

**THE INFLUENCE OF DISARMAMENT STRATEGIES ON
SUSTAINABLE SECURITY: CASE OF WEST POKOT COUNTY**

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DECLARATION

I Simon Lonyang'areng' Rialeem declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented to any other examination body.

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This research project has been submitted for assessment with my approval as the University of Nairobi Supervisor.

Signature..... Date.....
Dr. Kasyula Patrick

DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated to my wife, Lydia, Children; Winnie, Fabian, Ryan and Melanie as well as my entire family for standing with me and giving me their encouragements during my studies.

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I thank the Almighty God for enabling me to successfully pursue this course. I also acknowledge the guidance of my supervisor, Dr. Patrick Kasyula who constantly guided me through my research, whose support made me complete this work.

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ABSTRACT

Illegal possession of arms by civilians has proved to be a challenge in regard to peace, security and governance in the affected areas. Therefore, this informs governments to carry out various disarmament strategies aimed at addressing these challenges. In Kenya, several strategies have been previously employed to address the problems of illegal arms owned by civilians. The literature review however, presented different results from such measures. Thus, study therefore sought to establish the role played by disarmament strategies on sustainable security in North Pokot Sub-County, West Pokot County. This study was conducted using qualitative research design with data being gathered using Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), in-depth interviews with participants and telephone interviews where necessary. The data collected was analyzed using thematic analysis. The study found out that forceful disarmament strategies led to more hostility from the Pokot community who argued that the government subjected them to misery without addressing the main causes of armaments and re-armaments and therefore did not address sustainable security. Similarly, amnesty played some critical role in restoring some trust from the community, which led to some collaboration in surrender illegally owned arms, hence leading to some level of security. The findings also found out that other than the disarmament programs carried out, there were other external factors that influenced the surrender of illegally owned arms. The study recommends that there is need to address the root causes of armaments and re-armaments, which lead to vicious circles of conflicts as well as further research on alternative livelihoods in addressing pastoral lifestyles and illegal arms possession.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACB-	Air Cavalry Battalion
ASAL -	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
BBC –	British Broadcasting Corporation
CJPC-	Catholic Peace and Justice Commission
CPRs-	Community Peace Representatives
CSCs-	Civil Society Organizations
DDR –	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
IRA -	Irish Republican Army
FGDs –	Focused Group Discussions
GoSS-	Government of South Sudan
ICRC-	International Committee of Red Cross
KIDDP-	Karamoja Integrated Disarmament Programme
KPR-	Kenya Police Reserve
KDF –	Kenya Defense Forces
NPR –	National Police Reserve
LRA –	Lord’s Resistant Army
MNLF –	Moro National Liberation Front
ODA –	Operation Linda Amani
POKATUSA-	Pokot Turkana Karimojong Turkana Association
SALWs –	Small Arms and Light Weapons
UNLA -	Uganda National Liberation Army
UN-	United Nations
UNODA-	United Nations office for Disarmament Affairs
UNGA-	United Nations General Assembly
UPDF –	Uganda People’s Defense Forces
WES –	Western Equatoria State

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The world is cognizant of the threat emanating from proliferation of weapons since the world wars. United Nations (UN) embarked on non-proliferation campaign aimed at limiting fire arms as a means to maintaining world order. Subsequently, several treaties have previously been signed under the auspices of the UN with the sole aim of reducing illegal possession of the fire arms.

Presence of illegal arms in the hands of civilian and rebel movements have exacerbated violent conflicts in the entire globe, being experienced over time. These conflicts, however, vary in terms of causes ranging from; territorial, resource-based, ethnic and political causes. Most of these conflicts have caused a destruction of property, displacement of persons and deaths (ISS 2009).

Scholars, such as Wolfers (1962) argue that there is a strong sense among communities inhabiting along the international borders that arms ownership by the locals promotes county's protection from external attacks, thus promoting territorial integrity through pushing off raiders from neighboring countries. Such counter attacks are described as patriotic function of the locals through fighting off with security forces (Wolfers, 1962).

