unfortunately, not all agencies considered in this study adopted the conflict sensitive approach in implementing their interventions targeting Samburu County. This notwithstanding, the study established that majority of the agencies working to implement development interventions in Samburu County sought effective ways of implementing development initiatives. However, only a few of them had heard about the conflict sensitive approach and understood the basics of what this approach entailed. Even then, they did not apply the approach in their work focusing on the conflict-affected Samburu County. Some of the agencies did not understand what the conflict sensitive approach entailed but were seeking better ways of working in Samburu. For instance an official from the Ministry of Arid Lands said the following regarding knowledge of the conflict sensitive approach:

I have not heard about the conflict sensitive approach. I also do I know what the approach entails or how to incorporate it in the ministry's work. I, however, know that the Ministry of Arid Lands is seeking better ways of implementing interventions in Samburu County, since a number of the interventions we have implemented have faced a lot of challenges.

In seeking information related to the effect of implementing conflict-sensitive development interventions in the county, the study also sought information regarding the contribution made by adopting this approach towards sustainability of outcomes of development interventions in Samburu County. An analysis of the findings is illustrated in figure 4.2 below:

**Figure 4.2: The Contribution of Adopting the Conflict Sensitive Approach towards Sustainability of outcomes of Development interventions in Samburu County**



**Source: (Author, 2015)**

According to Figure 4.2 above, majority of the respondents (92%) agreed that the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach by development agencies contributed towards sustainable outcomes of development interventions in Samburu County. This was evident in the ongoing agricultural projects (See Picture 3) as well as water projects that continued to benefit residents after the implementers of the projects handed the interventions over to community members. One of the community elders in Samburu Central, where agricultural projects were ongoing, said the following about development agencies' adoption of the conflict sensitive approach and sustainability of outcomes of development interventions:

All conflict-sensitive projects implemented in my community by the Catholic Diocese of Maralal have never stalled. First, the implementation of the projects runs to completion. In addition, community members have been able to continue working on the projects even after the implementing agencies conclude the implementation phase.

An official from the Catholic Diocese of Maralal had similar sentiments. He said the following:

Before we adopted conflict sensitivity, most of our interventions encountered many challenges. However, since we started adopting this approach in both short-term and long-term projects, our development initiatives last through the implementation period and beyond. Most important, the communities are able to

continue the development activities even after our support for the specific development activities ends.

These sentiments are shared among several other beneficiary community members, practitioners of the conflict sensitive approach as well as local community elders.

The study further asked the respondents to highlight the interventions that yielded sustainable outcomes as a result of the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach and to point out the exact locations within Samburu County where this was experienced. The respondents named a number of development interventions whose outcomes were sustainable because of aid agencies' adoption of the conflict sensitive approach. After the implementation of the said projects, the beneficiary communities were able to continue with the activities of the implemented development interventions.

One such project is the IPLP project, part of which was implemented in Lpartuk region, targeting the Pokot and Samburu communities. This project entailed the purchase and distribution of goats to selected families among the Turkana, Pokot and Samburu communities. The project adopted the conflict sensitive approach, which required a change in the type of intervention activities in the sense that conflict analyses were carried out as part of the project activities in order to ensure that the intended intervention would not generate any negative effects on the conflict context. The approach also required the involvement of community members in the design as well as implementation of the conflict-sensitive intervention. The involvement of members of the community in the design and implementation of the intervention enhanced local participation in the process of achieving sustainable outcomes of development interventions. In addition, it ensured that the implemented intervention was appropriate for the community members. The project design required that the initial supply of goats be given to a selected number of households who would then pass on the goat's offspring to a specified number of households belonging to a different tribal group perceived as 'enemy'. The passing on would continue until all the targeted community members had benefited. The nature of this intervention followed a traditional covenant: 'once I give you a goat, we are brothers' (Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, 2012, p. 13). The three target communities of this project continue to breed the goats and to pass on the goats' offspring to the agreed upon beneficiaries even after the project came to an

end. The project design fostered peaceful ties and thus peaceful relations between the three tribal communities.

Another conflict-sensitive development intervention that yielded sustainable outcomes is the animal trade initiative. The intervention entailed the re-opening of the Malaso peace market where both Pokot and Samburu communities engaged in livestock trade among other commodities. The two communities continued to trade with each other peacefully several months after the initiators and implementers of the project had left the project in their hands. The two communities avoided to engage in conflict that would disrupt this opportunity for economic activity at Malaso peace market. The animal trade was set up as one of the development interventions targeting Malaso area. Through trade, the two communities living in Malaso and Siambu areas begun to trust each other.

The community members also continued to earn profit from the greenhouses project in Longewan, which was implemented in the context of conflict-sensitivity. As the community members worked together on this project, they cultivated cooperative relations, which also contributed towards building trust amongst them. This project also provided the community with an alternative source of livelihood besides pastoralism. The latter has become unreliable since whenever drought struck, many livestock perish. When the drought is over, some community members restock through cattle rustling and this causes conflict. Therefore, the project served to diversify the community members' source of income.

Similarly, youth from both Samburu and Pokot communities continue to earn a living from their involvement in the management of the conservancy long after the implementers of the project left. The conservancy has offered employment for youths from the Samburu and Pokot communities and they appointed a board constituting youths from these two communities to oversee its operation. This venture has promoted good relations over a long period. Given that both communities were involved in the management of the conservancy, community members perceive this opportunity as equally distributed amongst them. Consequently, the two communities refrained from conflicts thus paving way for sustainable development in the region.

