

**THE CAUSES AND IMPACT OF INSECURITY ON PASTORALISTS ECONOMIES:
THE CASE OF WEST POKOT COUNTY, KENYA (1990-2015).**

ROSEMARY NYAMBURA MBUGUA

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree in any other University.

Signature.....

Date

Rosemary Nyambura Mbugua

C50/67270/2013

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University supervisor.

Signature.....

Date

Mr. Mwachofi Singo

Lecturer, Political Science and Public Administration Department, University of Nairobi.

DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my parents Mr. Joseph Mbugua and Mrs. Susan Njoki for their determination and sacrifice to see their children through school.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iv
ABBREVIATIONS	xi
ABSTRACT.....	xii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	2
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	4
1.4 Justification of the Study	4
1.4.1 Academic Justification.....	4
1.4.2 Policy Justification.....	4
1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study	5
1.6 Operationalization of Concepts	6
1.6.1 Insecurity.....	6
1.6.2 Economy	6
1.6.3 Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW).....	6
1.7 Literature Review	7
1.7.1 Introduction.....	7
1.7.2 Armed Violence and Conflict	7
1.7.3 Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW).....	9
1.7.4 Cultural Practices	10
1.7.5 Conflicts over Resources	12

1.7.6 Insecurity and Pastoralist’s Economies	12
1.7.7 Summary of the Literature Review	13
1.8 Conceptual Framework.....	14
1.8.1 Summary of the Conceptual Framework	17
1.9 Research Methodology	18
1.9.1 Introduction.....	18
1.9.2 Research Design.....	18
1.9.3 Study Area	18
1.9.4 Target Population.....	18
1.9.5 Sampling Design.....	21
1.9.6 Data Collection Tools	22
1.9.7 Data Collection Procedures.....	22
1.9.8 Data Analysis and Presentation	23
CHAPTER TWO	24
2.0 CAUSES OF INSECURITY IN WEST POKOT COUNTY	24
2.1 Introduction.....	24
2.2 Questionnaire Response Rate	24
2.3 Demographic Information.....	25
2.3.1: Gender of the Respondents.....	25
2.3.2: Age bracket of the Respondents	26
2.3.3: Level of Education.....	27
2.3.4 Marital Status	28
2.3.5: Occupation	29
2.3.6: Personal and Community Security	30
2.4: Causes of Insecurity in West Pokot County	32
2.4.1: Cultural Practices and Insecurity in West Pokot County.....	34

2.4.2: Small Arms and Light Weapons and Insecurity in West Pokot County.....	36
2.4.3: Struggle for Limited Resources	38
2.4.4: Politics and Insecurity.....	39
2.4.5: Other Causes of Insecurity.....	41
CHAPTER THREE	44
3.0 IMPACTS OF INSECURITY TO THE ECONOMY OF WEST POKOT COUNTY ..	44
3.1 Introduction.....	44
3.2 Impacts of Insecurity to the Economy of West Pokot County	44
3.2.1: Impact of Insecurity on Investments.....	44
3.2.2: Implications of Insecurity on Employment Levels.....	46
3.2.3: Impact of Insecurity on Dependency Rates	47
3.2.4: Impact of Insecurity on Trade Relations	48
3.2.5: Impacts of Insecurity on Household Income	50
3.2.6: Impact of Insecurity on Poverty Levels.....	51
3.2.7: Insecurity and Economic Disparities	52
3.2.8: Other Impacts of Insecurity to the Economy of West Pokot County	55
CHAPTER FOUR.....	57
4.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	57
4.1 Introduction.....	57
4.2 Summary of the Findings.....	57
4.3 Conclusions.....	58
4.4 Recommendations.....	59
4.4.1 Causes of Insecurity	59
4.4.2 Policy Recommendations.....	59
4.5 Suggestions for Further Research	60

References	61
APPENDIX A: RESEARCH PERMIT	1
APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE KEY INFORMANTS	2
APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE LOCAL COMMUNITY.....	8

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Conceptual Framework	16
Figure 2.1 Response Rate of the Respondents.....	25
Figure 2.2: Level of Education	28
Figure 2.3: Marital Status	29
Figure 2.4: Occupation	30
Figure 2.5: Respondents' views on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that cultural practices causes insecurity in West Pokot County?.....	36
Figure 2.6: Respondents' views on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that Small Arms and Light Weapons are a root cause of Insecurity in West Pokot County?	37
Figure 2.7: Respondents' views on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that political incitements from leaders has worsened insecurity in West Pokot County?.	41
Figure 3.1: Respondents' opinions on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that insecurity affects investment opportunities in West Pokot County?.....	46
Figure 3.2: Respondents' opinions on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that insecurity has increased dependency rates on food aid in West Pokot County?	48
Figure 3.3: Respondents' opinions on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that insecurity impacts on trade relations?.....	49
Figure 3.4: Respondents' views on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that low household income in West Pokot County is caused by insecurity?	51
Figure 3.5: Respondents' opinions on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that insecurity has contributed to economic disparities between West Pokot County and other counties?	54

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.2: Distribution of Respondents.	19
Table 2.1: Gender of the Respondents	26
Table 2.2: Age bracket of the respondents	27
Table 2.3: Respondents' answer to the Question: Do you feel secure?	32
Table 2.4: Causes of Insecurity.....	34
Table 2.5: Respondents' views on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that struggle for limited resources causes insecurity in West Pokot County?.....	39
Table 2.6: Other causes of Insecurity	43
Table 3.2: Respondents' opinions on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that insecurity has exacerbated the problem of unemployment in West Pokot County?.....	47
Table 3.3 Respondents' views on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that insecurity causes high poverty levels in West Pokot County?.....	52

ABBREVIATIONS

ASAL	Arid and Semi Arid Lands
CJPC	Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
KENGEN	Kenya Electricity Generating Company
KPR	Kenya Police Reserve
MCA	Member of County Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
OCPD	Officer Commanding Police Division
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN	United Nations
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences

ABSTRACT

Insecurity characterized by Small Arms and Light Weapons and armed violence is a defining feature of life in West Pokot County. West Pokot County has not known peace since the advent of colonialism. This study sought to establish the impact of insecurity to the economy of West Pokot County. The study is anchored in the human security concept, based on the view that security entails the protection of individuals from external aggression but includes personal security, economic security, political security and community security as well. The main objective of the study is to assess the impact of insecurity to the economy of West Pokot County. The study focused on the economy since economy is a survival mechanism among the people of West Pokot County. The Pokot community depend on livestock for food and traditional social relations such as dowry payments. The study employed survey method in the collection of data and purposive sampling and random sampling as the sampling design. Questionnaires were administered to 74 respondents. The 74 respondents included 64 community respondents and 10 key informants. The findings were analyzed using SPSS where data was presented in form of graphs, tables and discussion of findings. The findings of the study attribute the problem of insecurity in West Pokot County to cattle rustling activities. The study also notes that border disputes are a major defining characteristic between the Pokot and the Turkana communities. The study concludes that insecurity impacts the economy of West Pokot County by affecting investment opportunities, trade relations and low household income among others. The study recommends the government to use investigative policing to address cattle rustling activities as a way of tackling the persistent insecurity in the County. The study also recommends enhanced synergy between the National Focal points on Small Arms and Light Weapons in Kenya and neighboring countries such as Uganda, Ethiopia and Sudan to curb the problem of proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Africa has pastoralists in over 21 countries. These pastoralists are affected by violent conflicts. (Bevan, 2007:2). Most of the pastoralists are found in East Africa in countries such as Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan, Kenya and the Central African Republic. These pastoralists have acquired SALW which in turn contribute to the problem of insecurity among the pastoral communities (Ibid: 2).

There are about 17.3 million pastoralists in Africa (Sandford, 1983). Pastoralists live mostly in dry, remote areas. Pastoralists are people whose half of their income comes from pastoralism. (Swift 1988).

Pastoralists in Kenya reside mostly in arid and semi-arid land (ASALs). These areas include: the Counties of Turkana, West Pokot, Baringo, Marsabit, Samburu and Laikipia. Pastoralist communities include Turkana, Samburu and Pokot among others.

This study focused on West Pokot County because West Pokot County is an example of a pastoral region that has limited government presence that continues to experience insecurity. (Wepundi, Nthiga, Kabuu, Murray, & Frate, 2012). The state seems to have failed to provide security in West Pokot County. It is one of the Counties that have little confidence in the ability of government to provide security (Ibid 2012).

West Pokot County is occupied by the Pokot community. The Pokot also occupy Baringo County in Kenya and eastern Karamoja region in Uganda. They are divided into pastoralists and agro pastoralists¹.

According to Buzan (1991), security is freedom from threats and the ability of communities to maintain their identity. In the case of West Pokot County, insecurity refers to loss of lives and

Swift (1988)¹ Agro pastoralists are pastoralists whose half of their incomes comes from livestock the rest from cultivation.

loss of livestock which is caused by acts such as cattle rustling and raiding, threats from people in possession of SALW and conflicts arising from struggle for resources. Insecurity has haunted West Pokot County-a semi arid area inhabited by the Pokot community.

The current causes and patterns of insecurity among pastoral communities include tribalism, scarcity of resources, availability of SALW from neighboring countries and cultural practices such as cattle rustling, poor governance and incitement from political leaders. (Kumssa, William, & Jones, 2001).

The problem of insecurity has impacted on the economy of West Pokot County. Wepundi et al (2012), argues that insecurity brought about by SALW has impacted on revenue collection; the locals are unable to access education and health facilities due to insecurity. This view is supported by Kamenju et al (2003) who have argued that insecurity erodes the prospect of development.

The economic indicators in West Pokot County show that it is among the poorest counties. The household incomes are very low. According to the Kenya National Housing survey (2015), the average household income is Ksh 2000. Findings from the Kenya Institute for Public Research and Analysis (2013), indicates that West Pokot County has a poverty level of above 70 per cent as compared to neighboring Uasin Gishu County whose poverty level is at 49 per cent.

This view is supported by Watkins and Alemayehu who argue that in the ASALs, West Pokot County is among the Counties that have the highest poverty incidence (Watkins & Alemayehu, 2012:19).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Insecurity has haunted West Pokot County, a semi arid area inhabited by the Pokot community since the advent of colonialism. Just like the colonial government, the Kenyan post-independence government implemented policies that marginalized the northern parts of the country,- (the present day counties of Turkana, West Pokot and Marsabit among others) while developing the high potential areas comprising the present day- counties of Kiambu, Nyeri,Uasin

Gishu and Kericho among others. The successive governments also ignored northern Kenya in terms of development and provision of security. (UNCRD 1998). The consequences of this marginalization have manifested themselves through insecurity and generally poor economic indicators.

West Pokot County is among the marginalized areas where the state has continued to fail to provide security. This failure has resulted in widespread insecurity characterized by cattle rustling, banditry and economic underdevelopment. Consequently, citizens in many parts of the county have resorted to arming themselves through the acquisition of SALW to protect themselves and their property. (Kamenju et al 2003).

In addition, scarcity of resources, ethnic animosity and political incitement have also contributed to the problem of insecurity. There has been a persistence of the problem of insecurity despite efforts by the government to curb it. West Pokot County is one of the least developed counties in Kenya as exhibited by low household incomes, high poverty levels, high dependency rates and high unemployment rates. (Pkalya et al 2003).

Economy of the Pokot community is heavily dependent on cattle as their source of livelihoods for the majority of citizens. According to Nganga (2012), the Pokot community attaches great importance to cattle as a measure of wealth. Their traditional rites revolve around cattle, while their food is mainly from cattle. Thus, persistent insecurity, particularly linked to cattle rustling has a direct impact on Pokot's economy and livelihood. This study sought to examine how the problem of insecurity has impacted on the economy and livelihoods of the Pokot Community.

1.3 Research Questions

The study addressed the following questions:

1.3.1 What are the underlying causes of the persistent problem of insecurity in West Pokot County?

1.3.2 In what ways has insecurity impacted on the economy of West Pokot County?

1.4 Study Objectives

The study's main objective was to examine the causes of insecurity and impacts to the economy of West Pokot County.

The study also sought to fulfill the following specific objectives:

1.4.1 To identify the underlying causes of the persistent problem of insecurity in West Pokot County.

1.4.2 To assess how insecurity has affected economy of West Pokot County.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The study has both academic and policy justifications.

1.5.1 Academic Justification

Pastoralist communities and particularly the people of West Pokot County have not known peace since the post independence period. Scholars have written on insecurity and have cited struggle for resources, SALW, cattle rustling and marginalization as the causes of insecurity.

There are numerous questions regarding the causal association between insecurity and the economy of West Pokot County which remain unanswered. The findings of this study will add onto existing knowledge on insecurity particularly the link between insecurity and the economy of West Pokot County which has continued to deteriorate. Lastly, the study will form a basis for future research and the growth of a body of knowledge about underlying causes of insecurity among pastoralists.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

Insecurity and its attendant negative consequences have persisted in West Pokot County despite the government's efforts to contain it. This means that the existing policy frameworks to address insecurity are ineffective. This study thus seeks to suggest new policy options for the

government and other stake holders in the struggle to find lasting solutions to insecurity. The lagging behind in development in West Pokot County and the low socio- economic indices compared to other regions at the national levels, call for a re-examination of the policies to address the problem of insecurity in pastoral zones in Kenya.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study focused on the economic implications of insecurity in West Pokot County. The study concentrated on the economic aspect because economy is a survival aspect for the Pokot. Their livestock gives them milk, meat, hides/skin and it also forms a basis for traditional social relations such as dowry payments and compensation of injured people in conflicts. Being a pastoralist community, their livelihood is dependent on livestock. This study did not dwell on the social impacts of insecurity because much has been written about these.

The study faced several challenges; accessing some sections in Pokot North was not easy since West Pokot County is characterized by escarpments, mountains and hills and this made it inaccessible. The general status of the roads is very poor and is not accessible during rainy seasons. The terrain is also hilly and makes movement a challenge.(West Pokot County Intergated Plan 2013-2017). However, the researcher overcame the obstacle by having interviews through telephone calls to respondents who reside in areas that were not accessible.

Some of the respondents were not willing to be interviewed since matters of insecurity are very sensitive to them. Some interviewees thought that the researcher was an enemy or had been sent by their enemies. Some thought that the researcher was one of the government authorities with an intention of getting information about various acts and actors of insecurity. However, the researcher overcame the challenge by doing a preliminary visit to meet with the local chiefs and by using a local person as the research assistant to avoid suspicion. The researcher also assured the respondents of confidentiality and created a good rapport with the respondents.

Financial and time constraints were a limitation to the study due to the vastness of the area. The study covered West Pokot County which has four constituencies namely Kapenguria, Kacheliba, Sigor and Pokot South. The researcher addressed the problem by focusing on two sub locations in each of these three constituencies: Kacheliba, Pokot South and Sigor. This is because

insecurity is rampant in these areas. The researcher also sourced enough funds for the research beforehand.

Language barrier was a major obstacle as most of the Pokot community did not understand English. This made it harder to translate from English to Pokot dialect. These translations were time consuming and also had an impact on the quality of the response received. The researcher overcame the obstacle by using an interpreter/research assistant who had a good grasp of English, Swahili and Pokot languages since the study required some level of education.

1.7 Operationalization of Concepts

The key concepts used in the study are defined below.

1.7.1 Insecurity

Insecurity in this study can be understood to mean that the people of West Pokot County are exposed to threats such as harsh climatic conditions; their lives are threatened by the fact that people have SALW.

1.7.2 Economy

Economy in the case of West Pokot County can be understood to mean the system of production for the Pokot which basically comes from pastoral activities and agro pastoralist activities and how they distribute their products through trading activities.

1.7.3 Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)

In this particular study, SALW can be understood to mean portable and light weapons for use as lethal instruments which include AK-47, Mark 4, HK11 and MAN PADS which are used for cattle rustling activities, to commit crimes such as holdups, assault and to protect the Pokot community against attacks. In the case of West Pokot County, these could also include traditional weapons such as spears, machetes and *panga*.