Countries in the Balkans have had protracted conflicts in the 1990s leading to death, displacement of population, genocide, war crimes and destruction of property as a result of Small Arms and Light Weapons SALWs. During this period, weapons from the Albania were looted by insurgents and smuggled to Serbian province of Kosovo and Macedonia the former Yugoslav Republic (ICRC 1999). Later in 1998, the UN began on a programme christened "*Arms for Development*" in an Albanian region. This programme was aimed at collecting and destroying small arms while exchanging them with community-based development assistance. This program led to mopping up of over 5000 guns and 1.5 million assortment of other weapons respectively (UN 2001).

In Europe, pressure by the British government against Irish Republican Army (IRA) to disarm took long time due to disagreements within the IRA leadership. It is until the 1998 Agreement between the British Government and the IRA when they signed an agreement for power sharing. (The Guardian, 2005).

In the Far East, the Philippine government developed a disarmament program known as Basil- BARIL (Return Gun) that was aimed at disarming the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). The group members who agreed to disarm were each given incentives by the government to facilitate mopping up arms from civilian hands'. This program however, was hampered due to failure by the rebels to surrender arms as expected since many of them had more than one gun leading to minimal collection of the same (Rodriquez 2010).

In East Africa, international and regional instruments guided Uganda government disarmament program 2001-2002 in Karamojong. The program initially offered period of amnesty on voluntary disarmament (Bevan, 2008). However, the disarmament program later turned out to be forceful after the government agencies encountered resistance from the community. The 2001-2002 disarmament programmes had little success thereby forcing the government to devise new ways of integrating the community into other active disarmament program. The government therefore began to conduct another disarmament program dubbed Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme (KIDDP) of Karamoja region in April-May 2006. This programme was faulted for failing to initiate development as incentives instead, it utilize force through cordon and search.

In Kenya, the Pokot community has experienced armed conflict against their neighbors for a long time. These conflicts have been perpetuated among the neighboring communities of Turkana, Tugen, Marakwet, Ilchemus, Samburu, Karamojong and Sebei of Uganda. Cattle rustling are the main cause of these conflicts. These conflicts have had a negative effect on National Security in social, economic, political and cultural aspects.

To address these violent conflicts, the government carried out disarmament campaigns since the early 1980s aimed at addressing the security concerns. According to Mkutu (2003), Kenya government has conducted various disarmament programs in the conflict in the illicit arms affected areas. Various disarmament strategies were employed in pursuit of freeing arms from hands of civilian ranging from coercive to collaborative approaches between government, the affected communities and other stakeholders.

1.1.1 Brief Introduction of West Pokot County

West Pokot County is a county in North Western part of Kenya about 430 Kms from Nairobi. It covers approximate area of 8,418.20 km² with a total population of 512,690 according to 2009 national housing and population Census. The county is divided into four constituencies, which doubles up as sub-counties with 20 wards, Kapenguria is the County headquarters.

Majority of the Pokot inhabit areas classified as Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) in the North Western part of Kenya bordering Uganda, while the minority inhabit the highlands (Isabella Masinde Mohamud Adan Ruto Pkalya 2004). The majority practice pastoralist lifestyle, which involves migration from one place to another in search of water and pastureland, while the minority practices agricultural farming. This form of lifestyle makes the community vulnerable to frequent attacks from other neighboring communities, a situation that has been increased due to lethality of SALWs in the hands of civilians.

Therefore, to address the persistent conflict between Pokot and their neighboring communities, this study sought to fill a knowledge gap that exists on the influence of disarmaments strategies in de-escalating violent conflicts leading to sustainable security. This is because many scholars have not been able to elucidate disarmament strategies in realizing sustainable security in the conflict prone area with neighboring counties which has been persistent over time.