In the same way, because of the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach, whenever peace meetings are held between any two of the three communities, an equal number of livestock is bought by meeting organizers from the participating tribal groups. By doing so, each of the community does not feel left out in making profit through the sale of livestock. The Catholic Diocese of Maralal introduced this practice and the community continues to apply it in order to cultivate cordial relations among all the three communities.

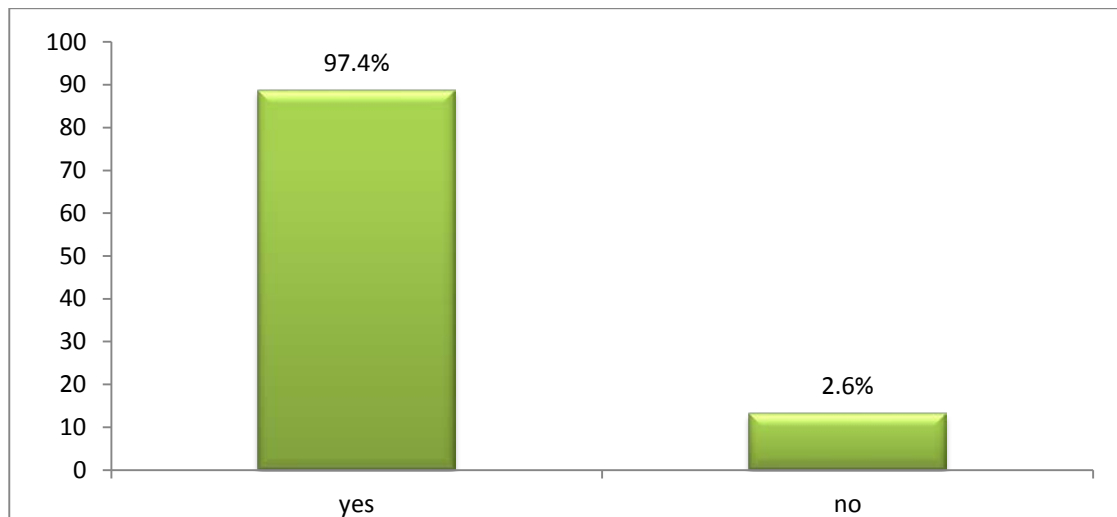
Likewise, peace dormitories were built in schools to cater for pupils from Pokot, Turkana and Samburu communities. A 'Peace Dormitory' built at Siambu Primary School (see picture 1) accommodates pupils from all the three communities around the Malaso/Siambu area. The fact that children from all the three communities are housed in the dormitory has prevented arson attacks that had often hampered schooling. The Peace Dormitory project also provided housing to teachers from all the three communities within the school compound. As a result, attacks on teachers from communities perceived as 'enemies' reduced substantially. The project has enabled children to attend school without interruption and prevented attacks on teachers thus sustaining development through sustainable access to education.

The study also found that adoption of the conflict sensitive approach revealed the emergence of peaceful coexistence among community members at different levels. A teacher at Siambu Primary school reported that pupils from the three communities could now share the same dormitory – the 'Peace Dormitory'. In addition, the school had also employed teachers from communities initially perceived as enemies. These officials of the Catholic Diocese of Maralal reported that the Pokot community at Malaso market could now access health services offered by the medical officers who are Samburu by tribe. Similarly, conflicting groups can now resolve their differences without necessarily resorting to violence. Additionally, the Peace Children Initiative has enabled children from each of the three communities to take home friends from the communities perceived as the enemies. The friends stay for a few days before schools open. These augurs well for the need for peaceful coexistence in the county.



In addition, the study sought to find out whether the adoption of conflict sensitivity contributed towards sustaining peace in Samburu County. Figure 4.3 indicates an analysis of the findings.

**Figure 4.3: Contribution of Adopting the Conflict Sensitive Approach towards Sustainable Peace in Samburu County**



**Source: (Author, 2015)**

From the findings, a large number of the respondents (97.4%) agreed that the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach contributed towards sustaining peace in Samburu County. In response to the question about nurturing peace in Samburu, one of the local youths considered as a peace ambassador remarked as follows:

I saw my father and four other people get killed by youths from the neighbouring tribe. Despite the hatred between my tribe and that of the youths who killed my father, for the sake of peace, the youth from my community did not fight back. The issue was resolved by the elders from the two affected communities, presided by members of the Catholic Diocese of Maralal.

A key informant responding to the same question reported as follows:

The achievement of lasting peace is an elusive goal in Samburu County. The main development agencies are working towards achieving sustainable peace in order to pave way for sustainable development, but more needs to be done to get the tribal groups to continually relate peacefully.

Only 2.6% of the respondents thought the adoption of conflict sensitivity did not contribute towards sustaining peace. The study established that the implementers of the interventions that failed to sustain peace did not fully adopt the conflict sensitive approach for the interventions in question.

Furthermore, the study required the respondents to state the locations where peace was experienced because of conflict-sensitive interventions. It was established that the setting up of a peace market in Malaso area created an opportunity for the community members to trade. This engagement provided an alternative form of livelihood as opposed to cattle rustling. Above all, it created an opportunity for lasting cordial relationships.