1.8 Literature Review

1.8.1 Introduction

The literature was reviewed according to the two objectives of the study. The first section reviewed theoretical writings on the underlying causes of insecurity which includes; armed violence among pastoralist communities, SALW as factors contributing to insecurity in the North Rift and culture and lifestyle of pastoralist communities as well as natural resource conflict in Northern central Nigeria. The second section covers literature based on the second objective; impact of insecurity on pastoralists' economies. The general aim of the review is to highlight what is known about the problem with which this study concerns itself. The specific aim is to capture the extent the available literature relates to the impacts of insecurity on the economy of West Pokot County. The review also seeks to identify existing gaps in the literature, and to attempt to fill those gaps.

1.8.2 Literature Review on the Causes of Insecurity in the County of West Pokot.

1.8.2.1 Armed Violence and Conflict

Bevan in his work; *Armed Violence among Pastoralist Communities*, surveys the problem of armed violence among pastoralists in Africa. He argues that armed violence is caused by the struggle for scarce resources and raiding which is a cultural practice among pastoralists. In addition, the little police presence and the limited infrastructure makes the government unable to monitor and police these areas (Bevan, 2007:3).

He argues that one emerging trend of pastoralists conflict is the commercialization of cattle rustling which is facilitated by availability of markets. In addition, he argues that the raiding is done with an intention of making profit where raiders are rewarded by businessmen to raid cattle which is later paid in hard currency.

He cites scarcity of natural resources such as water and grazing lands as a cause of conflict among pastoralist communities. The climatic conditions cause herders to come into conflict with each other. Some of the effects include loss and injury of people and supply of SALW and

pastoral politicization. Lastly he gives ways that have been used by the government and international agencies to reduce armed violence. Disarmament is one of the ways but Bevan argues that state's intervention has primarily focused on disarmament but failed to adopt a holistic approach such as supply side measures to stem the movement of weapons into these communities. Alternative livelihoods have also been used to reduce armed violence by diverting their attention to other ways of getting income.

Whereas Bevan concentrates on the factors causing armed violence in Africa and social impact of armed violence, the study failed to recognize the fact that even the economies of pastoralists are impacted by these armed violence. This study seeks to understand effects of this armed violence to the economy of pastoralists and particularly in West Pokot County, and other underlying factors of insecurity.

Pkalya, Adan and Masinde, discusses conflict in Northern Kenya. They argue that the causes of conflicts include cattle rustling, banditry, resource competition, access of SALW and lack of enough policing and incitement by political leaders. This work argues that political leaders create conflicts by instigating politics that disenfranchise 'enemy' community voters during electioneering period (Pkalya, Mahamoud, & Masinde, 2003:24). They also cite proliferation of SALW which has made traditional raiding more severe, frequent deadly and a commercial venture.

This literature also analyzes social impacts of cattle rustling and banditry. Some of the impacts include highway robbery and displacement of people. Some of the coping mechanisms include appointing non-partisan leaders, stepping up of local security and educating the community through chief's *barazas*², radio and political rallies.

While the their work discusses insecurity in depth and the social impacts of insecurity in Northern Kenya, this study sought to investigate how these acts of insecurity have continued to impact on the economies of pastoralists particularly West Pokot County, an aspect which Pkalya,

² A baraza is a gathering held to raise awareness, forge relationships and share collective wisdom.

Adan and Masinde study did not take into consideration. On the other hand, this literature was more specific and analyzed the causes of insecurity in different counties in Kenya.

1.8.2.2 Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)

Kamenju, Wairagu and Mwachofi in their work *Terrorized Citizens: Profiling Small Arms and Insecurity in the North Rift Region of Kenya*, details the proliferation of SALW in the North Rift region of Kenya and insecurity. The literature looks at the root causes of the gun culture in the region. The first guns to arrive in West Pokot County came from the Turkana community in 1975. SALW have made it easier for them to protect their pasture and water points for their livestock. The availability of SALW has also made raiding and cattle rustling easier. This work also surveys the routes and markets for these SALW. These SALW come from neighboring countries such as Somalia, Uganda, Ethiopia and Sudan (Kamenju et al 2003:55).

Lastly the work looks at the effect of SALW and some of the government responses to curb the problem. Some of the effects include closure of government offices and non-governmental organizations and only few are remaining and a lot of wealth and property has gone into purchasing arms. The government has responded by deploying regular police officers to patrol the area and recruited and issued the Kenya police reservists (KPR) with guns to assist in patrolling the area. There have also been security operations to confiscate SALW from the citizens.

They argue that insecurity erodes the prospects of development and that there can be no development where conflict especially violent conflict exists. While the work surveys the problem of insecurity in West Pokot County and other counties in the North Rift region, it dwells much on the proliferation of SALW. This study seeks to find out other underlying causes of insecurity apart from SALW and the effects they have to the economy of West Pokot County. Unlike the aforementioned work, this study recognized the fact that the economies of pastoralists in the North Rift region are affected by insecurity.

1.8.2.3 Natural Resource Conflicts in North Central Nigeria

According to Blench (2004) in his work, *Natural resource conflicts in North Central Nigeria*, he looks at conflicts between herders, farmers fishermen and hunters. According to Blench, Africa

has had a complex repertoire of Common Property Resource systems. But increasingly these have broken down all over the continent, both because of excessive use and because of a trend towards individualized land ownership, a trend promoted by donors for ideological reasons over resources.

He highlights types of conflicts such as pastoralists and cultivators, fishermen and hunters against pastoralists, large scale agriculture against traditional land users among others. Of these, the conflict between livestock producers and cultivators is dominant both geographically and in the literature, principally because it occurs throughout the semi-arid zone.

In northern central Nigeria, the main resources that are contested include waters that are overfished, forest cut down and pasture. On a larger, national scale, access to oil, minerals and timber fuels civil and international war.

Blench also discusses some of the conflict management strategies such as traditional authorities where the village elders and district heads are called to solve conflicts. According to him, traditional authorities have played a role to resolve the conflicts since they already have ground rules which different groups in Northern central Nigeria are familiar with.

The literature review has highlighted causes of insecurity among pastoralists in Northern central Nigeria which is mainly resource based. This has given an insight on to the causes of insecurity among the pastoralists which is a similar scenario between the people of West Pokot county and the people in Turkana county. The literature reviewed has not looked at other causes that could be causing the conflict and their impact to the economy and livelihoods. This study therefore sought to find out other causes of insecurity among pastoralists in West Pokot County and how these acts of insecurity have affected their economy.

1.8.2.4 Cultural Practices

Osamba in his work; *Sociology of Insecurity and New Forms of Banditry and Cattle Rustling in North Western Kenya* gives the origin of cattle rustling as a practice that was sanctioned and controlled by elders in the community. Cattle rustling has undergone a transformation from a cultural practice that showed bravery and prowess to bloody warfare between various groups. In

addition, marginalization of pastoralists and state repression also contribute to the problem of cattle rustling (Osamba, 2006:12).

Osamba's work details the causal factors of the new trends in cattle rustling and banditry such as ecological impediments, militarism and warlordism. Ecological impediments such as drought have contributed to rising case of cattle rustling because natural catastrophe causes death of animals and cattle rustling become a strategy to restock the animals.

He argues that the state has failed to take control of the bandits in North Western Kenya and this has led to these communities to militarize their operations. Lastly he looks at the social economic effects of cattle rustling and banditry which include; loss of lives, breakdown of social order and economic hardships. This study shares a similar thought arguing that cattle rustling is a source of insecurity in the region. In contrast, this study concentrates with examining how acts of insecurity in West Pokot County have continued to impact to the economy which continues to lag behind.

Cheserek, Omondi and Odenyo's work (2012), looks at the nature and causes of cattle rustling among some pastoralist communities in Kenya. Their work surveys conflicts in the North Rift region among the Marakwet and Pokot communities. They argue that conflicts among the two communities are mainly resource based. The literature starts at looking at raiding which was a culturally accepted practice. The cultural practice has transformed to what is referred to as 'cattle rustling' with the main weapons used being guns. Cattle rustling has become a commercial entity along the boundaries of pastoralists and stolen livestock are never recovered. The actors in cattle rustling involve politically linked and power wielding personalities (Cheserek, Omondi, & Odenyo, 2012:173).

Proliferation of SALW, commercializing of cattle raids, political incitements and poverty have also contributed to severity of cattle rustling among the Pokot and the Marakwet communities. They also look at the social impacts of cattle rustling on the Pokot the Marakwet communities. These include: migration from ancestral lands to safer lands which cause families to lose touch with their clans and increased rate of orphans and widows as most men are killed during these acts of cattle rustling.

While Cheserek et al work looks at cattle rustling and the social impacts of these acts, it is clear that their study didn't envisage a scenario whereby there could be a linkage between acts of cattle rustling and the economy of pastoralists.

1.8.2.5 Conflicts over Resources in Pastoral areas in Kenya

Umar in his work *Resource Utilization Conflict and Insecurity in Pastoral Areas of Kenya*, discusses the three main causes of conflicts: the bitter localized conflict over resources between poor pastoralists groups, national level conflicts with state authorities and the struggle for meaningful development cognisant and respectful of social and ecological realities of arid areas (Umar, 2004:5). He gives reasons why conflict is prevalent among pastoralists. First, he argues that there is a myth that nomadic communities are traditional warlike and aggressive. These communities gained identity and a sense of being through acts of wars with neighbors. Secondly, insecurity is a symptom of underlying deeper problems that need to be solved if the insecurity is to be resolved. These root problems include group competition in an environment of changing but undefined tenure arrangements, growing scarcity of resources, increasing absolute poverty with little alternative employment outside traditional pastoralism. He also gives land as a major cause of conflict among pastoralist communities where large clans try to expand their land by attacking and terrorizing their weaker neighbours.

Lastly, he gives some of the institutions involved in resolving conflicts such as; traditional methods where peace talks are held between warring communities, non-governmental organizations and the Kenya pastoralists forum. From Umar's work, it is clear there exists a correlation between struggle for resources and insecurity, the study failed to look at other factors that have contributed to insecurity and their economic implications on the County of West Pokot

1.8.3. Literature Review on the Impact of Insecurity to the Economy of West Pokot County.

1.8.3.1 Insecurity and Karamoja's Economy

Bevan in his work; *Crisis in Karamoja: Armed Violence and the Failure of Disarmament in Uganda's most Deprived Region*, argues that armed violence which causes insecurity in the region has caused most farmers not to exploit fertile land further afield and instead rely on over farmed plots close to villages and towns. The pronounced differences between development and

humanitarian access in the north and access in Karamoja are reflected in desperate development indicators. Despite 20 years of war in the northern region, Karamoja's development indicators continue to rank lower (Bevan 2008:44).

Bevan's work has provided insights on how insecurity affects the economy of pastoralists and the unmistakable linkage between insecurity and economy of the Karamoja pastoralists community in Uganda. This study seeks to undertake a similar study to that undertaken by Bevan, except that its focus is West Pokot County which neighbours Karamoja to the East.

1.8.3.2 Impact of Conflicts on Pastoral Communities Resilience in the Horn of Africa

Ochieng, Abate, Kimani and Tuhairwe in a report titled; *Impacts of Conflicts on Pastoral Communities' Resilience in the Horn of Africa*, looks at causes of conflicts, impacts of conflicts and coping strategies of pastoralists. They argue that conflicts among pastoralists are caused by struggle for resources, disputes over political and administrative boundaries, cattle raids and counter raids. In Ethiopia, the borana's social networks and historical links are undermined, development opportunities are undermined and the economy is jeopardized as a result of conflicts. The resulting insecurity endangers loss of opportunities for the concerned communities as resources that could be used to improve economic and social opportunities and directed at security and peace building operations, while potential partners for development are discouraged from investing in the communities (Ochieng, 2012:12).

Ochieng et al work is useful in explaining how insecurity impacts on the economy of Borana pastoralist communities in the horn of Africa who share a similar problem of insecurity with West Pokot County. This study seeks to understand the implications of insecurity on the economy of West Pokot County.

1.8.4 Summary of the Literature Review

In summary, the literature review has looked at armed violence among pastoralists in Kenya, the literature review also looked at SALW in North Rift region of Kenya, and how cultural practices

have contributed to the problem of insecurity. The literature review also looked at natural resource conflicts in northern central Nigeria. Finally the literature reviewed also looked at insecurity and pastoral economies in the horn of Africa.

The literature reviewed shows the existence of a gap where there is an assumption from the literature reviewed that cultural practices, conflict over resources and SALW are the only contributing factors to insecurity in West Pokot county while there could be other factors that contribute to the persistent problem of insecurity. The study then seeks to fill that gap by examining other underlying causes of the problem of insecurity and the consequences of insecurity to the economy of pastoralists particularly West Pokot County.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

The study used the human security approach to explain insecurity in West Pokot County and its impacts to the economy. The human security approach can be traced back in the 1990s with the emergence of international interventions for the purpose of peace building to the 1980s where it was linked to the emergence of narratives of human centered development associated with the Brandt commission (Christie and Acharya 2008: 5). The human security approach evolved as a result of the rejection of the state centric security practices and because of the increasing attention to development in the south. Human security includes matters such as hunger, crime, environmental change and sustainable development.

Thakur (1997) defines human security as the quality of life of the people of a society or polity. Anything which degrades their quality of life such as demographic pressures, diminished access to stock or resources, and so on is a security threat. Conversely, anything which can upgrade their quality of life such as economic growth, improved access to resources, social and political empowerment among others is an enhancement of human security. In the case of West Pokot County, the quality of life is degraded through constant conflicts and the diminishing resources are evident through scarcity of water and pasture for their animals.

The United Nations Development Programme in its human development report published in 1994, defines human security and argued that it should include these seven threats: food security,

economic security, health security environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

According to Alkire (2003), this definition by UNDP has bridged the gap between freedom from want and freedom from fear. This means freedom from violence and poverty. This approach cuts into the heart of the security concerns that affect pastoralists and particularly West Pokot county because its key premises are concerned with safety from chronic attacks such as hunger, repression as well as sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life.

This study used the human security approach to help understand personal and societal security in West Pokot County as opposed to state security which deals with security of the territory through protection from external aggression or protection of national interests. Human security entails freedom and protection from gross human rights violations, large scale displacement of civilian populations, violence, scarcity of food and water. The problem of insecurity in West Pokot County is more of personal and societal security than territorial aggression which is an important component of state security.

There is need to focus the attention from looking at insecurity in West Pokot County from a state centric view to a human security approach because state security is concerned with the interests of the state, boundaries, people and institutions Human security approach on the other hand, is people-centered. Its focus shifts to protecting individuals. The important dimensions are to entail the well-being of individuals and to respond to ordinary people's needs in dealing with sources of threats. State security is concerned with external aggression and how to protect the state territory while human security is concerned with other threats such as environmental pollution and economic deprivation. (Kumssa et al 2001). State security has failed to yield any fruits in the County of West Pokot because of the forceful disarmament efforts by the military and KPRs that have been used to track bandits.

John Locke in his Second Treatise of Government (1689), discusses the nature of man as a social being. He discusses social contract which simply addresses the origin of society and the legitimacy of the authority of the state over the individuals. Social contract arguments posit that individuals have consented explicitly to surrender some of their freedoms and submit to the

authority of the ruler in exchange of their protection of rights. The state therefore has the responsibility of protecting its citizens. In the case of West Pokot County, the state has failed to provide security and the locals have refused to obey the law by arming themselves to protect themselves and their cattle from external and internal threats. This view is supported by Hobbes in his work *Leviathan* (1651), who argues that the citizens are not obliged to submit to the government when it is too weak to suppress factionalism and civil unrest. When the government fails to secure their natural rights, citizens can withdraw their obligation to obey or change their leadership, through elections or other means including violence when necessary.