Forceful disarmament as a variable is an undertaking by the government through the military and security agencies to employ use of force and coercion in recovery of illegally owned arms. It also involves use of arrests, intimidation and collection of arms in order to force a target population to surrender illegal arms and criminals involved in banditry and other violent conflicts. On the other hand, disarmament through amnesty is where the state and non-state actors appeals to the population holding illegal arms to surrender them and those who heed the appeals are granted pardon from prosecution, while their security concerns was being addressed. It involves holding of public meetings, sensitization, and publicity through the media. Similarly, sustainable security is a condition where there is presence of security in an area and maintenance of the same over time. This condition is arrived at after various initiatives and approaches to address the causes of insecurity and violent conflicts which by establishing peace, security, economic development and the rule of law.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Kenya, especially the North Rift region continues to experience violent conflicts as a result of illegal arms in the hands of civilians leading to negative effects on the civilian population. These conflicts are exacerbated by cattle rustling, fight over scarce resources and other unresolved ethnic rivalries. Additionally, neighboring communities have experienced conflicts over boundary disputes due to presence of mineral resources such as oil, gas and other minerals in disputed areas. Consequently, failure to effectively address these trigger factors which leads to violent conflicts, the situation is likely to persist leading to social, economic and political instability (Johannes et al., 2015).

In West Pokot County, several disarmament programs was carried by the government. These programs were aimed at reducing or even eliminating illegal arms in the hands of civilians and pacifying the area in order to bring sustainable security. Similarly, various non-state actors have been carrying out humanitarian activities such as sponsoring students from the affected families, free medical services among others were aimed at bringing about social change within the community on the negative effects of illegal arms.

Despite these continued efforts by Government and stakeholders to promote sustainable security in the county through disarmament and other initiatives to address the vice, the community and their neighbors still face challenges of illegal arms, which continue to support vicious circles of violent conflicts (Musau, 2013). This suggests that ineffectiveness of various disarmament strategies is evident, due to criticisms of violations of human rights and non-availability of development, an obligation of the government.

The study's choice West Pokot County is informed by the fact that just like its neighboring communities in the North Rift region, the county has been plagued with violent communal conflicts stemming from cattle rustling and banditry activities, competition for diminishing natural resources such as land, water and pasture as well as political incitements. In spite of previous disarmament programs carried out to address the issues, research to evaluate the role of various disarmament programs carried out in the county in promotion of sustainable security remains scanty. Additionally, previous disarmament campaigns have been criticized on how they were carried out and their effectiveness as witnessed in persistent demand for firearms and ammunition by various communities (Muchai, 2010).

Therefore, the study sought to fill the gaps by assessing the role of various disarmaments strategies in achieving sustainable security, given that despite there being previous efforts to restore normalcy and security in the affected areas, the security situation remains unpredictable.

1.3 Research Questions

- i. Has the forceful disarmament program influenced sustainable security in West Pokot County?
- ii. To what extent has disarmament amnesty influenced sustainable security in West Pokot County?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

- i. To examine the role of forceful disarmament in attainment of sustainable security in west Pokot county.
- ii. To assess the role of amnesty on surrender of illegal arms by the Pokot community in the attainment of sustainable security in West Pokot County.

1.5 Justification of the Study

This study, has both academic and policy justification on the assessment of previous disarmaments programs carried out by the government in West Pokot.

1.5.1 Academic Justification

A lot of research has been carried on cattle rustling and disarmament but none has been able to critically look at its relationship with sustainable peace and security. This study came up with knowledge to fill the existing gap on the relationship between disarmament strategies and sustainable security.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

The realization of various protocols and declarations in fight against SALWs are dependent upon various studies conducted on the subject. Similarly, the government's commitment to address security challenges experienced by conflicting communities with possession of SALWs would benefit a lot from this study. As such, the findings and recommendations of this research would assist the policy maker in combating crime and achieve sustainable peace and security through proper and broad-based disarmament campaigns.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the study

The study was conducted in West Pokot County, North Pokot Sub-County, along the Kenya-Uganda Border an area inhabited by the Pokot Community and the neighboring Karimojang and Turkana community to the North. The three communities illegally own arms due to the hostility surrounding them emanating from other armed neighboring communities. The persistence of inter-ethnic hostilities, cattle rustling, access to scarce

resources and unresolved ethnic rivalries with Karimojang, Turkana, Marakwet, Sebei among other communities have been compounded further by the presence of illegal firearms in the region.