According to the study, the construction of peace dormitories in Siambu Primary School to cater for the children from all the three communities encouraged the members of the three communities to interact peacefully. Prior to the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach, rival communities would attack dormitories occupied by children from communities perceived as enemy. This was a major impediment to schooling as members of different communities feared losing their children through arson attacks. This is despite the fact that some of the school programs were donor funded to the extent that parents were only required to pay minimal fees and allow the children to attend school. With the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach, which gave rise to the concept of peace dormitory in Siambu and Poro, children from all the three rival communities share the same dormitory. Consequently, arsonists cannot attack the dormitories. This has improved relations among the rival communities and sustained peace.

The study also established that the employment of youth from both Pokot and Samburu communities to work in the conservancy has encouraged the Pokot to accept the conservancy. Initially, the Pokot community felt left out from the benefits brought by this intervention. They had therefore rejected the intervention, a situation that had hampered good relations between them and the Samburu. The fact that the intervention was adjusted to accommodate youths from both communities paved way for sustainable peaceful relations between them.

Moreover, the study sought to find out the lessons learnt from the adoption of conflict sensitivity. A large number of the respondents indicated that when conflict sensitivity is applied, the interventions do not put the community members at loggerheads. The study attributes this to the fact that the principles of conflict sensitivity require that the design and implementation of development interventions should follow consultations with all the affected groups among the beneficiary community members. It is through this consultation process that the practitioners of conflict sensitivity achieve buy-in by all the groups among the communities targeted by the interventions.

According to the study, another lesson learnt was that the adoption of this concept created an opportunity for community involvement in the development of the region. This is in tandem with the principle of the conflict sensitive approach already discussed earlier: that development agencies should consult with the target beneficiary communities before deciding which interventions would be appropriate. The beneficiary communities have therefore benefited from gradually having appropriate initiatives designed to respond to their actual needs.

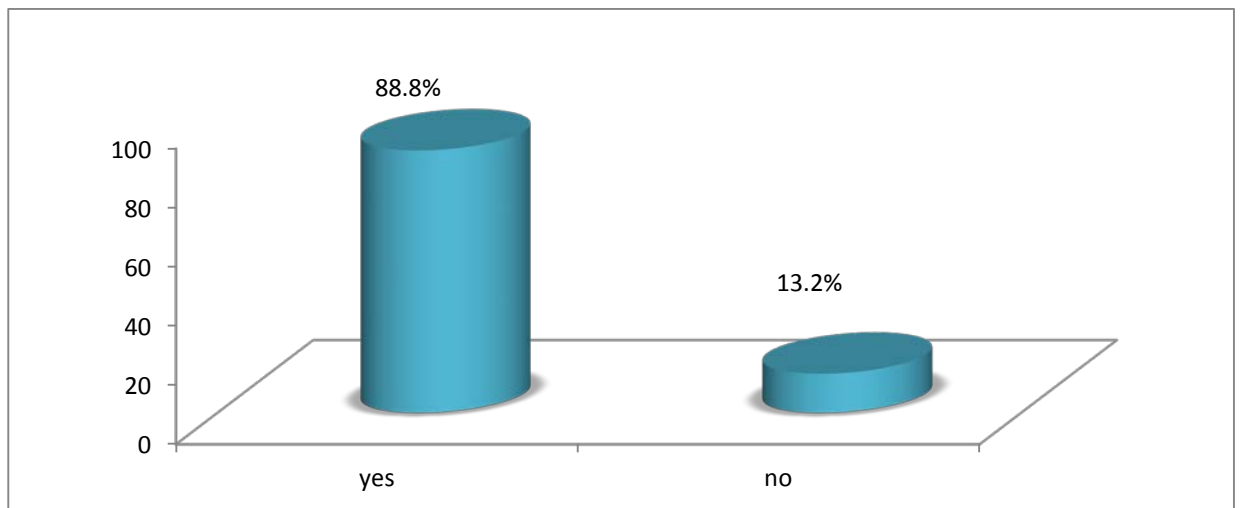
The study also established that the adoption of this approach allowed for incorporation of all groups within the community into the decision making process. The lesson learnt is that adoption of this approach created an opportunity to eliminate the gender gap that existed in the community due to cultural beliefs. Furthermore, the study established that adoption of conflict sensitivity paved way for conflicting groups to resolve their differences without resorting to violence.

The study further sought to establish the changes that the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach had initiated in Samburu County. Majority of the respondents pointed out that one of the major changes was that of peaceful co-existence between the Pokot, Turkana and Samburu communities. The study also found that there was a reduction in cattle raids. Additionally, the male dominated Samburu, Turkana and Pokot communities began to include women in all their discussions on development projects and in the decision-making process. Furthermore, for the first time in the communities' history, some women were allowed to hold leadership positions. Moreover, through the Peace Dormitory initiatives, the youths from different

communities now co-exist in harmony. Besides, cattle rustling has also gradually become rare as a form of livelihood since the three communities have begun to embrace alternative means of livelihood such as agriculture and formal employment. The communities are gradually beginning to view cattle rustling as a crime and suspects are arrested and handed over to relevant government authorities. Poverty levels are also decreasing, though at a slow pace.

The study also sought to find out whether there were any peace initiatives launched because of the adoption of conflict sensitivity in Samburu County. Figure 4.4 indicates an analysis of findings.