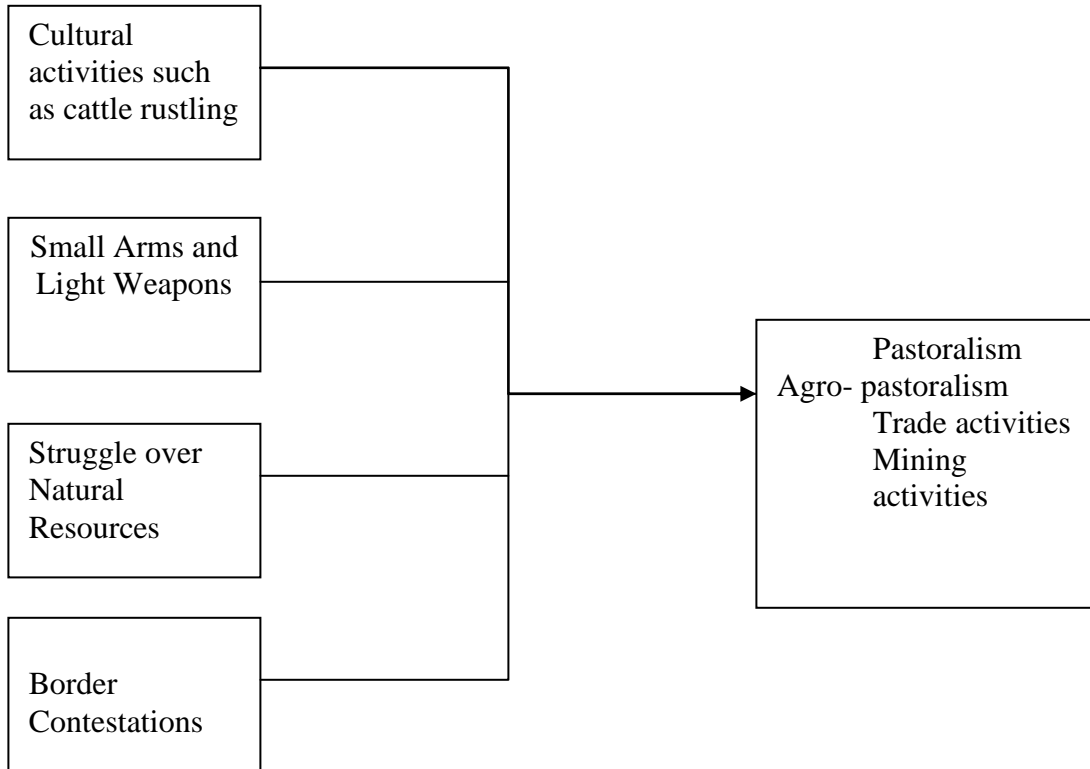
The human security approach will help this study in understanding and explaining causes of insecurity and the impact on the economy of West Pokot County since human security approach encompasses economic security among other threats. Economic security includes enough food, availability of enough resources, low levels of poverty, equity of opportunities and open access to markets among others. Human security approach will help to explain how the people of West Pokot County have been deprived of a livelihood by various acts of insecurity.

The conceptual framework is illustrated by fig 1.1 and explained in the subsequent section. In this study, the independent variable is insecurity while economy is the dependent variable.

Figure 1.1 Conceptual Framework

Insecurity

Economy



Source, Author **2015**

1.8.1 Summary of the Conceptual Framework

Insecurity has had an effect on the economy of West Pokot County. Left with no intervention, insecurity would have serious consequences on the economy. Under the human security approach, the state has failed in its role to provide security to the people of West Pokot County and this concept fits well in the context of pastoralist’s conflicts due to the prolonged nature of pastoral conflicts and their characteristics to defy state intervention which can be traced to problems that a human security perspective highlights.

1.9 Research Methodology

1.9.1 Introduction

This section describes how the research was conducted. This section focuses on; research design, study area, target population, sampling design, data collection tools, data collection procedures and data analysis and presentation.

1.9.2 Research Design

The study used cross sectional study design. This was useful to the study as because it aimed at finding out the prevalence of conflict between the Pokot and the Turkana, by taking a cross-section of the population. The researcher did this by taking a cross-sectional of the study population. Questionnaires and face to face interviews were conducted as they give immediate feedback and there is personal contact between the researcher and the respondents.

1.9.3 Study Area

The study was undertaken in West Pokot County. It is situated in the North Rift along Kenya's Western boundary with Uganda border. It borders Turkana County to the North and North East, Trans Nzoia County to the South, Elgeyo Marakwet County and Baringo County to the South East and East respectively. The County covers an area of approximately 9,169.4 km² stretching a distance of 132 km from North to South. West Pokot County has four constituencies namely Kapenguria, Kacheliba, Sigor and Pokot South. West Pokot County has a population of 512,690. It is composed of 257,863 females and 254,827 males (2009 census). It has the following sub-counties: West Pokot, Pokot Central, Pokot South and North Pokot. The county has 13 divisions but this study focused on three divisions: Sigor in Pokot Central Sub County, Kacheliba in Pokot North Sub County and Chepareria in Pokot South Sub County. The reason for focusing on these three sub-counties is that they are among the worst affected by insecurity in the county.

1.9.4 Target Population

The researcher targeted to sample a hundred respondents; twenty key informants and eighty respondents from the local community. The hundred respondents were arrived at using the Nassiuma's formulae (2000).

$$n = Ncv^2 / (cv^2 + (N-1)e^2)$$

n=sample size

cv=coefficient of variation take 0.5. N=Total population

E²=Take 0.05 at 95% level of confidence.

Total population for the three divisions is 373, 187 (2009 census).

$$n = 373187 * 0.5 * 0.5 / 0.5 * 0.5 + (373187 - 1) * 0.05 * 0.05$$

$$n = 93,296.75 / 932.965$$

$$n = 100.002679.$$

The researcher targeted to sample 100 respondents as follows; 2 sub locations in each of three divisions would be sampled. In each of the six locations, six households would be sampled. Two respondents would be sampled in each household. The remaining 8 respondents would be sampled in Pokot North Sub County and Pokot South Sub County because insecurity is rampant in these divisions as they are in the borders. This would make total of 80 community respondents and 20 key informants. The following table shows the distribution of targeted respondents.

Table 1.2: Distribution of Targeted Respondents.

Respondents	Numbers
OCPD-Pokot Central Sub county	1
MCA-Sekerr ward, Chepareria ward and Suam ward.	3
Assistant County Commissioner-Pokot Central Sub County	1
Assistant County Commissioner-Pokot South Sub County	1

Deputy County Commissioner-Pokot North Sub County	1
World Vision International-Peace Building Program manager	1
ACTED	1
UNICEF	1
SIKOM	1
USAID	1
Religious Leaders	6
Members of Parliament-Sigor and Kacheliba constituencies.	2
Community Respondents:	24
Pokot South sub county	28
Pokot North sub county	28
Pokot central sub county	

Total: 100 respondents.

The researcher managed to sample the following; 10 key informants: three members of County Assembly (MCA) from Sekerr ward in Sigor constituency, Suam ward in Kacheliba Constituency and Chepareria ward in Chepareria constituency, three Assistant County Commissioners from the three divisions, 2 religious leaders; one from CJPC working in the area, one official from World Vision International which is a major NGO working in the region and one security agent; the (OCPD). The MCAs provided useful information on insecurity in their respective wards.

Key informants were useful because they had vital information on the problem of insecurity in the County. The community respondents sampled were 64 in total. They were useful because they get affected directly by insecurity. Women and children are displaced; the men in the community have to keep watch of their families and their livestock. Young men/warriors are among the active participants of some of the cultural practices such as cattle rustling and raiding that contribute to insecurity. The business community has been adversely affected by insecurity; some have lost property and some have been forced to close their businesses due to fear of attacks.

1.9.5 Sampling Design

The study used various sampling methods. Purposive sampling was used because it helped the researcher to use cases that have the information required by the study. This particular sampling technique was used for selecting key informants. This is because by virtue of their positions they have vital information about insecurity in West Pokot County. The study also employed stratified sampling to sample the local respondents in order to obtain a representative sample. The population was divided into several strata. Since each stratum is more homogenous than the total population it gives more reliable and detailed information.

Respondents from the local community were selected in 6 sub-locations i.e., two from each of the three divisions. In Chepareria division, respondents were sampled from Chepareria and Kosulol sub-locations. In Sigor division, respondents were sampled from Tikit and Akiriamet sub-locations and in Kacheliba division respondents were sampled from Kacheliba and Karon sub-locations.

In each sub-location, households were selected using stratified sampling technique. In Tikit sub location, 12 respondents were sampled, in Akiriamet sub location, 12 respondents were sampled, 12 respondents and 10 respondents were sampled in Chepareria and Kosulol sub locations respectively. In Kacheliba sub location, 10 respondents were sampled and 8 respondents were sampled in Karon sub location. Several respondents' selection procedures including head of household selection, first adult selection and alphabetical ordering of names were used in each household.

1.9.6 Data Collection Tools

The study used both primary and secondary sources. The study used secondary sources such as periodicals, journals, reports, internet sources, policy papers, presented papers and books. These sources provided insight on what is known about the problem of insecurity in West Pokot County.

With regard to primary sources, the study used questionnaires. The questionnaires were closed ended and open ended. Closed ended questions are easier to analyze and easier to administer. Open ended questions on the other hand, gives respondents complete freedom of response. However, open ended questions have a disadvantage in that they are hard to analyze and might give some information that might not be useful to the researcher. (Newman 2009).

1.9.7 Data Collection Procedures

Before the actual data collection exercise, the researcher together with research assistant did a preliminary exercise to familiarize with the geographical features, culture, social dynamics and language. This helped to establish contacts and to avoid suspicion by the local people. The researcher also made appointments with church officials, government officials, and NGOs.

Pre- testing was done to ensure that quality data was collected. It was also to help the respondents to understand and interpret the questions or items in the questionnaire. The actual fieldwork involved administering questionnaires both self administered and some were administered by the researcher. Self administered questionnaires were given to people who could fill them by themselves such as government officials, security personnel, Non-governmental organizations. The researcher together with the research assistant admitted to people who did not have the ability to easily interpret the questions probably because of their education level. Post-field work involved getting the completed tools from the field to where data analysis was conducted. To avoid loss of information, questionnaires were administered and taken back immediately. Data coding and entry was done immediately to avoid piling up of data. The instruments used were kept safe for future references after transferring data to the computer.

1.9.8 Data Analysis and Presentation

After completing the data collection, qualitative and quantitative data analysis was undertaken. Quantitative analysis was used to analyze data because it looks at relationships between variables and can establish cause and effect in highly controlled circumstances and often reduces and restructures a complex problem to a limited number of variables. Qualitative data was used because the information was richer and has a deeper insight into the phenomenon under study.

Quantitative data was analyzed using a computer program called statistical package for social science (SPSS). This was done by defining a set of variables then data for the variables was entered to create a number of cases. After the data was entered into SPSS, the cases were defined by values stored in the variables. Then an analysis was done.

Quantitative data was presented in form of tables, pie charts and graphs. SPSS is faster and has basic function access like descriptive statistics i.e. mean standard deviation and median. It also has a wide variety of graphs, charts and statistical tests.

Qualitative data was analyzed through coding against the set objectives of the study. The researcher grouped individual responses according to the objectives they belong then relevant information was obtained from the grouped responses. The information was then be presented using content analysis where the responses were grouped thematically.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 CAUSES OF INSECURITY IN WEST POKOT COUNTY

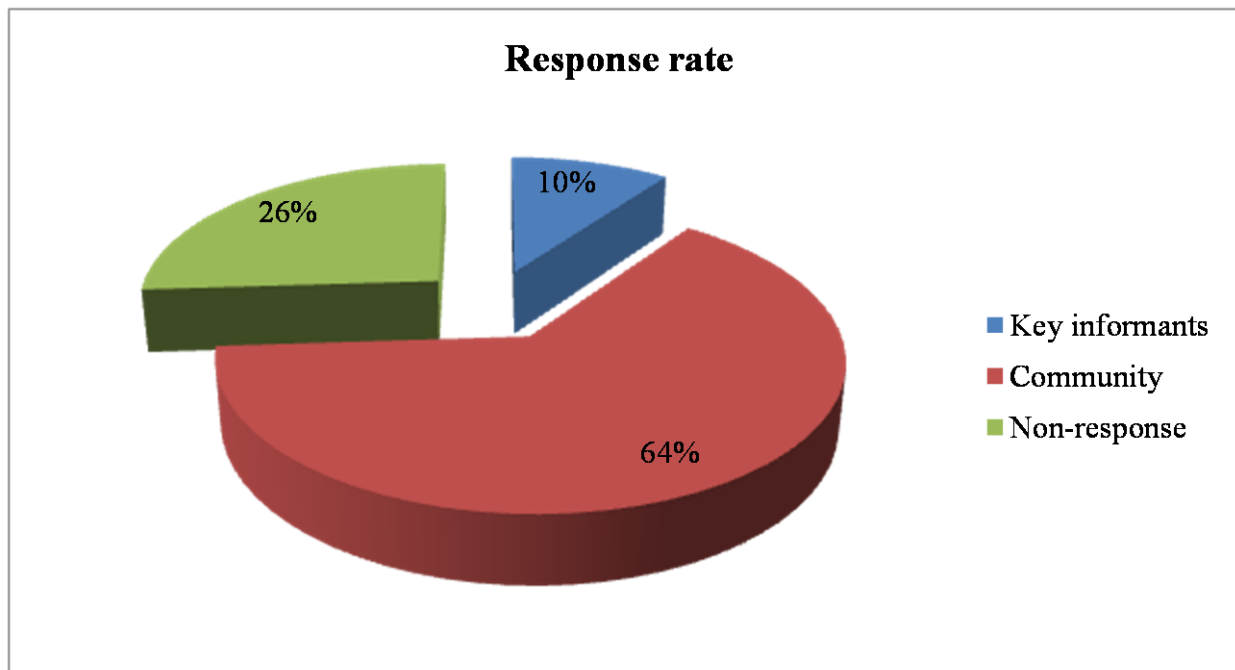
2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the findings of the underlying causes of insecurity in West Pokot County. This is one of the study objectives which sought to identify the causes of insecurity in West Pokot County; it seeks to answer the first research question: What are the underlying causes of the persistent problem of insecurity in West Pokot County? The findings are presented in form of tables showing frequencies and percentages, pie charts, bar graphs and a discussion of the responses.

2.2 Questionnaire Response Rate

This study used a questionnaire as a tool for data collection. The researcher targeted three divisions where a total of 80 community respondents were targeted and 20 key informants. Out of the 100 respondents, 64 respondents and 10 key informants responded. This represents a response rate of 74%. This was attributed to the fact that some of the respondents were not available in their homes when the researcher visited them and the fact that the households are scattered in West Pokot County. The results are distributed below in figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Response Rate of the Respondents



Source: Generated from Study Data, 2015

2.3 Demographic Information

As part of the demographic information, the researcher requested the respondents to indicate their gender, age bracket, the level of education and the means of earning a living. The demographic information was deemed important for the study because gender provides the study with a variety of responses from both genders. The level of education helps to ascertain the quality of responses. Since the study was investigating how insecurity affects the economy then it was important to ask the respondents how they earned a living to know how various occupations are affected by insecurity. Marital status was useful to the study as it helped to know how the family as a unit of the bigger West Pokot community is affected by insecurity.

2.3.1: Gender of the Respondents

On the gender, the study found that 53.1% of the respondents were male while female formed 46.9% of the respondents. This shows that most of the respondents were males. This was attributed to the fact that the Pokot culture does not permit women to talk to strangers especially

when the males are present. Women are believed to be subordinate to men. For example, since the researcher had intended to interview two respondents per household, there were cases where female respondents declined to be interviewed because it was deemed that whatever they were going to say had already been said by their husbands. The researcher also sought an opinion from one of the research assistants in Pokot South Sub County who said that, men dealt with greater issues such as conflict and security as the society see them as stronger than women. Women's role is confined to house chores, taking care of the children and in many cases they are the sole breadwinners, and they have to make sure food is available on the table. The gender question was beneficial to the study as men gave vital information about insecurity in the region although women suffered the most when attacks occurred.