1.7 Definition of Concepts

Disarmament: According to the oxford dictionary, it refers to the reduction or withdrawal of military forces or weapons. Willet (1998) defines disarmament from Southern Africa context to mean collection and destruction of weapons after termination of conflict between warring parties. According to the United Nations (UN 2006), disarmament is defined as a process that involves “collection, documentation, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition and light and heavy weapons of combatants and often also of the civilian population as well as the development of responsible arms management programmes.” This study adopted the UN definition to bring out the arguments on various disarmament strategies.

Strategies: This according to oxford dictionary, refers to a plan of action designed to achieve a long term or overall aim. According to Mintzberg (1987), strategy is a plan sort of consciously intended course of action(s), a guideline or set of guidelines which are made in advance and applied and developed consciously and purposefully to deal with a situation. This study, conceptualizes the word as the approaches or methods employed in making disarmament programmes achievable in West Pokot.

Sustainability Security: Lexical definition of sustainability refers to the ability to be maintained at a certain level. According to (Suri and Valentino, 2016), the term “sustainable security” describes a foreign policy that matches America’s means to its ends, not just today, but in a way that can be maintained over the coming decades. This study conceptualizes it to refer to durable presence of security in an area,

which previously had persistent violent conflicts with the objective of becoming dominant over time.

Amnesty:

Amnesty refers to an undertaking by an authority to take no action against specified offences during a fixed period. According to Croatian General Amnesty Act (1996), the government granted amnesty to criminals who committed criminal acts during aggression, armed rebellion or armed conflict. This study conceptualize it as a grant of pardon to civilians who voluntarily surrender illegally acquired arms in their possession without being subjected to prosecution and victimization from the state.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes empirical studies advanced by various scholars on the subject matter. The chapters also highlighted on the relevant theories that explains disarmaments as means of achieving sustainable security between warring communities.

2.2 Literature Review

The literature review focused on three main issues that directly relates to the study. Firstly, It addressed the impacts of illegal arms in the hands of civilians, secondly it scrutinizes various ways that Kenya has previously fought the problem of illegal arms. Thirdly, it described the various disarmament strategies carried out in Kenya and other countries detailing their effectiveness or ineffectiveness.

2.2.1 The Impacts of Small Arms on Pastoral Communities

Use of illicitly acquired small arms had negatively affected communities, more so the innocent people. They exacerbate and elongate violent conflicts (Wepundi et al., 2012). Prevalence of small arms use in the North Rift has led to insecurity due to the gun culture that has undermined entrepreneurial development and investments while contributing to cases of sexual violence (Kamenju et al 2003). Small arms have generated low-intensity conflicts typified by a high incidences of banditry, cattle rustling and inter-ethnic clashes. This insecurity has implications for poverty and competition for resources as groups are displaced and/or flee to more secure places, increasing pressure on land and resources (Eavis, 2002).

Ownership and possession of illegal arms by communities tend to propagate criminal activities among the youth who use the guns for looting. According to Cheserek (2012), the acquisition of guns by the Marakwet and Pokot community led to increased incidences of crime whereby young warriors looted shops and stole property. Cheserek further argues that, weapons have led to an increase in murder cases and mass killings in

the affected areas, this assertion was corroborated by Wepundi et al (2012) who argued that small arms play a major role in determining the winners and losers of conflicts, and in the commission of crimes. A 2002 victimization survey demonstrated that 37% of Nairobi's residents had been robbery victims in the previous year (Stavrou, 2002).