**Figure 4.4: Whether Peace Initiatives were Launched because of the Adoption of the Conflict Sensitive Approach in Samburu County**



**Source: (Author, 2015)**

Figure 4.4 indicates that majority of the respondents (88.8%) agreed that peace initiatives have been launched because of the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach in Samburu County. The study further sought to establish the peace initiatives that were launched as a result of the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach. This study established the following as the initiatives that were launched because of the adoption of conflict sensitivity: as a result of the Peace Dormitory projects, youths in this county have initiated the Peace Children Initiative. Under this initiative, youths from one community invite home their schoolmates from communities perceived as ‘enemy’ to stay with them for one week. During this stay, a goat is slaughtered in honour of the

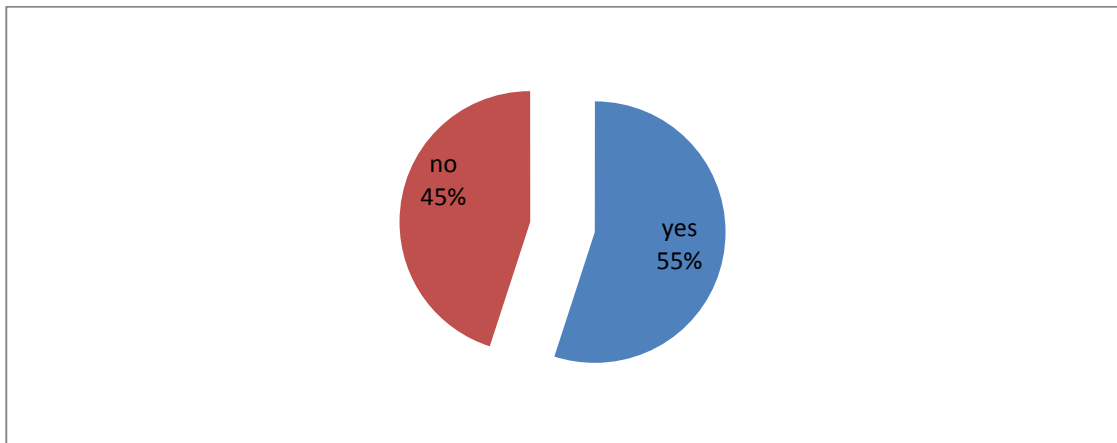
visitor and meals are shared. Culturally, among the three communities in Samburu County, sharing a meal where a goat is slaughtered creates a bond of brotherhood. Where such a bond exists, there can be hostility or actual fighting against one another. The Peace Children Initiative aimed to change the mindset of the youths against fighting each other.

According to the study, another peace initiative that emerged as a result of the adoption of conflict sensitivity is the engagement in peace songs and sports for peace by youths from the three communities. Under these initiatives, singing events as well as sporting matches are arranged and the youths from the three communities participate in the events. Participation in these events created opportunities for cordial relations as well as to make friends and thus reducing the chances of engaging in conflict. During these events, the youth were encouraged to work together in implementing development interventions.

The study also established that as a result of the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach, the community elders were engaged in vetting initiatives and rejected projects that had a potential to divide them. Under this initiative, agencies that intended to implement any interventions in the county were required to make clear to the elders and other relevant stakeholders what the initiatives entailed. The elders then determined through resource sharing meetings, a sharing formula that would ensure equitable distribution of the benefits of the intended intervention. By doing so, they prevent future wrangles over resources and ensured transparency and equity in distribution of resources. The latter is important because this study also established that inequitable distribution of resources was a major factor contributing towards inter-community conflicts.

Furthermore, the study sought to establish whether the respondents had a different set of strategies that development agencies should adopt when implementing development interventions in Samburu County in future. Figure 4.5 indicates an analysis of findings.

**Figure 4.5: Whether Development Agencies need to adopt different Strategies when Implementing Development Initiatives in Samburu County in the future**



**Source: (Author, 2015)**

Figure 4.5 indicates that majority of the respondents (55%) thought there was need for development agencies to adopt a different set of strategies when implementing development interventions in Samburu County in future. The study found that the beneficiary communities felt this way because of the initiatives that caused negative impact in their communities in the past. The respondents went further to recommend the following: that the youth from both communities should be empowered through seminars to educate them about conflict sensitivity, their role and the role of other members of the community in relation to the adoption of this approach. This would enhance the adoption of conflict sensitivity in the county.

Additionally, the respondents called for involvement of all stakeholders in decision-making processes. Specifically, the respondents suggested that donors needed to work with the Pokot, Turkana and Samburu communities in determining the most suitable interventions for these communities before funding implementation of the same. By doing so, aid agencies would diminish chances of having counterproductive interventions. In essence, the respondents meant that donors should work in a conflict-sensitive manner.

Another recommendation was that agencies should monitor the project progress to ensure the intended goals were achieved. In addition, community members should be sensitized about the project before commencing any implementation. Regarding project

leadership, community members should be given the mandate to elect their representatives on the project. The community members also recommended that development agencies should channel their aid through organizations willing to be conflict-sensitive in their work. An example of such an organization in Samburu County is the Catholic Church; given its track record in ensuring initiatives do not create animosity between community members.

#### **4.4 Challenges to the Conflict Sensitive Approach**

While the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach in implementing development interventions has yielded positive results in the places where it was adopted, this application has not been without challenges. This study sought to find out the challenges facing the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach. The study found that the adoption of this approach faced by policy challenges. Particularly, the efforts by development agencies that tried to embed this approach into their work are primarily hindered by the lack of a framework to support the uptake of the approach. In response to the question about the challenges facing the adoption of conflict sensitivity, a respondent stated:

The greatest weakness of the conflict sensitive approach is the gap between the entitlement to effective implementation of development initiatives and the availability of mechanisms to ensure respect for this entitlement. While conflict sensitivity relates to adopting ethics in implementation of development initiatives, failure to adopt the approach by development agencies attracts no penalty. Therefore, some development agencies do not feel obliged to adopt the approach.