The results are shown below on table 2.1

Table 2.1: Gender of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid male	34	53.1	53.1	53.1
Valid female	30	46.9	46.9	100.0
Total	64	100.0	100.0	

2.3.2: Age bracket of the Respondents

According to table 2.3.2 and in order of percentages, 40.6 % of the respondents were aged between 35 to 45 years. Those aged between 45 to 55years were 25% of the respondents while those aged between 25-35 years were 17.2%. Those aged between 55 to 65 years were 7.8% of the total respondents. Those aged over 70 years were 1.6% and 3.1% were aged between 15-25 years.

From the findings, it can deduced that majority of the respondents were aged between 35 to 45 years. This was attributed to the fact this group was non-school going and was therefore available for interviews. This was beneficial to the study since this group has information on any impending attacks by enemy communities as well as planning reprisals, consequently leading to insecurity. The findings are presented in table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Age bracket of the respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 15-25	2	3.1	3.1	3.1
25-35	11	17.2	17.2	20.3
35-45	26	40.6	40.6	60.9
45-55	16	25.0	25.0	85.9
55-65	5	7.8	7.8	93.8
65-75	3	4.7	4.7	98.4
75-85	1	1.6	1.6	100.0
Total	64	100.0	100.0	

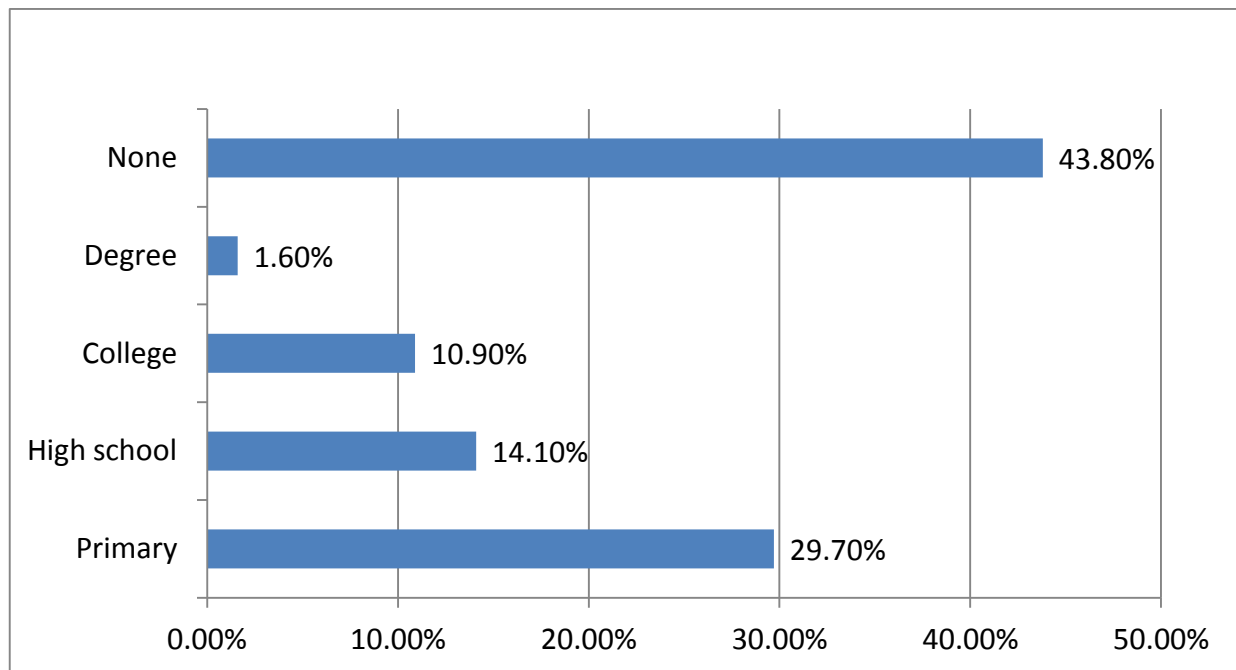
2.3.3: Level of Education

Majority of the respondents; 43.8% did not have any formal education while 29.7% had primary school education. Those who had attained high school education were 14.1% while 12.5% had post- secondary education.

From the findings, it can be deduced that the literacy levels are very low since a majority of the respondents are illiterate and a significant number have primary education. Majority of the women have no formal education. This can be attributed to the fact that there are few schools, colleges and polytechnics in the region. Some schools have been closed down and teachers have fled because of insecurity. In Masol location in Pokot Central Sub County, Moi Masol primary school closed down in 1992 following an attack by bandits from the neighboring Turkana County.

The results are tabulated in the fig 2.2 below.

Figure 2.2: Level of Education



Source: Generated from Study Data, 2015

2.3.4 Marital Status

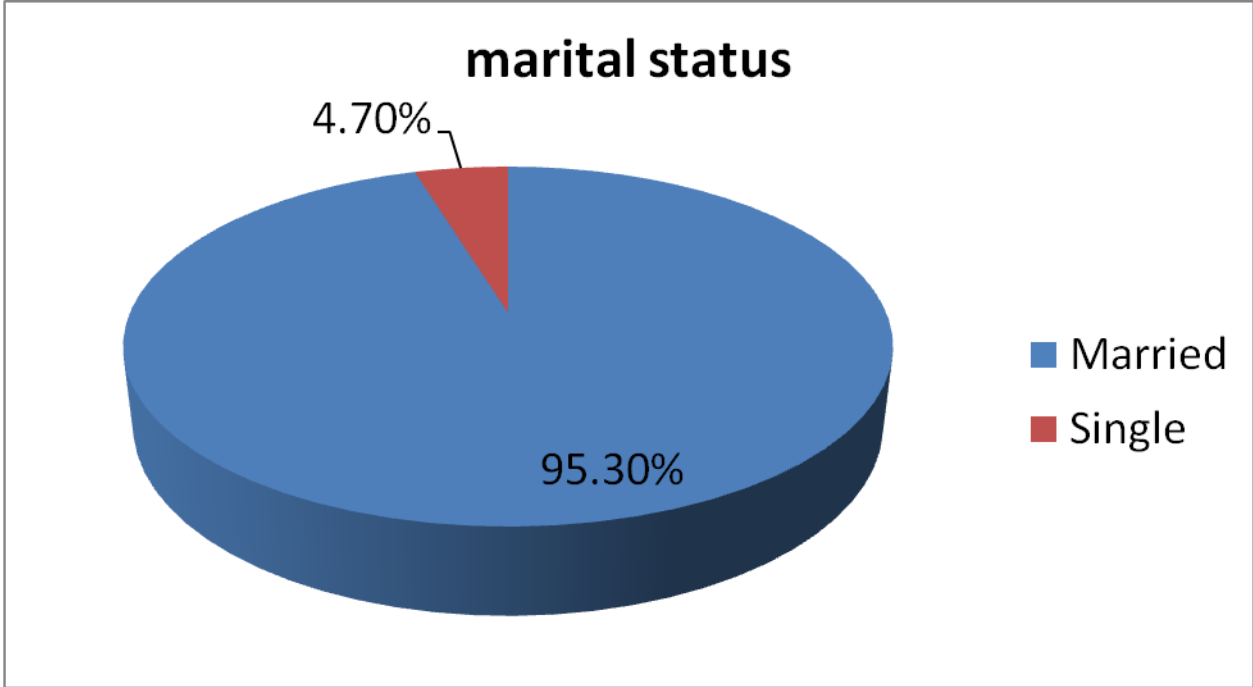
The researcher sought to know the marital status of the respondents. Marriage was an important aspect in this study because among the cultural practices of the Pokot community includes cattle raids for the payment of dowry by the young men. (Nganga, 2012). Those who were married represented 95.3% while those who were single were 4.7% of the respondents. The researcher sought an opinion from one of the research assistant in Pokot South Sub County who gave his views on why the majority of the respondents were married.

“Culturally among the Pokot, after initiation, it is expected that young men marry off immediately. If the young men do not have cattle to pay bride price, they go to raid in the neighbouring communities and raiding from the Pokot community is prohibited”.³

³ An interview conducted on 10th September 2015 in Chepareria sub-location in Pokot South Sub-county about marriage among the Pokot community.

This explains the upsurge of cattle rustling within the county and the neighbouring counties. However, there are those young men who are not engaged in cattle rustling activities yet they are married. The research assistant attributed this to how marriage as an institution is cherished by the Pokot community. The findings are presented in figure 2.3 below.

Figure 2.3: Marital Status

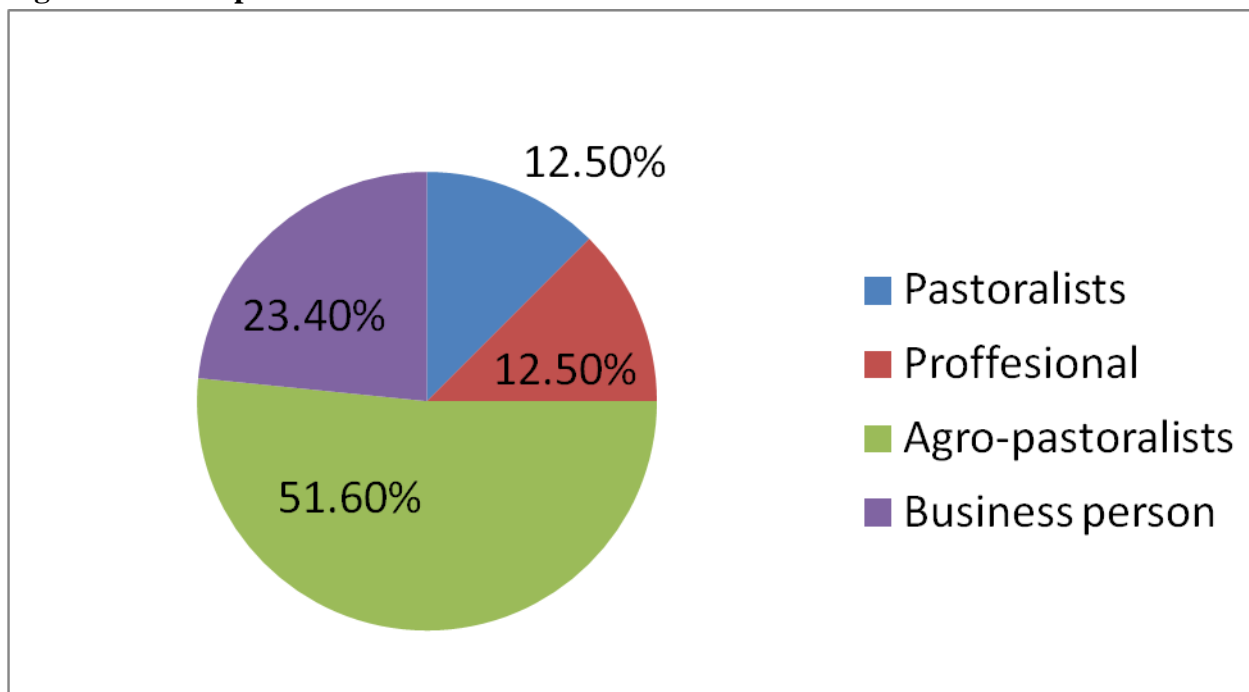


Source: Generated from Study Data, 2015

2.3.5: Occupation

It was necessary to establish how the respondents earned a living to ascertain how insecurity has affected the people. Agro-pastoralists represented 51.6% of the respondents, businessmen formed 23.5% , pastoralists 12.5% of the respondents, and professionals 12.5% of the respondents. Majority of the respondents were agro-pastoralists and this was vital to the study as this would give a clear picture of how insecurity affects cattle keeping and some form of agriculture which is the source of their livelihoods. The findings are shown below in figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4: Occupation



Source: Generated from Study Data, 2015

2.3.6: Personal and Community Security

The respondents were asked whether they felt secure or not in their various sub-counties. Out of the 64 community respondents interviewed, 70.3% said they felt secure and 29.7% felt insecure. Those who felt insecure said that by having to live with people who possess SALW made them to live in constant fear. They also said that cattle rustling activities were still being reported in their various sub-counties.

Majority of the respondents said they felt secure and this was attributed to the fact that they were not living along the border of West Pokot County and Turkana County. The researcher sought an opinion from various key informants and they affirmed that security has improved in the region by the time of conducting this study. Security has improved following the signing of a peace agreement on 30th January 2015 between the warring parties; the Pokot and Turkana. The peace

agreement was signed in Aturkan Hotel in Kitale and was organized by CJPC and chaired by the Eldoret Catholic Diocese Bishop Cornelius Korir. The key informant who is also an official of the CJPC highlighted part of the agreement;

“The Politicians from both West Pokot and Turkana Counties agreed to start a peace caravan by visiting the hotspot areas in the two counties and Baringo County. They also agreed that if one of the communities takes livestock from the other, they should return and if they didn’t return then the national government would intervene. In addition, they agreed to leave land of about 50 meters at the border of the two counties so that the bandits can be seen from far in a mission to attack. On the issue of integration, the two communities agreed to initiate irrigation projects together. Lastly they also agreed to register all illegal arms in the hand of civilians.”⁴

State of calmness has returned to the region even though there is still mistrust between the two communities. The key informant from CJPC said that the leaders in the region had intervened and managed to convince the two communities to resolve their conflicts. The leaders were drawn from West Pokot, Turkana and Baringo counties. The leaders were led by the chair of the Parliamentary Security Committee Asman Kamama, West Pokot County governor Simon Kachapin, Turkana County governor Josphat Nanok, Baringo County governor Benjamin Cheboi, West Pokot County Senator Professor John Lonyangapuo and more than 10 members of parliament drawn from the three counties.

Insecurity had also reduced after a peace caravan held in May 2015 that culminated in the peace agreement. The peace caravan covered hotspot areas at the border of North Pokot Sub County and Uganda, Sigor in Pokot Central Sub County to Nadomei in Baringo where the Pokot neighbour the Tugen community. The results are shown in the table 2.3 below.

⁴ An interview with an official from Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in Kitale, Trans Nzoia County conducted on 14th September 2015.

Table 2.3: Respondents' answer to the Question: Do you feel secure?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	45	70.3	70.3	70.3
Valid No	19	29.7	29.7	100.0
Total	64	100.0	100.0	

2.4: Causes of Insecurity in West Pokot County

The first objective of this study as identified in chapter one sought to find out the underlying causes of the problem of insecurity in West Pokot County. The field research results indicated that cattle rustling was the major contributing factor of insecurity in West Pokot County accounting for 42.2% of all insecurity incidences. This was evidenced by the number of cattle raids that had taken place in the county in the recent past. An interview with a chief in Pokot Central Sub County revealed that on 14th February 2015, bandits from neighboring Turkana County stole 450 herds of cattle from Masol hills. The chief together with the KPR were able to recover all the cattle. The chief further noted that on 26th June 2015, the Pokot stole 160 goats from Turkana County, killed 4 Turkana *morans* and injured one *moran*⁵. The chief and other community elders recovered the goats and fined each family five goats for each goat stolen. Moreover, the chief noted that on 2nd November 2015, it was reported that 33 camels had been stolen from Turkana County by bandits from West Pokot County. The chief mobilized the KPR and young men on a mission to recover the camels.

This was attributed to the fact that the Pokot community value cattle so much. According to Nganga(2012), the Pokot base their perception of richness or wealth on cattle, their traditional rites are cattle centered, and their food is mainly livestock oriented (blood and milk). Every

⁵ *Moran* is a young man aged between 14 to 30 years among the Pokot community.

generation is taught to perceive a cow as an important treasure that the community cannot do without. Consequently, this leads to desperate searches for livestock, using all means available. For example, after a circumcision ceremony there is always a dire need for cattle to pay dowry during marriage. One respondent said that one needs about 15 cattle to pay bride price. This informs the unhealthy practice of cattle rustling that the community still practices to date.