SALWs makes easy for a wide violations of human rights. The use of small arms makes perpetrators commit lethal murders than any other form. Similarly, the rule of law cannot be guaranteed where resolution of conflicts is through violence than through legal and peaceful means (Pkalya et al., 2003). According to the ICRC (1999), compliance of warfare rules have been violated by new and regularly indiscipline actors has been difficult to be achieved.

Displacement of population is a characteristic of impacts of illicit arms not only to political hotspots during electioneering years in parts of Kenya, but also to pastoral areas. According to Pkalya et al (2003), more than 160,000 people were displaced as a result of pastoralist violence that involved use of arms. Pkalya (2005), further notes that at one given time, about 200,000 people were internally displaced due to conflict over resources or cattle.

Thriving of illicit arms trade is realized when neighboring communities see others as armed. According to Bevan (2008), the persistent violent conflicts between Turkana and neighboring communities in Uganda and South Sudan are informed by steady supply of SALW and ammunition of which accounts for 50% being Kenya police supplies illegally given to Turkana community for own defense from hostile neighbors.

2.2.2. How Kenya has been fighting illicit arms

In view of the foregoing conflicts coupled with the ownership of illegal arms by civilians in the parts of Kenya, majorly by pastoralist communities, various disarmament exercises have been carried out since the colonial period to date which was mainly coercive. According to Mburu (2001) , the colonial government carried out disarmament exercise christened 'Operation Tennis' in the 1920s to rid out illegal arms owned by civilians in

Turkana and Karamoja region. It was aimed at which at bringing peace and establishing total control of colonial administration.

Wepundi (2011) cited 1950 as a period that the colonial government used cordon and search in Kolowa in Esat Baringo to forcefully recover illegally held arms. It led to displacements of the population who sought refuge in other areas. Additionally, Wepundi posits that there was another forceful disarmament exercise in 1952 ostensibly to recover arms from MAU MAU, the then insurgent group according to the British government fighting for Kenya's independence.

Most previous disarmaments which were largely forceful failed to achieve the desired results due to lack proper coordination and elusive nature of pastoralists who lived in vast areas and rough terrains (Mburu, 2001). Additionally, the failure was attributed to governments' commitment to disarm yet, it did not provide essential services to the people (Kimokati and Atinga, 2014).

Due to largely unsuccessful forceful disarmament programs carried out, the government introduced Operation Dumisha Amani (ODA), a wide based concept than the previous disarmament exercises which was carried in two stages in 2005. ODA I focused on; stabilization of regions affected by the violent conflicts; surrender and recovery of illegally held arms; development of infrastructure; animal branding and facilitation or return of communities to their original settlements (Wepundi, 2011). These were short and medium term objectives which were aimed at addressing inequalities experienced by communities holding illegally acquired arms. It focused on voluntary surrender of arms and coercive disarmament to weed out illegally acquired arms (Kimokoti, 2014).

ODA II Focused on long term objectives which was aimed at addressing attitude change among the affected communities, establishment of an economic master plan to be offered to the affected communities and observance of human rights. Similarly, the players comprised of the local communities, state and non-state actors in the disarmament

processes. This approach was adopted as the ODA II partly failed to achieve the required outcomes (Kimokoti, 2014).

Reasons attributed to armaments by the civilian population are informed by various factors which include; provision of own security by communities, weak or absence of state structures in certain areas, cultural purposes, problems of unstable governments leading to availability of SALWs among other causes. Cases of rearmaments after disarmaments arise when a disarmed community feels vulnerable from attacks from neighboring community for purposes of self-defense. According to Skinner (2012) disarmament programs was not carried out in Western Equatoria State due to presence Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) which posed a danger to the residents incase such disarmaments was to be carried out. This was in response to President Salva Kiir Operational Order to get rid of arms in 10 states of South Sudan in 2008.

2.2.3. Disarmaments Strategies

Disarmament strategies are those approaches or plan a state and other international agencies such as the UN peace enforcement force uses to get rid of arms in the hands of civilians. The sole purpose of this form of exercise is to pacify an area engulfed by persistent violent conflicts and bring about a sustained security between armed and unarmed communities. Most of these strategies can be utilized either singularly or through combination with other(s) in order to achieve the desired results.