Other respondents claimed that the national government has failed to put in place a legal framework that would enforce effective implementation of development interventions, particularly those targeting conflict-affected regions. Given that the proponents of this approach are committed to promoting its adoption by agencies working in conflict-affected areas, the lack of enforcement mechanisms undermines not only the effective implementation of development interventions, but also the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach by agencies working in conflict-affected areas.

In addition, funding parameters of some donor agencies focusing on Samburu County were restrictive and therefore limited implementing agencies' ability to invest in

systematic adoption of conflict sensitivity. One practitioner of the conflict sensitive approach remarked as follows on the question about funding limitations:

In most cases, donors decide the areas of funding without consideration of the existing conflict dynamics in the communities targeted by their funding. In striving to fit within donors' areas of funding priorities, implementing agencies design interventions that meet the requirements of donors without considering their suitability for the target communities.

The idea of implementing agencies shaping their interventions in accordance with donor requirements without considering the needs of the beneficiary communities served to assure development agencies of continued funding from donors. However, it did not augur well with the apparent need for effective implementation of development interventions in conflict-affected areas such as Samburu County.

Besides policy-related challenges, the adoption of conflict sensitivity was also affected by operational challenges. According to this study, considerable distances and a variety of harsh terrains separated the administrative divisions in Samburu County. These factors limited the coverage of projects. While some development interventions initially aimed at benefitting a larger group, navigating between the regions became a challenge to development workers who aimed to spread the message about the conflict sensitive approach.

Similarly, this study established that previously, some development workers who penetrated the villages spreading the message of peace through development work were threatened and encountered lack of cooperation from some community members. This raised the question whether there were other forces responsible for the conflict in some of the regions. Following further probing, the study established that interference by politicians was one reason behind the lack of cooperation manifested by some of community members. This, the study found to be an obstacle to the implementation of conflict sensitivity in the county. Some of the community members claimed that some local leaders were against the achievement of peace and incited community members against pushing for accountability. Lack of accountability undermines the application of the conflict sensitive approach.



Further, as indicated earlier, the process of adopting the conflict sensitive approach is time consuming and requires commitment. This study found that the limitation of time in particular made it appear impractical for project implementers to incorporate this time consuming approach in their programming work. By doing so, project implementers paved way for conflict-blindness which the study has shown, led to increased conflict and untenable outcomes of development interventions.

Moreover, the study findings indicated that most development agencies in Samburu County lacked sufficiently trained human resources to adequately implement the conflict sensitive approach. This, the study found to be attributed to lack of financial resources by the agencies to adequately support both staff and community beneficiaries' training on the approach. While some agencies would be able to train their staff, the study established that high rates of staff turnover had led to loss of institutional memory, which in turn undermined the agencies' capacity to effectively carry on the implementation of the conflict sensitive approach.

Furthermore, the study found that high levels of ignorance in the community impeded the understanding of the essence of this approach. According to Lunyasula et.al. (2012) the levels of school enrolment and literacy in Samburu County are chronically low and are currently at 44% and 12%, respectively. The study indicates that levels of ignorance have not only affected the uptake of the conflict sensitive approach, but also the rate of community beneficiaries' participation in development interventions.

#### **4.5 Linking Conceptual Framework and Theoretical Analysis with the Study**

##### **Findings**

The main conclusions of this exploratory case study presented in this chapter highlight the important relationships between the conflict sensitive approach and sustainability of outcomes of conflict-sensitive development interventions. This section presents the findings that directly connect with the conceptual framework and theoretical analysis of this study.

The findings in this chapter reveal that increased cooperation between the members of the three contending communities was strongly determined by the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach by development agencies working in Samburu County. This is linked to the conceptual framework which focuses on making clear the connection concerning the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach and increased cooperation between contending parties explicit and relates them to the achievement of sustainable development.

Additionally, the findings of this exploratory case study portrays the relationship between increased local participation by members of beneficiary communities in the process of designing as well as implementing interventions and the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach. This is also connected to the conceptual framework which aims to clarify the link between the adoption of this approach and increased local participation. The conceptual framework also links this association to sustainable development.

Furthermore, the findings of this study highlight the linkage between increased shared ownership of intervention activities and the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach by development agencies. This relationship is also demonstrated in conceptual framework which elucidates the link between the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach and increased shared ownership of intervention activities among the members of beneficiary communities and implementing agencies. This is also linked to sustainable development.

Likewise, the positive relationship between the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach and the resultant appropriate interventions suited for the conflict-affected Samburu County is also reflected in the findings of this study. This finding is linked to the conceptual framework which makes clear the connection between the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach and the occurrence of appropriate interventions and relates it to the achievement of sustainable development.

It appears that the sustainability of outcomes of development interventions strongly connects with the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach by development actors

focusing their work on Samburu County. This finding connects with the focus of the conceptual framework which seeks to make the connection between adoption of this approach and the sustainability of development interventions more explicit and identifiable. However, the long-term effect of adopting the conflict sensitive approach on sustainability of outcomes of development interventions was challenging to observe within the provided frame of time. This required more time than the researcher could observe during the undertaking of this study. For this reason, the research design focused on interviewing respondents regarding the effect of adopting the conflict sensitive approach within the specified study period.