Cattle rustling was also attributed to the fact that SALW have found their way in West Pokot County from neighboring countries. According to one chief in Pokot Central Sub County, some of the guns in West Pokot County came from Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia to Turkana County then to West Pokot County. The researcher however found out that SALW have an international dimension. According to the Human Rights Watch report (2012), SALW are trafficked through some channels used for legal arms shipment with Mombasa port being one of the entry points used by smugglers.

Border disputes came second with 23.4 %. This was because boundary disputes have increasingly become a significant characteristic of relations between residents of West Pokot County and Turkana County. In the recent past there has been a series of meetings between leaders, security agents and community elders in the two counties over a dispute of a road that was being constructed at the border of Turkana County and the Pokot County. The respondents claim that the West Pokot boundary should be in Lokichar but the Turkana claim the border should be in Kainuk where Turkwell gorge is located.

Apart from the above mentioned causes, the key informants interviewed mentioned lack of infrastructure in the region which affects the response rate by security agents whenever there is an attack or banditry. Some key informants blamed the high illiteracy levels in the region as factors contributing to insecurity. Since a high number of the citizens are illiterate, they are not aware of the conflict resolution strategies apart from revenge attacks. Lack of alternative livelihoods was a contributing factor to the persistent problem of insecurity in the region. The Pokot community relies heavily on livestock for food, income and payment of dowry.

Diversification of their income generating activities would mean that the number of cattle rustling activities would reduce. The findings are presented in table 2.4 below.

Table 2.4: Causes of Insecurity

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Cattle rustling	27	42.2	42.2	42.2
Illiteracy	1	1.6	1.6	43.8
Border disputes	15	23.4	23.4	67.2
Enemity	4	6.3	6.3	73.4
Valid Overdependence on nomadism	2	3.1	3.1	76.6
Hunger	10	15.6	15.6	92.2
Marginalisation	2	3.1	3.1	95.3
SALW	3	4.7	4.7	100.0
Total	64	100.0	100.0	

2.4.1: Cultural Practices and Insecurity in West Pokot County

Using a Likert scale, Strongly agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree and Strongly disagree, the researcher sought to know to what extent has the cultural practices contributed to the problem of insecurity in West Pokot County. A total of 79.7% of the respondents strongly agreed that cultural practices contribute to the problem of insecurity. Those that agreed constituted 9.4% of the respondents while 3.1% disagreed and 3.1% strongly disagreed. Cumulatively, 89.1% affirmed that cultural practices contribute to insecurity. Among the cultural practices that have led to insecurity include; payment of dowry, raiding, bravery among the young men/warriors. Bride price in Pokot culture has been a major reason for cattle rustling among the young men.

An interview with a key informant from the CJPC affirms that a cultural practice known as '*Lapai*'⁶ is a factor contributing to insecurity in West Pokot County. After circumcision, a young man is considered a warrior particularly when he successfully goes out to raid and bring home what the Pokots call "the strayed cattle". He also mentioned that '*Laibons*' blessed the warriors before they went for raiding and they also predicted the results of the raids. The key informant narrated how *Morans* were prepared by the *Laibons*⁷ before going to raid.

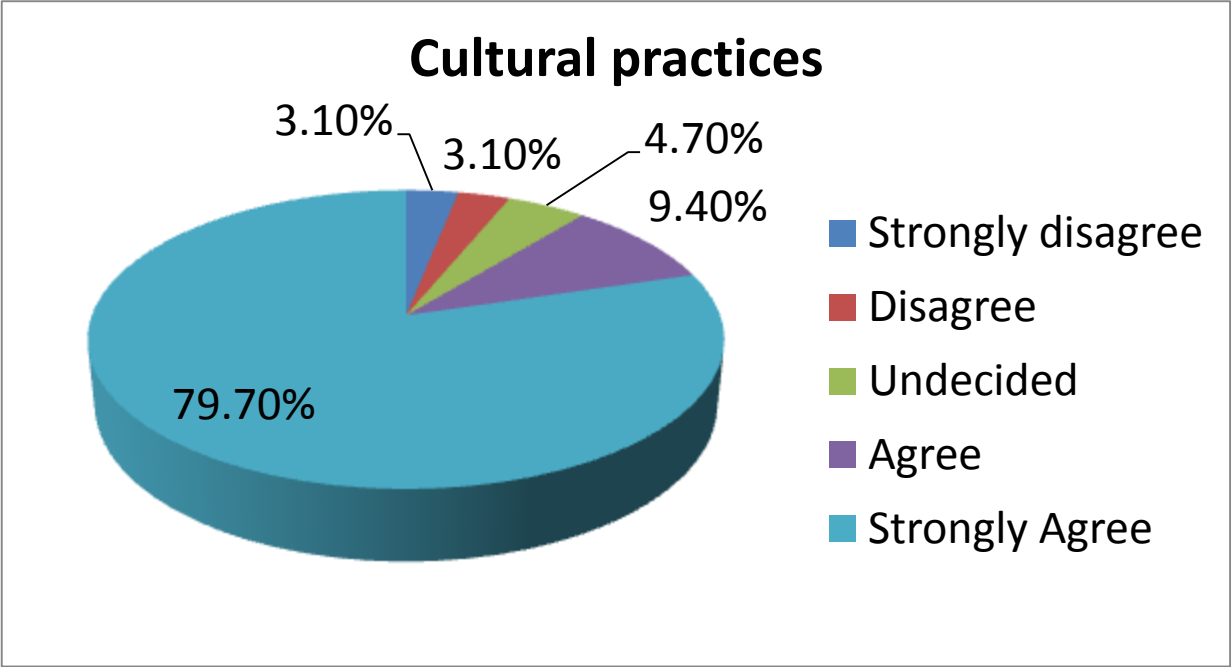
"The young *Morans* are first separated from their families for about two weeks. They are prepared by the *Laibons* by applying some charms and given a map on the route to take during cattle raiding. The *Laibons* may also send some charms to the enemies for example bees to attack them."

The results of the respondents on whether cultural practices contribute to insecurity in West Pokot County are presented in figure 2.5 below.

⁶ *Lapai* is a cultural practice among the Pokot which involves payment for killing of kinsmen. One can be fined up to 60 heads of cattle.

⁷ *Laibon* is a male diviner among the Pokot born with an inherited ability to see events or forces normally concealed from others.

Figure 2.5: Respondents’ views on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that cultural practices causes insecurity in West Pokot County?



Source: Generated from Study Data, 2015

2.4.2: Small Arms and Light Weapons and Insecurity in West Pokot County

In northern Kenya and North Rift parts of Kenya, the gun culture or the value of firearms as a necessary possession among groups, has entrenched many people’s view that firearms possession is an essential right. This has resulted in inter-ethnic arms races (Kamenju, Singo and Wairagu, 2003).

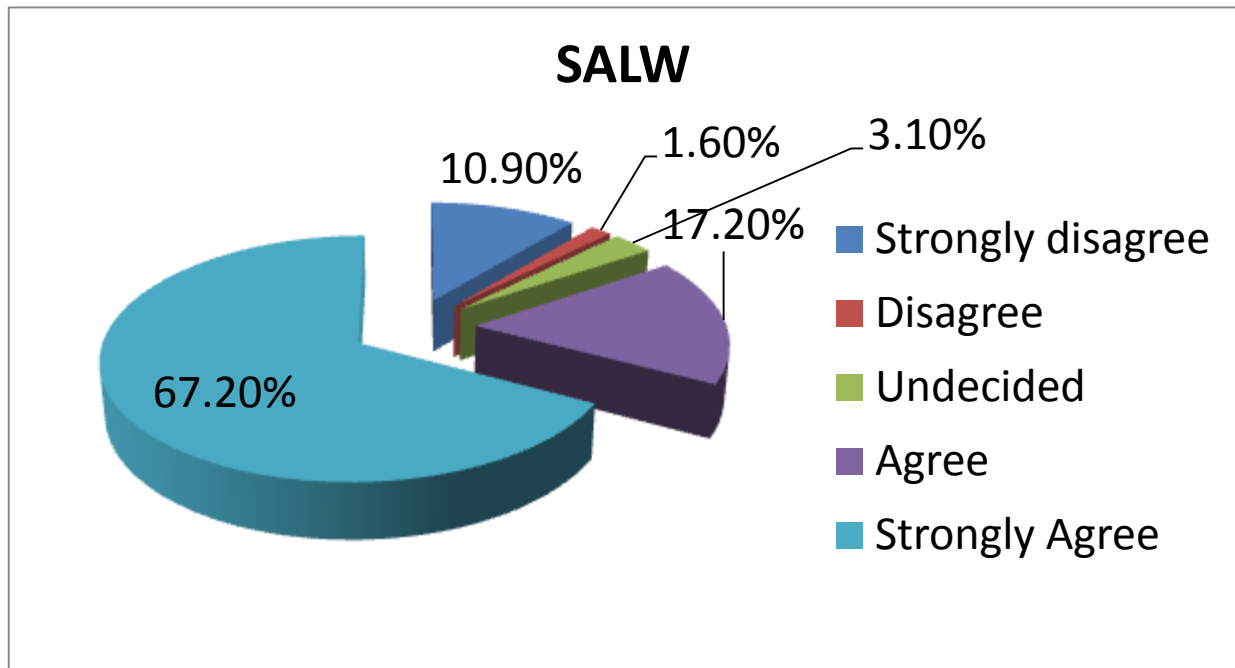
The researcher sought to know to what extent SALW contributed to persistent problem of insecurity. The study revealed that majority of the respondents; 67.2% strongly agreed that SALW has caused insecurity in West Pokot County. Those who agreed were 17.2% while those who strongly disagreed were 10.9%%. A total of 1.6% of the respondents disagreed and 3.1% of the respondents were undecided.

Both the Turkana and Pokot communities are in possession of SALW which have made cattle rustling easier and more deadly according to one respondent as compared to the past when community members used spears and arrows to conduct raids. A study conducted by the Security

Research and Information Centre (SRIC) estimated that 127,519 males aged 15 years and above in North Rift were presumed to be armed with at least one gun each. The study found that in West Pokot County, the SALW are estimated to be 36,937 (Kamenju, Singo, and Wairagu, 2003).The study noted that the types of SALW include; AK-47s, Mark 4s, HK11s, LPG guns and MANPADS.

According to one key informant interviewed for this study, progress has been made in addressing the SALW problem especially in Pokot Central where the national government started voluntary registration of arms. According to the key informant, the County government has recovered 180 SALW. The results generated from the respondents in relation to the question as to whether SALW are a factor in worsening insecurity in West Pokot are tabulated in the figure 2.6 below.

Figure 2.6: Respondents' views on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that Small Arms and Light Weapons are a root cause of Insecurity in West Pokot County?



Source: Generated from Study Data, 2015

2.4.3: Struggle for Limited Resources

West Pokot County is not endowed with plenty of natural resources such as water and grazing lands. Scarcity of resources within one community leads to the search for resources elsewhere (Goldsmith et al, (2007). This view is supported by Mwagiru (2000) who argues that in the search for these resources, the community breaches not only territorial borders but extends the search for resources to its frontiers. It was necessary therefore, to investigate whether struggle for resources has contributed to the problem of insecurity in West Pokot County.

The researcher therefore asked the respondents to what extent they thought the struggle for limited resources contributed to insecurity in the county. From the data collected, majority of the respondents 93.8 % affirmed that the struggle for resources has contributed to the problem of insecurity in West Pokot County, 4.7% of the respondents disagreed with the claim while 1.6% were undecided.

The findings revealed that the border region between West Pokot County and Turkana County in areas around Turkwell have become inaccessible due to fight over land. The land in question which emanates from Marich pass area, 194 kilometers to Lodwar and Kainuk is joined with the Turkwell river which is rich with fertile soils. The areas around Turkwell which includes Amolem, Sarmach, Nyangaita, Takaywa and Lokiriyama have become a bone of contention. For instance, Lorogon village which is at the border of West Pokot County and Turkana County is rich in water and pasture.

The discovery of oil in Turkana County particularly in areas bordering the neighbouring counties has led to increased incidences of insecurity. On 25th October 2014, 21 police officers were killed in Kapedo. Political leaders from Baringo, Turkana and West Pokot Counties linked the killings to the recent discovery of oil. Kapedo sits at the border between Turkana and Baringo counties. The Pokot who are in Baringo County claim ownership of this area and that they got pushed out by the Turkana. The Turkana claim they settled there legally and no one has a right to evict them. Kapedo sits 145 kilometres due south of Ngamia 1 an area in Turkana County where oil was discovered. According to a report by Africa Oil Corporation (2014), Ngamia 1 has the largest potential of 660 million barrels of oil. It is therefore not difficult to link

the simmering conflict between the two communities in this area with the discovery of oil in Ngamia 1 in Turkana County.

The researcher sought an opinion from an assistant chief in Pokot Central Sub County who supported these views on the struggle for limited resources as a cause for insecurity. He gave an example of the conflict between the Turkana and Pokot communities over the ownership of Turkwell Gorge which generates power. It is situated at the border of West Pokot and Turkana Counties. Both communities claim that Turkwell Gorge belongs to them. He recounted how Turkwell gorge had been a bone of contention between the two communities that had forced KENGEN workers to move their residence from Turkwell to safer place in Kitale. The results of the respondents on whether struggle for resources contribute to insecurity are shown on table 2.5 below.

Table 2.5: Respondents’ views on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that struggle for limited resources causes insecurity in West Pokot County?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	1	1.6	1.6	1.6
Disagree	2	3.1	3.1	4.7
Valid Undecided	1	1.6	1.6	6.3
Agree	14	21.9	21.9	28.1
Strongly agree	46	71.9	71.9	100.0
Total	64	100.0	100.0	

2.4.4: Politics and Insecurity

Political incitement has been cited as one of the causes of insecurity in West Pokot County. It is believed that economically powerful people are funding cattle rustling activities; and politicians are encouraging conflicts to flush out the would- be supporters of political opponents. (Pkalya et

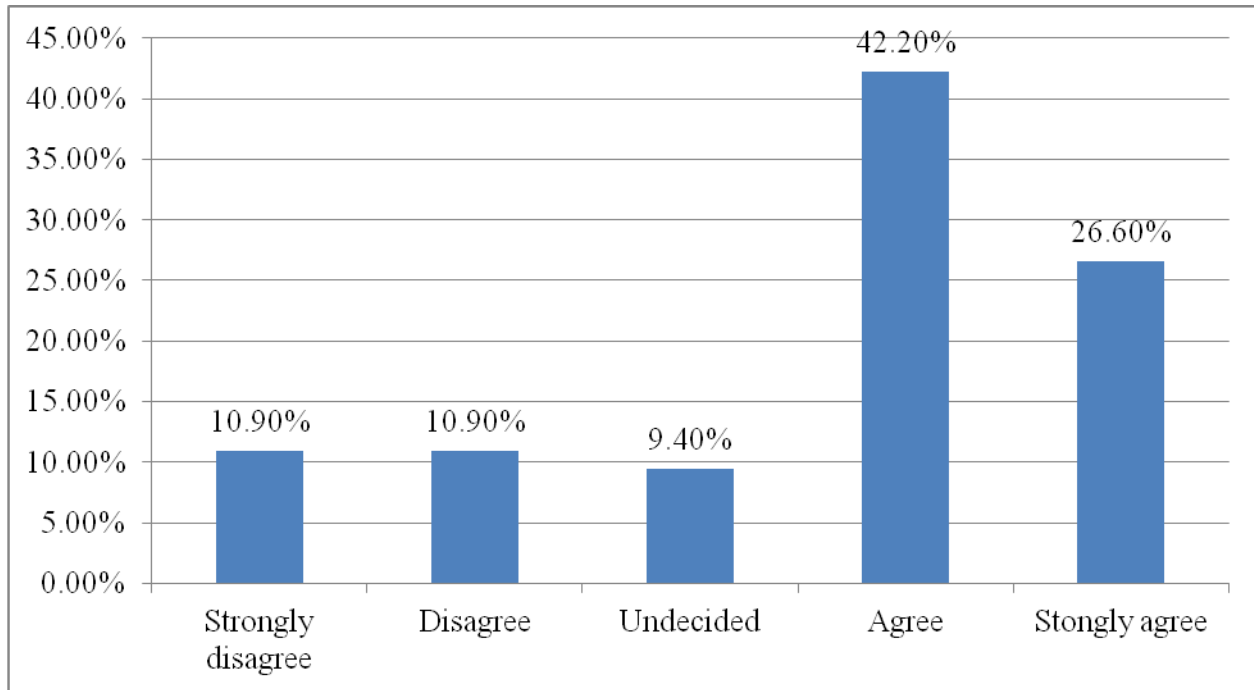
al 2005). The researcher sought to know to what extent respondents felt political incitement from leaders contributed to insecurity in West Pokot County. From the study, 68.8% of the respondents agreed that political incitement from leaders has worsened insecurity in West Pokot County. Those who disagreed constituted 21.8% of the respondents and a total of 9.4% of the respondents were undecided. One respondent claimed that cattle rustling activities are supported by politicians who in turn reward bandits with money or guns. The researcher sought an opinion from a chief in Pokot Central Sub-county who shared about an incidence where a political leader from the Pokot community incited the Pokot to carry out raids in the neighbouring county of Turkana. He noted

“On 5th August 2015, elders from Turkana County reported to the County Commissioner of West Pokot County that 76 goats were stolen from Kainuk in Turkana County. The chief mobilized the KPRs in an effort to trace the stolen goats. The goats were found in Nyangaita village in Pokot central Sub County. The chief called the County Commissioner who instructed them to take 76 goats from the homestead in Nyangaita village. On their way to the County Commissioner office, they met a local politician who claimed that the numbers of goats stolen in Turkana County were less than 76 goats. He mobilized young men to remove the goats in a lorry which was destined to Kainuk. The OCPD and the County Commissioner ordered the local politician to return the goats within six hours. The chief was ordered to take the 76 goats plus a fine of 10 more goats to Kainuk⁸”.