The UN acknowledges that proliferation of arms is a dangerous to peace and international security. Therefore, to address these concerns, it came up with United Nations Disarmament Information Programme, whose purpose was for advocacy in understanding the UN objectives of arms Control and disarmament. Currently, The United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) created in 2008 Resolution General Assembly resolution deals with disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as well as strengthening rules governing weapons of mass destruction, chemical and biological weapons. Similarly, it deals with disarmament of conventional weapons and light weapons (UNGA Res. A/51/950, 2008).

This is achieved through provision of information regarding multilateral disarmaments among member states, state parties to multilateral agreements, Governments and other non-state actors. Moreover, UNODA supports the development and implementation of practical disarmament processes after a conflict disarmaments, demobilization and reintegration of ex combatants to the society. This is also reinforced through General Assembly Resolutions on regional disarmament, which addresses efforts on general and complete disarmament. These processes are guided by the inherent human desire for honest peace and security, war and economic growth and pursuance of peaceful resolution of conflicts (UNGA Res. 71/40 2016). Similarly, United Nations regional centers for peace and disarmament reaffirms its commitment of provision of information and advocacy of support of UN objectives of arms control and disarmament (UNGA Res. 71/80, 2016).

2.2.3.1 Forceful Disarmament

Many governments and other international actors such as the UN peacekeeping force have been making efforts in forceful confiscation of illegal weapons through coercion and use of force. Tanner (1996) avers that it is through these lenses that multi-dimensional peace keeping and peace enforcement missions have been employing in countries such as Somalia, Bosnia among others to get rid of arms held by rebel movements. Leff (2009) states that, forceful and coercive disarmament yields to considerable outcomes though with challenges in recovery of obsolete arms during operations.

According to Leff (2009) multi-agency entity, which involved law enforcement and the military use ‘cordon and search’, a method to recover the weapons. ‘This method was for instance used by the UPDF in carrying out disarmament exercise in Karamoja region in 2006. Mkutu (2003) opines that disarmament efforts in the 1980s in both Kenya were heavily dependent upon the use of force, which led to relatively few recovered arms.

Governments prefer the use of forceful disarmament whose aim is to assert state's authority and power in unstable and volatile areas. President of Tajikistan order to disarm militia group in Khorog, in response to assassination of senior intelligence officer was used to assert the state's authority over the militia. The exercise, which was conducted in 2012, led to the recovery of 251 small arms and over 20,000 rounds of ammunition though it claimed lives of 12 service members and 30 rebels (Zhukov March, 2016). In March 2012, the prolonged inter-ethnic violence in Jonglei state made the Government of South Sudan to launch disarmament operations named 'Operation Restore Peace'. These operations were however criticized by human rights organizations due to alleged infringement of human rights (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

Nonetheless, there are arguments advanced by many scholars in regard to effectiveness of forceful disarmament exercises. Bevan (2008), assert that Uganda military used forceful disarmament in Karimoja region left the area more volatile than before the exercise. To him, the forceful disarmament led to displacement of population and widening of fear and mistrust gap between the Karamojong and the military.

Similarly, forceful disarmaments strategies in most cases have yielded to dismal results due to fear by disarmed groups of attacks from communities not disarmed. Duke and Rouw (2013) argue that Forceful disarmament campaigns in Jonglei State of South Sudan have not addressed sustainable security due to vulnerabilities of the disarmed communities for fear of attacks from neighboring communities not disarmed. Skinner (2012), adds that fear of attacks by LRA which operated in WES led to the formation of 'Arrow Boys' to counter the attacks against the community. Additionally, the formation of the 'White Army' in Jonglei and Upper Nile States were meant to protect the community against aggression from perceived enemy against the communities. Mkutu (2003) concurs that indeed, communities fear of eminent attacks after being disarmed as the case of Upe (Pokot of Uganda) who fled to join Pokot in Kenya with their animals and escape the disarmament in Karamoja region. This leads to reluctance to full surrender of arms by targeted community, a situation that would encourage further rearmaments.