Regarding the connection of the findings with theory, the results of this study portray a positive relationship between the adoption of conflict sensitive approach and changes in choice and type of intervention activities considered by development agencies. For instance, in addition to the main development project activities, agencies embed aspects of the conflict sensitive approach such as the undertaking of a conflict analysis on continual basis to determine changes in conflict dynamics that may cause inadvertent negative outcomes of interventions. This finding relates to normative institutionalism which requires development agencies to regulate their behaviour by ensuring that their interventions are designed and implemented in a manner that does not generate negative outcomes.

#### **4.6 Summary**

Given the foregoing discussions, the study established that development interventions implemented without consideration of existing conflict dynamics among the communities in Samburu County had negative impact. Such interventions either introduced new dynamics to the already existing conflict between the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana or caused some groups to become more vulnerable and marginalized and thus exacerbating conflict between the tribal groups in Samburu County. In addition, adoption of the conflict sensitive approach created the opportunity for development agencies to anticipate the impact of development interventions targeting conflict-affected Samburu County. Therefore, the development agencies that fully or partially adopted this approach were able, to varied extents, avoid the negative impact in

Samburu County. Additionally, the adoption of this approach contributed towards sustainable outcomes of both development and peace initiatives in the areas where the approach was successfully applied within the county. The study also established that the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach resulted into the emergence of peace initiatives. As pointed out by Anderson (1999) however, the challenge for aid workers is to figure out how to do the good they intend to do without causing negative impact. Majority of the aid workers in Samburu County share this sentiment. In terms of challenges facing the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach in Samburu County, the study found that despite the enthusiasm by development agencies to achieve a positive impact by effectively implementing development initiatives in conflict zones, four major categories of factors hindered the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach. The first related to lack of policies that would provide a regulatory framework that would ensure effective implementation of development interventions. The second comprised factors at the operational level, which included harsh terrain and long distances between the areas targeted for development interventions that limited the coverage of conflict-sensitive projects. The third set of factors was related to internal agency management as well as capacity of agencies while the fourth category was related to greed and political interference.

## **CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study in line with its objectives, conceptual and theoretical frameworks. The main objective of this study was to examine the sustainability of outcomes of conflict-sensitive development interventions in Samburu County.

### **5.2 Summary of Findings**

The first specific objective of this study was to examine the outcome of interventions implemented prior to the introduction of the conflict sensitive approach in Samburu County. Regarding this objective, the study established that in the beginning, development agencies did not take into consideration the impact of their interventions on the conflict context when working in conflict-affected areas. In essence, the study established that prior to the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach, the agencies implemented interventions in a conflict-blind manner. Working in a conflict-blind manner led to various challenges in conflict-affected areas. As a result, the development enterprise went through a transition towards effective implementation of development interventions. This transition period was important to the donors, development agencies, the county government of Samburu and the beneficiary communities all of whom were part of the shift. It is for this reason that this study sought the perspectives of each of the above-mentioned stakeholders in order to move forward the debate on the conflict sensitive approach.

The findings of the study demonstrated that the conflict blind approach to interventions is negatively related to peaceful relationships among the members of the three communities. The perceived inequitable distribution of resources in the form of development interventions is equally negatively related to cohesive existence among the three communities. The study further illustrates that the negative impact arising

from conflict-blind interventions contributed to the urgent need for a conflict sensitive approach to all development initiatives targeting the three communities.

This study demonstrated that negative effects arising from the implementation of development interventions without consideration of existing conflict dynamics informed the search for effective aid delivery and the subsequent adoption of the conflict sensitive approach by development agencies working in conflict-affected areas. In the case of Samburu County, this approach was officially adopted in 2009. This study has illustrated that adoption of the conflict sensitive approach is essential for the sustainability of outcomes of development interventions in conflict-affected Samburu County.

The study demonstrated that while most of the agencies which adopted the conflict sensitive approach had only done so partially, there were few that adopted the approach in their development and peacebuilding work targeting Samburu County. This study illustrated that adoption of this approach had the net effect of sustaining outcomes of development interventions. Indeed, one of the effects highlighted is that communities that benefited from conflict-sensitive development interventions were able to continue the activities of the implemented interventions after the implementing agencies handed the initiatives over to them.

In the context of conflict, attaining sustainability in the outcomes of interventions had the potential to pave way for sustainable peace. With adoption of the conflict sensitive approach, this study demonstrated that the communities that were initially relating through conflict began to appreciate and work towards cooperative relations. This study illustrated that the three communities started to engage in trade at the peace market, holding sports events where their youth participated in sports. They also started to attend peace meetings, which brought together elders from each of the three communities.

This study further demonstrated that adoption of the conflict sensitive approach had the effect of increased inclusivity and awareness. Indeed, members of each of the three tribal groups in the community are being given a chance to participate in both the

decision-making and development process. Similarly, elders engaged in vetting initiatives and rejected proposed interventions that showed potential to cause divisions. The practice currently is such that the three communities hold resource sharing meetings to establish sharing formulae that will ensure equitable distribution of resources emerging from development interventions before such interventions are implemented.

This study demonstrated that interaction between community members had increasingly become peaceful. Certainly, this has led to a reduction in cattle raids, and a willingness by community members to adopt other forms of livelihood such as agriculture and formal employment. Adoption of other forms of livelihood, however, has been hampered by lack of adequate information about available options of livelihood activities as well as lack of funding to train the communities on the alternative forms of livelihood.

Despite the invitation by the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium to stakeholders in development and particularly development agencies to adopt the conflict sensitive approach when implementing development interventions in Samburu County, this study demonstrated that implementation of conflict-blind development interventions was still prevalent in the county. While a few development agencies adopted this approach in their work targeting Samburu County, this study demonstrated that this county still lagged behind in terms of achieving sustainability in outcomes of development initiatives.