The chief attributed political incitement to seeking favors from the community such as votes during elections. He also pointed out that some of these politicians are beneficiaries of cattle rustling activities. The results of the respondents on whether political incitements have worsened insecurity in West Pokot County are presented in the figure 2.7 below.

⁸ An interview with a chief in Pokot Central Sub County conducted on 10th October 2015 on political incitements.

Figure 2.7: Respondents' views on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that political incitements from leaders has worsened insecurity in West Pokot County?.



Source: Generated from Study Data, 2015

2.4.5: Other Causes of Insecurity

Apart from the above discussed causes, the researcher sought to know the other causes of insecurity in the region. Respondents cited marginalization, idleness, poverty, illiteracy and ignoring traditional methods of conflicts resolution.

From the findings of the study, poverty came first with 10.9%. Respondents attributed this to the semi arid nature of their land. One respondent in Akiriamet sub- location in Pokot Central Sub County said that they often go to conduct raid in the neighboring Turkana County during drought seasons. Another respondent noted that bandits from neighboring Turkana County often steal maize, beehives and milk.

From the findings, 7.8% of the respondents blamed the high illiteracy levels for high cases of insecurity. From the findings, a majority of the respondents which constitute to 43.8% did not have any formal education. The respondents argued that education would help them understand the need for peace and peaceful co- existence among the Turkana and the Pokot communities

Moreover, 7.8% of the respondents cited idleness as the cause of insecurity. Most of the young men have no formal employment or any other source of livelihood this makes them to seek solace in raiding activities. The state of unemployment was attributed to lack of formal education by majority of the youth. However, the community is taking steps to change the trend as one of the research assistant in Pokot South Sub County said the community has come up with a self help group that gives the youths capital to start businesses.

Marginalization was cited by 3.1% of the respondents as a contributing factor to insecurity. Respondents in Pokot North Sub County narrated how the government and the previous regimes had neglected them in terms of employment, development and security. One respondent noted that this has forced them to get arms to protect themselves and their livestock.

Ignoring traditional methods of conflict resolution had the least number of respondents with 1.6%. Elders hold a respectable status in the society. This is based on the belief that their age and experience is equated with wisdom that provides them with enough authority to be the final decision makers in their society. These elders have continued to be undermined by modern changes. Duffield (1997) argues that the elders' authority has been undermined by the introduction of a market economy and the increasing polarization of rich and poor that resulted in labor migration. The youth have found new sources of influence and wealth creation including the flourishing armed militias of young men and the new income available through banditry. According to one elder; the youth have defied the elders. They have refused to be enjoined in the communal activities and have resorted to revenge attacks in defiance of the elders. This is part of the elders' comments:

“In the past, the youth who went for raids used to listen to us but the situation has changed in the recent years. They decide to conduct raids despite warnings from the elders”.⁹

The findings of the respondents' on other causes of insecurity are presented in table 2.6 below.

⁹ An interview conducted on 14th September 2015 in Suam Sub location in Pokot North Sub- County.

Table 2.6: Other causes of Insecurity

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Cultural	11	17.2	17.2	17.2
SALW	4	6.3	6.3	23.4
Idleness	5	7.8	7.8	31.3
Marginalisation	2	3.1	3.1	34.4
Poverty	7	10.9	10.9	45.3
Valid Border fights	24	37.5	37.5	82.8
Resources	5	7.8	7.8	90.6
illiteracy	5	7.8	7.8	98.4
Ignoring traditional methods	1	1.6	1.6	100.0
Total	64	100.0	100.0	

From the findings discussed above, it is evident that there are many causes of insecurity in West Pokot County in addition to what the literature of the study reviewed. From the above discussions and the previous discussions on the causes of insecurity, border fights was found to be the most contributing factor of insecurity followed by cultural practices then struggle for limited resources. This was followed by poverty, illiteracy, marginalization then lastly ignoring traditional methods of conflict resolution. These findings confirm the first objective of the study which sought to investigate the underlying causes of insecurity in West Pokot County. The next chapter discusses the effect of the above discussed acts of insecurity to the economy of West Pokot County.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 IMPACTS OF INSECURITY TO THE ECONOMY OF WEST POKOT COUNTY

3.1 Introduction

This study sought to examine the impacts of insecurity on the economy of West Pokot County. Informed by the second objective as well as the second research question, this chapter sought to assess the impacts of insecurity to the economy of West Pokot County. Using a Likert scale, Strongly agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree, Strongly disagree the respondents were asked to state their opinion about the implications of insecurity on the economy of West Pokot County. The results of the opinion of the respondents are presented in tables, pie charts, graphs followed by discussions of the responses.

3.2 Impacts of Insecurity to the Economy of West Pokot County

As noted in the previous two chapters, the economy of pastoralist communities particularly West Pokot County has been negatively affected by insecurity. This sections looks at respondents' opinion on how insecurity has affected income levels, poverty levels, trade relations, unemployment among others.

3.2.1: Impact of Insecurity on Investments

Trade and investments are central to the ability of pastoral communities to attain higher levels of development. The researcher sought to know to what extent has insecurity in West Pokot County has affected investment opportunities. A total of 92.2% of the respondents affirmed that investment opportunities had been affected by insecurity. Those who disagreed were 6.3% of the respondents and 1.6% were undecided.

This was evidenced by the fact that most of the shopping centres in the interior have no banks or microfinance institutions. For instance, there are no banks in Kacheliba in Pokot North Sub County, Chepareria in Pokot South Sub County and Sigor in Pokot Central Sub County. An interview with one of the key informants revealed that banks feared to invest in the interior due to insecurity. Most of the banks are found in Makutano town and include: Equity Bank, Kenya Commercial Bank and Kenya Women Finance Trust.

Moreover, most of the NGOs have closed down or moved to safer grounds due to insecurity. The researcher sought an opinion from one of the government officials in the region who affirmed that NGOs such as World Vision International which was formerly based in Turkwell had moved to Marich pass area due to insecurity. World Vision International for instance, provides support to development initiatives such as education, drilling of boreholes to provide water and water piping from highlands to lowlands and also provides drought resilient Sahiwal cattle breed to the Pokot community. Another organization, the Kenya Red Cross provides food items and non food items to the Pokot community.

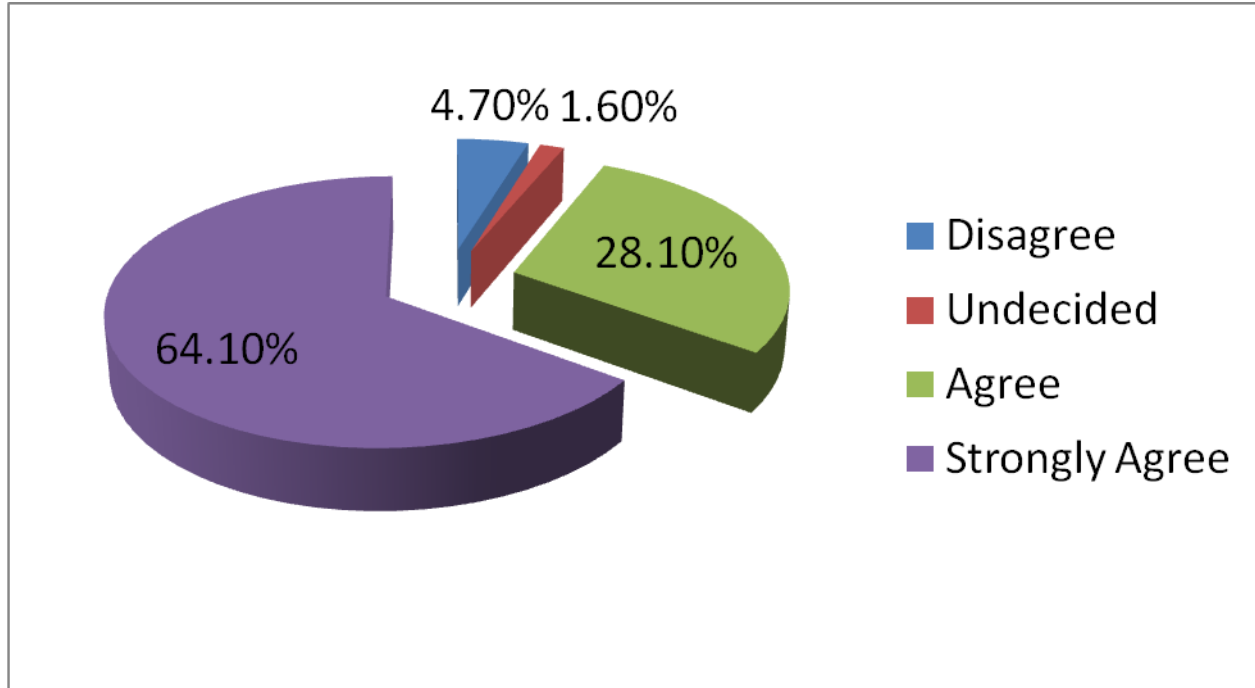
Insecurity has also led to closure of irrigation schemes that were funded by the NGOs. For instance, Amolem irrigation scheme in Pokot Central Sub County closed down in 1992. Before the flare up of conflict between the Pokot and Turkana communities, Amolem was a settlement scheme with a vibrant irrigation scheme. The area is now deserted. The communities farmed together in the 1980s with the help of FAO.

Pkalya and Adan (2005) argues that conflict between the Pokot and Turkana communities in 1992 led to closure of many business premises and markets. The volume of trade in Makutano and Chepareria trading centres went down drastically. Non pokot traders fled with their business to other counties such as Trans Nzoia. Additionally, between 1998 and 2003, most livestock markets in West Pokot County experienced frequent closures leading to deflation of livestock value.

Based on the findings, the researcher concludes that insecurity has a significant impact on investment opportunities in West Pokot County although other factors mentioned by various key informants may have also played a role. For instance, a government official in the region attributed the lack of investment in the region to poor infrastructure. Most of the roads have not been tarmacked and this makes accessibility a problem. In addition, lack of rural electrification is one of the reasons why investors are reluctant to invest in the County. However, there are some attempts by the government to spur investments to the county, for instance the proposed cement factory in Sebit in Pokot South Sub County which is yet to commence its operations.

The results of the respondents' opinion on the impact of insecurity on investments are shown below in figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Respondents' opinions on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that insecurity affects investment opportunities in West Pokot County?



Source: Generated from Study Data, 2015

3.2.2: Implications of Insecurity on Employment Levels

The respondents were asked whether insecurity has exacerbated the problem of unemployment in West Pokot County. From the findings the majority of the respondents; 67.2% affirmed the claim that insecurity has led to high levels of unemployment. This is due to the low number of businesses, closure of schools and this has affected literacy levels with a consequent impact on employment levels since without education young people cannot easily access formal employment opportunities.

The study also found out that most NGOs which would provide employment opportunities have either moved to safer grounds or closed down due to insecurity apart from World Vision International, ACTED, Action against Hunger and Red Cross, which still operate in the county.

A total of 21.9% of the respondents did not agree with the claim. They observed that the major cause of unemployment was marginalization. They noted that the current as well as the previous governments had marginalized them in terms of developing the area, building of schools and opening up firms to exploit the available resources in the County such as gold, copper and limestone. Thus from the findings, it can be concluded that marginalization and insecurity has contributed to the problem of unemployment in the region. The results of the opinion of the respondents' on whether insecurity had exacerbated the problem of unemployment in the region are tabulated in table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2: Respondents' opinions on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that insecurity has exacerbated the problem of unemployment in West Pokot County?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
strongly disagree	1	1.6	1.6	1.6
Disagree	13	20.3	20.3	21.9
Valid Undecided	7	10.9	10.9	32.8
Agree	25	39.1	39.1	71.9
Strongly agree	18	28.1	28.1	100.0
Total	64	100.0	100.0	

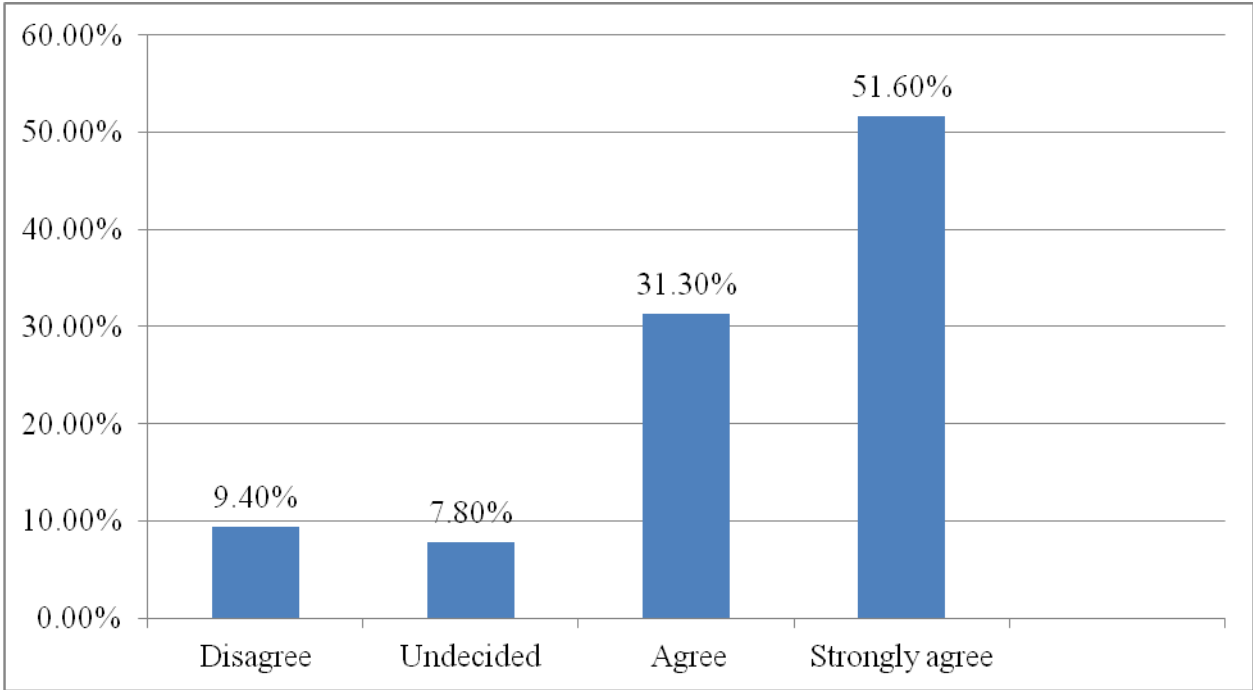
3.2.3: Impact of Insecurity on Dependency Rates

The respondents were asked whether insecurity had affected the rate at which residents of West Pokot County depend on external food aid. A total of 82.9% of the respondents agreed that insecurity has caused the people of West Pokot County to depend on food aid. Those who disagreed were 9.4% and 7.8% were undecided.