Malam (2014) posits that lack of basic human needs and inequitable distribution as well as mismanagement of public resources was also to blame for acquisition of illegal arms, thus leading to violent conflicts. The hopeless population with lack of employment becomes vulnerable to crime and other forms of criminal groupings, which lead to demand for more arms to pursue illegal group's interests.

2.2.3.2 Amnesty/Voluntary Disarmaments

Governments have previously carried out voluntary disarmament exercises when they realized that forceful strategy did not achieve desired results. Voluntary strategy would be jointly used with amnesty where the governments would give a window of certain period of time requiring targets of disarmament to surrender their arms in exchange of amnesty. Threats of forceful disarmament would be issued if voluntary surrender of arms citizens failed. According to Mkutu (2003), the then Kenyan president in 2001, gave an ultimatum to residents of West Pokot, Baringo and Elgeyo Marakwet to surrender illegal arms or face undisclosed consequences. O'Brien (2008) submit that disarmament carried out in Jonglei, South Sudan through an order by GoSS initially focused on voluntary disarmament but transformed to a second phase which included coercive. This is because, the outcome did not meet the desired objectives of mopping up illegal arms coupled with ununiformed disarmaments among neighboring states.

Scholars such as David Quin (2003) among others in a report Albania, '*Kosovo and Macedonia: Armed to the teeth*' suggested that Macedonian government begun to employ amnesty through campaigns that was aimed at encouraging armed civilians to surrender illegally acquired arms. This surrender were in exchange of amnesty and those who agreed with the terms were entered into a draw to win prizes, a car being the top most prize. The report further indicated that there was an impressive results during the initial stages but would later face some resistance from the Albanians who believed that the multi-ethnic law enforcement agencies would not guarantee them security.

A British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) report (2018) '*Australians turn in 57,000 guns in national amnesty*' indicated that Australians surrendered about 57,000 guns in 2017 through a *National Gun Amnesty* granted by the government. This program was geared towards addressing increased number of illegal arms in the hands of civilians and address safety of the citizens, which the government commended as effective. This approach would therefore, be argued to lead to successful disarmament efforts if security could be granted to civilians who perceive themselves as being insecure.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

This research is based on the human needs theory that was advanced by John W. Burton. The literature review has indicated that the urge for small arms among pastoralist communities is elicited by the need for security, which has remained unmet for several years in the affected areas.

2.3.1 Human Needs Theory

Human needs theorists argue that human needs play a significant part in determining human socialization and behavior (Marker 2003). Therefore, satisfaction of human needs defines either cooperation or conflictual nature of a society, where conflict arises from unmet human needs. Abraham Maslow came up with hierarchy of needs with numerous things accounting for human needs. To him, the needs are arranged in hierarchical nature placing physiological needs such as food, water and shelter at the bottom, the need safety and security come second, followed by love and belonging, then self-esteem and finally the need for self-actualization. To Maslow, satisfaction of one's need gives one an opportunity to pursue the rest of the needs at the higher level (Griffin, 2014).

According to Maslow, satisfaction of one's need then offers the opportunity for one to pursue needs at a higher level in the hierarchy. To Maslow, deficiency of needs causes an urge to satisfy them but the last two top needs in the hierarchy is not critical which is often pulls one to satisfy it rather than pushing one to do so.

Burton concurs with Maslow's need theory in addressing conflicts but differs with him on hierarchical nature of needs. To Burton, satisfaction of needs does not follow certain order, but are rather sought concurrently. According to Burton, unmet needs lead people to seek alternate behaviors including conflict in order to satisfy them (Burton 1986).

Burton identified four significant needs that aid in success of peaceful negotiations and settlements. They are; security or safety which he defines as freedom from fear; identity defined as a sense of self in relation to others; recognition and personal development (Marker, 2003).