Other perspectives collected on the sustainability of outcomes of development interventions in Samburu County assisted us to understand the dynamics of aid delivery in the county. Given that majority of the residents of the county lacked formal education, they were unaware of the benefits of some development interventions targeting their communities. This study also demonstrated that some cultural beliefs undermined some of the development interventions targeting the county. Indeed, this was evident in the claim made by community members against the construction of ten semi-permanent houses arguing that it would compromise the grazing area of their livestock.

The study also demonstrated that deep-rooted mistrust was an impediment to sustainable outcomes of development interventions. The study illustrated that mistrust hampered economic activities such as inter-community trade. Indeed, mistrust also caused fear of accessing health services offered by members of a community perceived as 'enemy'. This study illustrated therefore that adoption of the conflict sensitive approach on its own would not be sufficient to achieve sustainable outcomes of development interventions and peace in this county.

This study confirmed the hypothesis that conflict-sensitive development interventions contributed towards sustainable outcomes, even though only to a certain extent.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

This study concluded that lack of academic interest notwithstanding, development agencies worked towards finding ways of attaining sustainable outcomes of development interventions targeting conflict-affected areas since the early 1990s to the present. Despite the lack of a legal framework to enforce effective implementation of interventions in conflict-affected areas, the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium and some implementers of development interventions have nevertheless acted with a degree of legitimacy to encourage the uptake of the conflict sensitive approach.

It has been observed that the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach in Samburu County dated back to 2009 and ran through the subsequent years to-date. This is considered an important step towards achieving sustainable outcomes of development interventions in conflict-affected areas through adoption of the conflict sensitive approach. The adoption of this approach created the opportunity for development agencies adopting it to anticipate the impact of their development interventions targeting conflict-affected Samburu County. In their full or partial adoption of the approach, the development agencies were able to address a number of issues of concern to the stakeholders in conflict-affected Samburu County. The issues included the education of beneficiary communities about participating in the development interventions that target their communities and the embracing of alternative development activities besides the pastoralist form of livelihood. Other gains achieved



are the education of development practitioners about how to avoid negative impact by working in a conflict-sensitive manner, and the achievement of sustainable outcomes of development interventions in conflict-affected areas.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

Following its findings, this study had a number of recommendations for donor action, governmental action, as well as recommendations for development agencies targeting their work on Samburu County.

1. Despite the evidence showing that donors searched for ways of effective implementation of the development interventions funded by themselves, they did not necessarily consider the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach. While some of the donors had heard about this approach, they did not fully understand what it entailed. To address the knowledge gap about the conflict sensitive approach, it is recommended that the practitioners of this approach should promote its understanding and adoption through training of relevant groups involved in the development process in this region.
2. With respect to lack of a legal framework which would encourage the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach, this study recommends that donors targeting Samburu County should make the adoption of this approach part of their conditions for funding.
3. This study recommends that the government needs to establish a legal framework that would ensure effective implementation of development interventions in conflict-affected areas. This framework should seek to enforce the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach by all agencies working in conflict-affected areas. In addition, it should also put in place a means of ensuring community beneficiaries participated in the design and implementation of development interventions. This will go a long way in ensuring the achievement of lasting peace and thus paving way for appropriate interventions and sustainable outcomes of development intervention in conflict-prone regions.

4. It is of essence that deliberate efforts should be made by the development agencies working in Samburu County to avoid doing harm when implementing development interventions in this region. In order to achieve this, it is important that all development agencies gain full understanding of the conflict sensitive approach. Development agencies should collaborate with the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium and mobilise sufficient resources to ensure training of stakeholders on the conflict sensitive approach. Furthermore, agencies should work out ways of retaining staff trained about this approach to avoid loss of institutional memory. Another area of priority in promoting the understanding of this approach should include provision of funding to the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium in order to enable them train the relevant stakeholders in the development enterprise in Samburu County.

### **5.5 Areas for Further Studies**

Given that, this study dwelt on the conflict sensitive approach and sustainable development: a case study of Kenya's Samburu County (2002 - 2011); this study recommends that similar studies be done in other counties in Kenya that are affected by conflict. This would allow for generalization of findings on the relationship between the conflict sensitive approach and sustainability of outcomes of development interventions in conflict-affected areas.

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## APPENDICES AND ANNEXES

### Appendix 1: Questionnaire for Data Collection

Serial Number: .....

Official Position of Informant: .....

Date of Interview: .....

Introduction:

My name is Carolyn Mbuya. I am a masters student at the University of Nairobi at the Department of Political Science. I am conducting a study on the sustainability of outcomes of conflict-sensitive development interventions in Samburu County. The information I shall be collecting will form part of the requirement for my masters degree, and shall be used for academic purposes only. Thank you.

#### SECTION A

1. a) What development interventions have been implemented between 2002 and 2011 in Samburu County?
- b) Who funded these interventions?
- c) Who implemented the interventions?

No	a. Intervention and Period Covered	b. Funded By	c. Implemented By



2. Did any conflict arise as a result of any of the interventions mentioned above?

Yes

No

If your response to question 2 above is yes, please provide details of the nature of conflict and exact location where the conflict was experienced.

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.....

**SECTION B**

3. Did the adoption of conflict sensitivity by development agencies contribute towards sustaining development outcomes in Samburu County?

Yes

No

If your response to question 3 above is yes, please explain, pointing out the exact location where this was experienced.