Respondents observed that after an attack, the community is forced to relocate to safer grounds mainly at the shopping centres, such as Makutano or Kapenguria. The farmers leave their farms unattended exposing crops to attacks by wild animals. This has impacted negatively on food security in a county that has perennial food shortage due to unfavorable weather conditions. For

instance, the researcher met two respondents who had been displaced by conflicts from Lotongot village to Tikit village in Masol location in Pokot Central Sub County and had abandoned their farms. One key informant told the researcher that over 100 farmers in Amolem irrigation scheme were killed when bandits attacked in the 1990s. The survivors moved to other areas thus abandoning farming and pastoralism. An interview with a government official gave a different opinion on dependency on food aid. He claimed that dependency was partly caused by the arid and semi arid nature of the land. Thus the people have to depend on the few irrigation schemes available in the region. The results of the respondents' opinion on whether insecurity affects their rate of dependency are as shown in figure 3.2 below.

Figure 3.2: Respondents' opinions on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that insecurity has increased dependency rates on food aid in West Pokot County?



Source: Generated from Study Data, 2015

3.2.4: Impact of Insecurity on Trade Relations

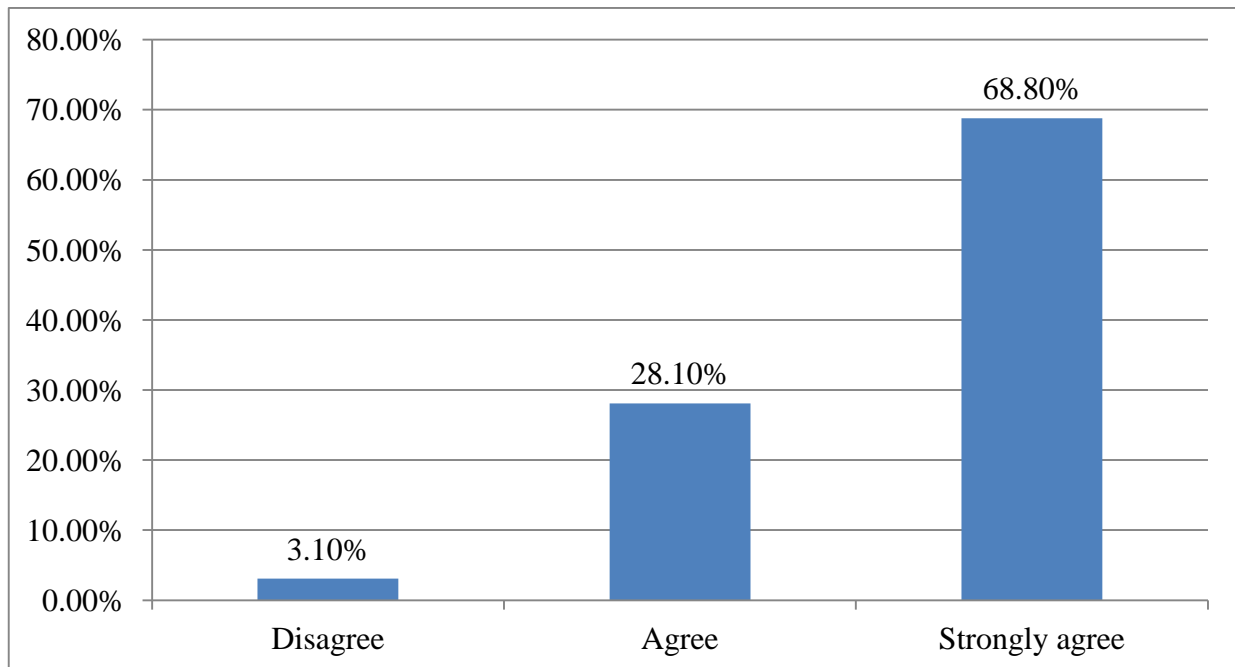
The respondents were asked whether insecurity has negatively affected trade relations between West Pokot County and other counties. Majority of the respondents who constituted 96.9%

affirmed that insecurity has negatively affected trade relations with other counties. Those who disagreed constituted 3.1% of the total respondents.

Respondents in Chepareria, Pokot South Sub County, noted that the Pokot and Turkana communities are trading partners. The Turkana buy food items such as bananas, onions, tomatoes and other vegetables in Ortum and Weiwei irrigation scheme from the Pokots. Whenever there is a conflict between the two communities, the Pokot have no one to sell to. The Pokot on the other side buy baskets and fish from the Turkana. One respondent in Kosulol sub location in Pokot South Sub County noted that insecurity hinders transport of goods to and from the markets.

Traders in Chepareria noted that it was becoming difficult to expand their business due to limited inflow of goods to the markets. They also added that the worsening insecurity in the region had created a perception that the County is insecure thereby scaring potential investors and traders. The results of the respondents' opinion on whether insecurity affects trade relations are as shown in figure 3.3 below.

Figure 3.3: Respondents' opinions on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that insecurity impacts on trade relations?



Source: Generated from Study Data, 2015

3.2.5: Impacts of Insecurity on Household Income

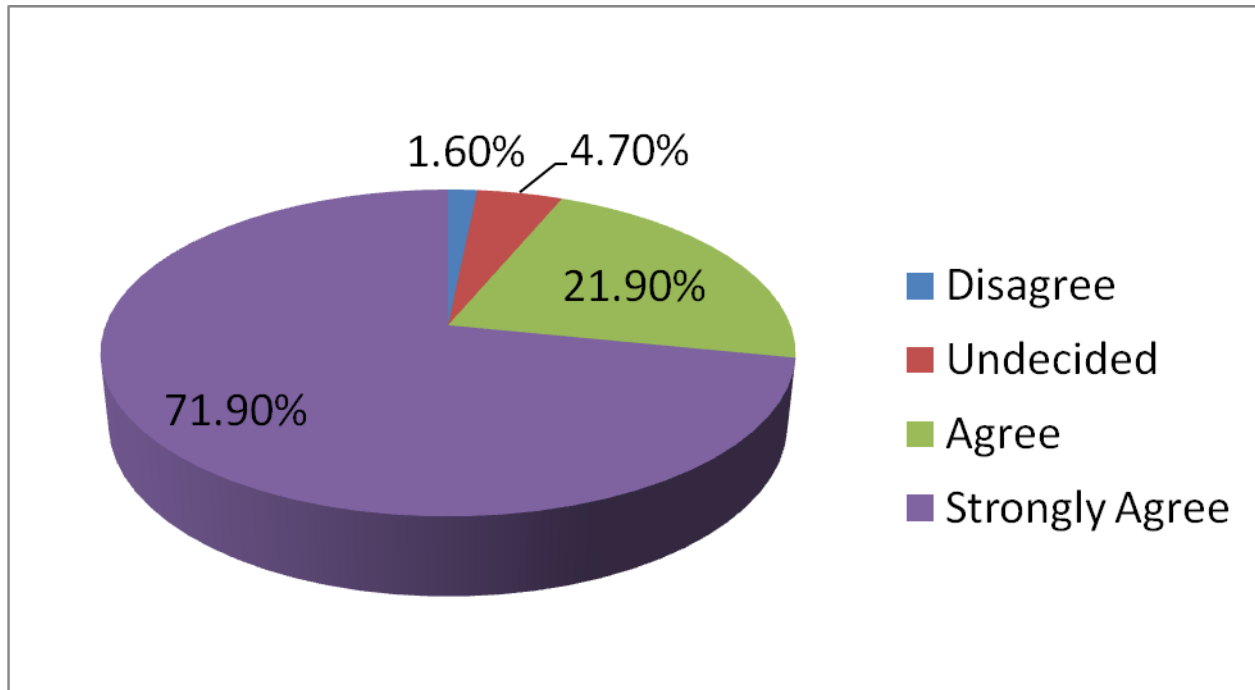
The researcher sought to know whether insecurity impacts on the household income of the people of West Pokot County. Household incomes refer to adjusted gross income of all members of a household. Residents of West Pokot County derive their income from selling livestock and some form of agriculture. According to a report released by the Kenya National Housing Survey (2015), the average monthly household income among the people of West Pokot County is Ksh 2000. This view was supported by a government official who estimated the average annual income to be 360 USD. The low income has been contributed by factors such as poverty, climatic conditions and insecurity.

Using the Likert scale the respondents were asked to what extent insecurity caused the people of West Pokot County to have low household income. Majority of the respondents; 93.8% agreed that insecurity had caused them to have low household incomes. Those who disagreed constituted 1.6%. A total 4.7% of the respondents were undecided on whether insecurity contributed to low household incomes.

The respondents attributed this to the over reliance by the Pokot community on cattle and goats for some of their livelihood. From the data collected, a majority of the people in West Pokot County were agro-pastoralist and pastoralists. When cattle raids happen, the communities lose their only source of livelihood and are forced to move to safer grounds. This means that they leave their crops unattended which are destroyed by wild animals. Businesses are closed down and therefore they are left with limited income generating opportunities. According to one community leader, other factors such as harsh climatic conditions that do not favor agriculture, lack of diversification and lack of technical knowhow have contributed to low income by the people.

The findings of the responses are tabulated below in fig 3.4 below.

Figure 3.4: Respondents' views on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that low household income in West Pokot County is caused by insecurity?



Source: Generated from Study Data, 2015

3.2.6: Impact of Insecurity on Poverty Levels

The UN defines poverty as “a denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate. It means not having enough to feed and cloth a family, not having a school or clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one’s food or job to earn one’s living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living on marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation”¹⁰.

According to the findings by the Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (2013), West Pokot County has a poverty level of above 70%. This report attributes the poverty

¹⁰ UN statement, June 1988-signed by the heads of all UN agencies.

levels to subsistence farming, households headed by people without formal education, pastoralists in drought prone districts and unskilled and semi casual labourers.

The researcher sought to know to what extent insecurity causes high poverty levels in West Pokot County. Most of the respondents who constituted 93.7% affirmed that the high poverty levels in West Pokot County are due to insecurity. A total of 3.1% of the respondents disagreed and attributed the high poverty levels to marginalization of the region by the government.

According to one key government official in Pokot Central Sub County, the Pokot community has a very low annual income of about 360 USD. The kind of environment they live on is fragile as they are prone to attacks by bandits from neighbouring Turkana County.

In addition, those who agreed said that insecurity causes people to desert their homes and farms and have to rely on markets to buy food with the little income they have. One respondent in Akiriamet sub location in Pokot South Sub County also attributed lack of access to credit facilities to insecurity because the investors are scared of investing in the region.

The results are tabulated in table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3 Respondents’ views on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that insecurity causes high poverty levels in West Pokot County?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	2	3.1	3.1	3.1
Undecided	2	3.1	3.1	6.3
Agree	13	20.3	20.3	26.6
Strongly agree	47	73.4	73.4	100.0
Total	64	100.0	100.0	

3.2.7: Insecurity and Economic Disparities

Economic disparity refers to unequal distribution in wealth between two or more regions. West Pokot County differs with the neighboring counties such as Trans Nzoia County in terms of the

economy. A look at the County Integrated Development Plans of the two counties shows a huge economic disparity. For instance, Trans Nzoia County has 169 trading centres as compared to West Pokot County which has 12 market centers. Trans Nzoia County has 14 banks while West Pokot County has four banks and are concentrated in Makutano town. The number of cooperative societies in Trans Nzoia County stands at 120 with a share capital of 1,266,596,246 while West Pokot County has only 30 societies. West Pokot County has 503 primary schools and 58 secondary school while Trans Nzoia County has 525 primary schools and 178 secondary schools. Some areas in West Pokot County depend on irrigation schemes such as Pokot Central Sub-county where Wei Wei irrigation is located. Other irrigation schemes at the border of West Pokot County include Nakwamoru, Kainuk and Turkwell irrigation scheme. In Trans Nzoia County there is enough rainfall to support farming activities. From the above indicators it is clear that there is a huge economic disparity between West Pokot County and Trans Nzoia County. (Trans Nzoia County Intergrated Development Plan, 2013).

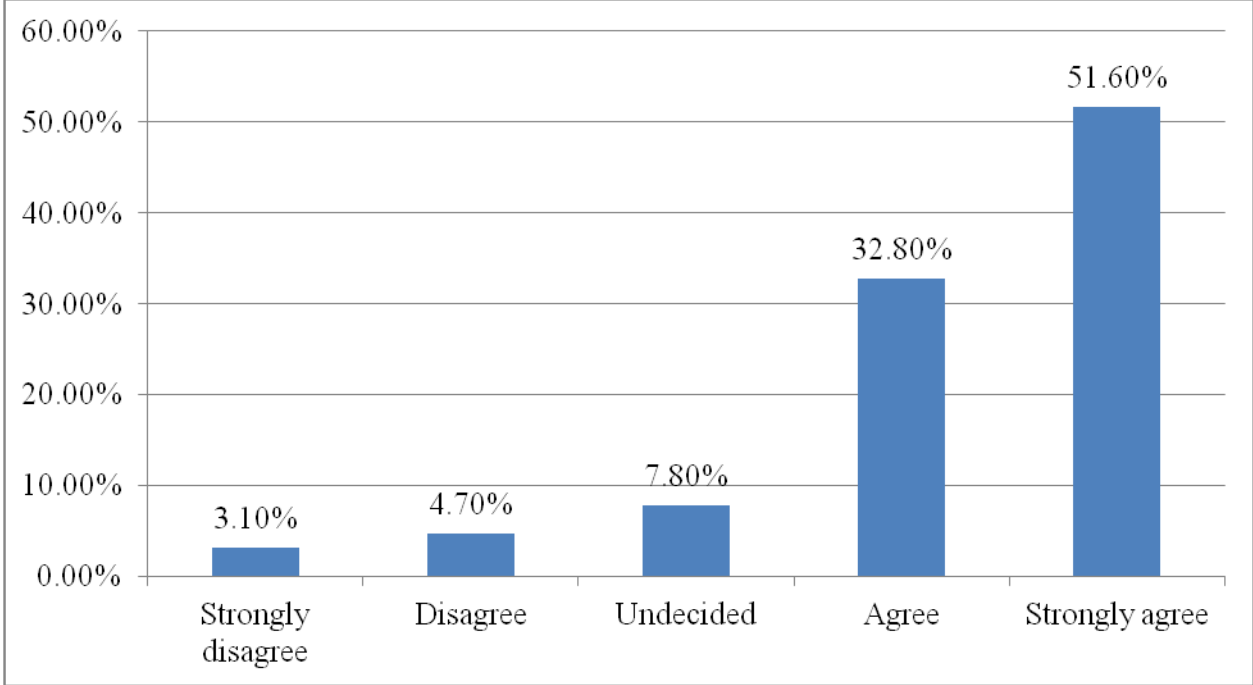
The researcher sought to find out the extent to which insecurity caused economic disparities between West County and other neighboring counties such as the county of Trans Nzoia. Those who strongly agreed were 51.6% of the respondents, a total of 32.8% agreed. Some respondents disagreed and this constituted 4.7% of the total respondents. Cumulatively, a total of 84.4% affirmed that the huge economic disparities between West Pokot County and other counties were caused by insecurity.