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4. Did this adoption of conflict sensitivity contribute towards sustaining peace in Samburu County?

Yes

No

If your response to question 3 above is yes, please explain, pointing out the exact location where sustained peace was experienced:

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5. What are the lessons learnt from adopting conflict sensitivity in Samburu County?

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6. What changes has the adoption of conflict sensitivity initiated in Samburu County?

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7. Are there any peace initiatives that have been launched as a result of the adoption of conflict sensitivity in Samburu County?

Yes  No

If your response to question 7 above is yes, please list the initiatives in the space provided below.

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8. Is there anything you would recommend that development agencies should do differently when implementing development initiatives in Samburu County in future?

Yes  No

If your response to question 8 above is yes, please list your recommendations in the space provided below.

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SECTION C: Interview Guide Questions

9. What are the challenges to conflict sensitivity in Samburu County?

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THANK YOU

**Appendix 2: Focus Group Discussion Guide**

(Beneficiary Community Members)

Name of Group: .....

Date of Interview: .....

Questionnaire No.: .....

1. How has the Integrated Peace and Livelihoods Project (IPLP) benefitted you?

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2. Is there any conflict that arose as a result of this project?

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3. Are there any challenges you face as a result of this project?

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4. What are your recommendations to agencies planning to bring development interventions in your community in future?

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THANK YOU

### Appendix 3: Key Informant Interview Guide

(Practitioners of conflict sensitivity)

1a. What is your understanding of conflict-blindness?

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1b. What are the effects of conflict-blindness on the outcome of development interventions?

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2a. What is your understanding of the conflict sensitive approach?

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2b. To what extent has your organization adopted the conflict sensitive approach?

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2c. What is your opinion about the benefits of adopting the conflict sensitive approach in implementing development interventions (to what extent does it sustain development activity?)

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3. What are the challenges facing the adoption of the conflict sensitive approach?

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.....

THANK YOU

**Appendix 4: List of Intervention Initiatives Implemented in Samburu County  
between 2002 and 2011**

No.	Initiative	Funded By
1	Livestock Health (Vaccination and De-worming)	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development
2	Renovation of Cattle Dip	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development
3	Livestock Breeding	Ministry of Arid Lands and the Catholic Diocese of Maralal
4	Food Security Project	World Vision & the Catholic Diocese of Maralal
5	Drilling and Installation of Water Pump in Lolmolog	World Vision
6	Construction of Permanent Structures at Logorate Primary School and Drilling & Installation of bore hole	World Vision
7	Employment of youth from both Pokot and Samburu communities at the Worldlife Conservancy	Northern Rangeland Trust Fund (NRTF)
8	Ploughing of farms and Supply of Seeds for the Sponsored 150 families	Child Fund Kenya
9	Construction of Dispensary in Lolmolog	Childfund and Community Members
10	Re-stocking of Animals	Catholic Diocese of Maralal
11	Road Construction and Repair (Longewan – Amaiya road and Longewan - Lonyell road)	Government of Kenya and the Catholic Diocese of Maralal

12	Peace Committees, Meetings and races (Applying Conflict Sensitivity Approach)	Catholic Diocese of Maralal and Peace Caravan
13	Digging of Bore holes	Ministry of Arid Lands
14	Marketing of Animals/Trade	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development
15	Construction of Semi- Permanent Houses	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development
16	Installation of Hand Water Pumps	Catholic Diocese of Maralal (DOM)
17	Green House Project	Catholic Diocese of Maralal
18	Construction of Peace Dormitories	Catholic Diocese of Maralal
19	Construction of Peace Hall	Catholic Diocese of Maralal
20	Building of Hay Stores	Catholic Diocese of Maralal
21	Integrated Peace and Livelihoods Project (IPLP) or the Goats Project	Catholic Diocese of Maralal
22	Water Purification	Catholic Diocese of Maralal and CODES
23	Construction of Water Pan in Longewan	Red Cross and the Catholic Diocese of Maralal
24	Micro-Financing for Pokot and Samburu Youth	World Vision and CODES
25	Dam Construction in Logorate	CODES
26	Cash for Work Initiative	Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development (ACTED)
27	Land Conservation	ACTED
28	Resource Sharing Initiatives	ACTED

29	Youth Sports (Peace Races)	Ministry of Youth
30	Construction of Permanent Structures – Boys’ and Girls’ Dormitories as well as some classrooms in Lolmolog	CDF and World Vision

# RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



## NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

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Our Ref: NCST/RCD/14/012/1179

28<sup>th</sup> August, 2012

Carolyn Oduya Mbuya  
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P.O BOX 30197-00100  
NAIROBI

### RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*The conflict sensitive approach and development in Samburu County*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Rift Valley Province for a period ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 2012.

You are advised to report to the District Commissioners and the District Education Officers, Samburu County before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

  
DR.M.K.RUGUTT, PhD, HSC  
DEPUTY COUNCIL SECRETARY

Copy to:

The District Commissioners  
The District Education Officers  
Samburu County

*"The National Council for Science and Technology is Committed to the Promotion of Science and Technology for National Development."*



## FIELD PHOTOGRAPHS

Picture 1: A Peace Dormitory at Siambu Primary School



Source: Catholic Diocese of Maralal database (DOM)

**Picture 2: A Samburu Elder overseeing community members working on Water project in Lolmolog**



**Source: Researcher's Photograph**



**Picture 3: Agricultural Project in Lolmolog**



**Source: Researcher's Photograph**