An interview with a local chief in Pokot North Sub County indicated that displacements due to insecurity caused people not to engage in meaningful economic activities as compared to other counties where people are settled. There are no banks or microfinance institutions in the interior of Pokot Central Sub County, Pokot North Sub County and Pokot South Sub County that can give financial assistance to farmers or entrepreneurs. The nearest banks which are four in number are found in Makutano and Kapenguria. The neighbouring Trans Nzoia County, has 14 banks which have an established branch network in the County, this include Kenya Commercial Bank, Barclays Bank of Kenya, Cooperative Bank, National Bank, Trans National Bank, Standard Chartered Bank, Equity Bank among others. This implies that farmers and entrepreneurs in the interior of West Pokot County cannot access credit facilities and is a manifestation of the poor

economic state in the County which is partly caused by insecurity. The researcher also observed that there was only one manufacturing company; a cement manufacturing company in Sebit area in West Pokot County which is yet to commence its operations. Trans Nzoia County on the other hand, has numerous companies such as the Kenya seed company that provides seed to farmers, milling firms and state corporations such as Agricultural Development Corporation that assists farmers with financial facilities among others.

The respondents attributed the huge economic disparities in West Pokot County to insecurity which has scared away potential investors. However, those who disagreed attributed the economic disparities to marginalization and neglect by the national government. For instance, one respondent in Pokot North Sub-County noted that the county major economic activity is pastoralism and had only one abattoir in Chepareria in Pokot South Sub-county. The findings of their opinions are shown on figure 3.5 below.

Figure 3.5: Respondents’ opinions on the Question: Do you agree or disagree that insecurity has contributed to economic disparities between West Pokot County and other counties?



Source: Generated from study data, 2015

3.2.8: Other Impacts of Insecurity to the Economy of West Pokot County

The researcher recognized that there were other impacts of insecurity to the economy of West Pokot County apart from the ones discussed above. The researcher therefore sought to know the other impacts of insecurity on the economy of West Pokot County. Those who said that insecurity affects social amenities such as education, health care represented 17.2% of the total respondents. The respondents attributed the high illiteracy levels to insecurity in the region. They noted that they were forced to relocate from their homes after attacks which disrupt their children education. The frequent attacks led to closure of some of the schools including: Amolem primary school in Masol location, Lokarkar primary school, Sarmach primary and Sekerr primary schools in Pokot Central Sub County. Scarcity of water and pasture has also contributed to the young men missing schools so that they can look after the cattle; moving from one place in search of water and pasture.

Other respondents (7.8%) noted that insecurity has led to the relocation of NGOs such as World Vision International which closed its offices in Turkwell and relocated to Marich pass area. Moreover, 4.7% of the respondents attributed the displacements of the local community to insecurity. The researcher met a woman who had relocated with her family from Lotongot village to Tikit village in Pokot Central Sub County due to attacks by bandits from the neighboring Turkana County.

There have been other cases of displacements due to insecurity in areas such as Amolem irrigation scheme which closed down in 1992 due to frequent bandits. In February 2015, farmers around Turkwell River were forced to relocate from the area following an attack by bandits from the neighboring Turkana County.

The results are shown on table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4: Other Impacts of Insecurity to the Economy of West Pokot County

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
poverty	20	31.3	31.3	31.3
Affect trade relations	10	15.6	15.6	46.9
Closure of business	6	9.4	9.4	56.3
NGOs close down or relocate	5	7.8	7.8	64.1
Valid high illiteracy levels	9	14.1	14.1	78.1
Affect social amenities	11	17.2	17.2	95.3
Displacement	3	4.7	4.7	100.0
Total	64	100.0	100.0	

From the above discussion, it is clear that the various acts of insecurity as discussed in chapter two affects poverty levels, trade relations, low income levels, causes displacements, closure of business, NGOs and social amenities. This chapter confirms the main objective of the study that indeed insecurity continues to impact negatively on the economy of West Pokot County. The next chapter gives a summary, conclusion of the findings and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the key findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study. The findings depicted closer relationships between the independent variable which is insecurity and dependent variable which is economy of West Pokot County. The chapter concludes with suggestions for further research.

4.2 Summary of the Findings

The study set out to examine the implications of insecurity to the economy of West Pokot County. The specific objective was to identify the underlying causes of insecurity in West Pokot County and to assess the impact of insecurity to the economy of West Pokot County.

The findings show that there are various causes of insecurity such as the struggle for scarce resources, poverty, proliferation of SALW but the major cause of insecurity is cattle rustling and border disputes between the Pokot and the Turkana communities. From the findings, it is clear that cattle rustling contribute to a larger extent to the problem of insecurity in West Pokot County. The pastoral economy is very narrow and relies principally on livestock rearing they are therefore forced to raid during a drought, floods, disease or raiding to replenish the lost livestock. The young men raid to get cattle to pay bride price.

The study confirmed that border disputes between the Pokot and Turkana communities are as a result of conflict over pasture, water points and resources. From the findings, the areas along the border of Turkana and West Pokot counties such as Turkwell and Orwa in Pokot central sub county, are the most hit by insecurity due to conflicts over resources such as pastureland and the Turkwell gorge where power is generated. There is also a dispute over where the boundary of West Pokot County should be. Recently, border dispute has been the emerging issue in this region where the two communities have a dispute over the border especially at the Turkwell belt.

The second objective sought to find out the effects of insecurity on the economy of West Pokot County. As discussed in chapter 3, the study established that insecurity has affected trade

relations with other counties in that whenever there are conflicts the farmers in the region have no one to sell their products since the buyers often come from neighboring counties such as Trans Nzoia and Turkana are also afraid of roadside banditry, assault and holdups by the bandits

Insecurity has affected other social amenities such as schools and hospitals. Many schools have been closed down and have not been reopened. Schools such as Amolem primary school, Lokarkar primary school in Masol location in Pokot central closed down after bandits attacked the schools and only a few have been re opened. There are also very few hospitals in the region and the medical personnel have to organize outreach programs for the community.

Insecurity has rendered many households destitute in the County of West Pokot through loss of cattle and displacement which makes them abandon their farms. The study established that insecurity has made business people fear to invest due to attacks. The study confirmed that insecurity has made a number of NGOs to close down or moved so safer grounds such as world vision which relocated from Turkwell to Marich pass. From the findings, it is also clear that there is a huge economic disparity between West Pokot County and other neighboring counties. For instance, number of banks in West Pokot County is about four as compared to Trans Nzoia County which has more than ten banks. Most residents especially in Pokot central sub-county, Pokot north sub-county have no access to financial services.

The study confirmed that insecurity has affected the household income of the residents of West Pokot County through loss of cattle as a result of cattle rustling activities. A section of the Pokot community which constitutes 51.60 % derives their income from agro pastoralist activities which is affected by prolonged drought in the region. The residents also have to rely on food aid from the government and NGOs after cattle raids and displacements after a conflict. The community cannot engage in productive activities since they have to move to safer grounds.

4.3 Conclusions

The study concludes that despite efforts by both county and national government and other stakeholders, the problem of insecurity continues to persist in West Pokot County especially in areas along the common borders with other Counties. The results indicate that most respondents still feel that insecurity is fuelled by cattle rustling activities in the region. Border disputes are also a major cause of insecurity in the region. This finding is confirmed by the first objective

which sought to identify other underlying causes of insecurity in West Pokot County. Moreover, the results show that insecurity has negatively affected the investment opportunities, trade relations, increased poverty levels and exacerbated the problem of unemployment in the region.

From the findings, it is clear that there is a relationship between insecurity and the poor economy in West Pokot County. The findings show that due to the various acts of insecurity explored by the study, the economy of pastoralists and particularly the Pokot continues to deteriorate. The findings of the study therefore show that if the economy of West Pokot County is to be enhanced then a lasting solution needs to be found to address the root causes of insecurity in the region.

4.4 Recommendations

4.4.1 Causes of Insecurity

This section recommends measures to address the underlying problem of insecurity which is the first objective of the study. In addition to resolving cattle rustling activities, marginalization and struggle over resources, the county and national government and other stakeholders should resolve border conflicts among the Pokot and Turkana communities which are a major cause of insecurity.

The study found that cattle rustling activities was the highest contributing factor to insecurity in the region with response rate of 42.2%. The study recommends that the people of West Pokot County should be encouraged or educated to diversify their income generating activities to avoid overdependence of cattle for their food and income. Some of the alternative sources of livelihoods include: providing loans to the idle youths to start business as they are the main perpetrators of conflicts, providing micro credit facilities to the farmers in general to boost their food production and conducting entrepreneurship training to women in order to market and sustain their business.

4.4.2 Policy Recommendations

The study recommends to the government to reformulate the policies aimed at addressing insecurity such as disarmament efforts by the government. This study recommends that the national government should abandon forceful disarmament and instead adopt international best

practices such as the United Nations disarmament demobilization and reintegration principles and programmes.

The study also recommends that the government should address issues of human security and the reasons why people acquire guns. The government should further address reasons why the people of West Pokot County feel that the government has abandoned them in matters of personal security. The government should put policies to address the problem of cattle rustling in West Pokot County. For instance; there should be laws in place on how to deal with cattle rustling activities.

The study also recommends that there should be enhanced synergy between the national focal points on Small Arms and Light Weapons in Kenya and neighboring countries such as Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia to control the Small Arms and Light Weapons menace.

4.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The study recommends further research on the impact of border disputes between the Pokot and Turkana communities. Border disputes have emerged as defining characteristics of the relations between the Pokot and Turkana communities. The researcher also proposes extensive research to explore the reasons why the state has not done enough given that it is the responsibility of the state to provide security to its citizens throughout its territory.

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APPENDIX A: RESEARCH PERMIT



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
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Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No.

Date:

27th October, 2015

NACOSTI/P/15/94916/8190

Rosemary Nyambura Mbugua
University of Nairobi
P.O. Box 30197-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Insecurity among pastoralists: Impact to the economy of West Pokot County,*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in West Pokot County for a period ending 25th October, 2016.

You are advised to report to the **County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, West Pokot 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. S. K. LANGAT, OGW
FOR: DIRECTOR GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
West Pokot County.

The County Director of Education
West Pokot County.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO 9001:2008 Certified

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE KEY INFORMANTS

I am a student pursuing Masters of Arts in International Relations at the University of Nairobi, My research topic is on ‘**IMPACT OF INSECURITY ON PASTORALISTS ECONOMIES: THE CASE OF WEST POKOT COUNTY**’. I kindly request you to provide me with information that will assist in my study. Your responses will be treated with confidentiality.

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

(Please tick where applicable)

1. What is your gender?

Male ()

Female ()

2. What is your age bracket?

15-25 years ()

25-35 years ()

35-45 years ()

45-55 years ()

3. What is your level of education?

Primary ()

High school ()

College ()

Degree ()

None ()

4. What is your Position in the society?

Government official ()

Political leader ()

Security agent ()

Religious leader ()

Others (Please specify) ()

SECTION B

UNDERLYING CAUSES OF INSECURITY IN WEST POKOT COUNTY.

1. In your own opinion do you feel that there is enough security in the County of West Pokot?

a)Yes ()

b)No ()

Please give reasons for the comment above.

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2. Is the government doing enough to provide security in West Pokot County?

Yes()

No ()

Please elaborate your response above.

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3. In your own view, what are the underlying causes of insecurity in West Pokot County?. Please state at least three.

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4. In your own view do cultural practices contribute to insecurity in West Pokot County?

Yes ()

No ()

If yes which cultural practices in particular?

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5. In your own view do you think the influx of small arms and light weapons in West Pokot County has contributed to insecurity?

Yes ()

No ()

If yes what should be done to curb the problem of Small arms and light weapons in West Pokot County?

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SECTION C: ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF INSECURITY TO THE ECONOMY OF WEST POKOT COUNTY.

6. In your own view has insecurity affected the lives of the people of West Pokot County?

Yes ()

No ()

If yes explain the nature of the effect.

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7. In your own view has insecurity affected the economy of West Pokot County?

Yes()

No ()

If yes please tell us in what ways insecurity has affected the economy of West Pokot County.

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8. In your own opinion, has insecurity contributed to the economic disparity between West Pokot County and other counties in Kenya?

Yes ()

No ()

If yes explain the nature and magnitude of the disparity.

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9. In your own view, what are the underlying causes of the high levels of poverty in West Pokot County ?

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10. In your own view what is the average annual household income in West Pokot County?

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11. What factors are responsible for the low household income levels in West Pokot County?

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Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

I am a Master of Arts in International Relations student at the University of Nairobi carrying out a research on “**IMPACT OF INSECURITY ON PASTORAL ECONOMIES: THE CASE OF WEST POKOT COUNTY**”. This information requested in this questionnaire is meant for academic purposes.

Kindly assist in filling the questionnaire.

NOTE

- i) The information given in the questionnaire will be held with confidentiality and will be used for academic purposes only.
- ii) You are under no obligation to fill any question that does not fit your circumstances.

SECTION A

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

(Please tick where applicable)

1. What is your gender?

Male ()

Female ()

2. What is your age bracket?

15-25 years ()

25-35 years ()

35-45 years ()

45-55 years ()

55-65 years ()

65-75 years ()

3. What is your level of education?

Primary ()

High school ()

College ()

Degree ()

None ()

4. What is your marital status?

Married ()

Divorced ()

Single ()

Widowed ()

5. What do you do for a living?

Pastoralists ()

Professional ()

Agro-pastoralist ()

Business person ()

Other (specify) ()

6. Which sub -county do you reside/come from?

.....
.....

SECTION B

7. Examining the implications of insecurity to the economy of West Pokot County

7a. Do you feel secure in your sub-county?

Yes ()

No ()

If No, what are the manifestations of insecurity in your Sub-county?

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7b. To what extent do you **Strongly agree (SA)**, **Agree (A)**, **Strongly disagree (SD)** or **disagree (D)**, **Undecided (U)**, with the following statement on the impacts of insecurity to the economy of West Pokot County?

No.	Impact of insecurity to the economy	SA	A	U	D	SD
1	Insecurity causes West Pokot County to lag behind in terms of development.					
2	Insecurity has affected investment opportunities.					
3	Insecurity has exacerbated the problem of unemployment in West Pokot County.					
4	Insecurity has caused the people of West Pokot to depend on external food aid.					
5	Insecurity has negatively affected relations between West Pokot residents and those of neighboring counties reducing opportunities for economic relations such as trade.					

7c. What other impacts does insecurity have on the economy of West Pokot County?

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SECTION C

8. Identifying the underlying causes of the persistent problem of insecurity in West Pokot County.

8a) In your view what are the causes of the underlying problem of insecurity in West Pokot County?

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8b. To what extent do you think the following have contributed to the problem of insecurity in West Pokot County?

No.	Causes of insecurity	SA	A	SD	D	U
1	The causes of insecurity in West Pokot County is due to cultural practices					
2	Small arms and light weapons have contributed to insecurity in West Pokot County.					
3	Struggle for limited resources for have led to increased insecurity in West Pokot County.					
4	Political incitement from leaders has worsened insecurity in West Pokot County.					

8c. What other underlying factors do you think has contributed insecurity in the County of West Pokot?

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SECTION D

9. Assessing the impact of insecurity to the economy of West Pokot County.

9a. In what ways has insecurity impacted on the economy of West Pokot County?

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9b. Indicate whether you **Strongly Agree (SA)**, **Agree (A)**, **Strongly Disagree (SD)** **Disagree (D)** **Undecided (U)**, with the following as some of the impacts of insecurity to the economy of West Pokot County.

No	Impacts of insecurity	SA	A	SD	D	U
1	Low households income					
2	High poverty levels					
3	High levels of dependency					
4	Economic disparities with other counties					
5	High levels of youth unemployment					

9c. What other impacts does insecurity have on the economy of West Pokot County?

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Thank you for your participation