To Burton, the aforementioned needs have to be satisfied through resolution of conflicts in order to achieve peace (Burton, 1986). Such needs are therefore achievable through the collaboration of the community and the government, the government being the initiator of policies and provider of public goods and services. Similarly, the government has the obligation in ensuring that needs are met by its citizens in order to prevent or resolve conflict (Burton 1986 and Doucey, 2011).

Burton further postulates that the supposed reasons for conflict behavior among human beings defines the means followed to resolve them. A perception of needs fulfilment as the cause of conflicts leads to a long term conflict resolution which aims at addressing the needs, hence leading to a permanent solution. On the contrary, if conflict is perceived to be as a result of human natural aggressive behavior, then coercive means necessary in mitigating such conflict (Doucey, 2011).

Schnabel (2007) links Burton's Human needs theory and that of Johan Galtung's concepts of structural and direct and violence. To Schnabel, unsatisfied needs in most cases are indicators of structural violence in a society which could result to direct violence through engagement of violent conflicts as parties strive to satisfy own needs. According to Galtung (1969), direct violence consists of an actor who directly injures and causes pain on another while structural violence is essential in the structure of the society

manifesting itself through; injustices, marginalization, unequal access and distribution of resources among others.

Pokot community just like any other pastoral community have suffered years of marginalization, injustices, unequitable distribution and access to resources such as; infrastructure, health facilities, learning facilities during the colonial and subsequently the independent Kenya before devolution. The area is therefore, considered very insecure as manifested through the structural violence. Inadequate state security as well as weak state structures at the local levels have led to demand for arms. Direct violence is witnessed through attacks and counter attacks by the neighboring communities leading to deaths, displacements, destruction of property as well as destruction of livelihoods leading to cruel cycle of numerous unmet human needs.

Disarmament strategies have been previously pursued by use of coercion to tame the perceived human aggressive behavior, which views conflict as a cause of natural human aggressive behavior. As such, they have been based on the assumption that the pastoralist communities living in the area are inherently aggressive, who like to engage in conflicts and continue to possess to small arms as the instruments of waging violent conflicts. Subsequently, coercive strategies have been applied with the aim of containing and controlling the pastoralist communities. This has led to unsustainable security owing to lack of a clear attention on the root causes of the problem, the unmet security and safety needs.

This research therefore adopts Burton's conceptualization of human needs theory which emphasizes safety needs. However, such needs are sought concurrently, as opposed to Maslow's hierarchy. In West Pokot, for instance, security may take priority and even determine the satisfaction of other needs like food and shelter. Hence, this study seeks to espouse the issue of disarmament from a human needs theory perspective noting that unmet security needs by the state have resulted into demand for arms by the community for own protection, their families and livestock which is the main source of livelihood and the channel to satisfaction of basic needs such as food.

Malam (2014) argues that lack of basic human needs and inequitable distribution as well as mismanagement of public resources drives citizens to acquire arms, thus leading to violent conflicts. The theory is therefore useful in looking at disarmament strategies as matters that requires human needs approach bearing in mind that the theory addresses the root causes of conflicts as well as motivating factors of communities' choice of arms acquisition.

2.3.2 Limitations of the Theory

However, this theory has limitations, which were advanced by some scholars. According to Marker Sandra (2003), it is difficult to conceptualize needs and their priorities since they are not defined. Similarly, context of needs on whether they are cultural or universal in nature have some setbacks in addressing conflicts. To her, it is difficult identify unmet needs from the unmet ones. She further argues that it is difficult to know whether needs are cultural or universal in nature, thus making it difficult in solving conflicts.

According to Carol and other scholars (Carol et al., 1988), conflicts arise because of both needs and interests where resolutions through satisfying needs would still not be achieved when interests are not addressed as well. They cited cause of Palestine/Israeli conflict as a pure example of needs and interests, which are inherent in addressing and solving conflicts. He faulted this theory as an enabler of solving conflict.

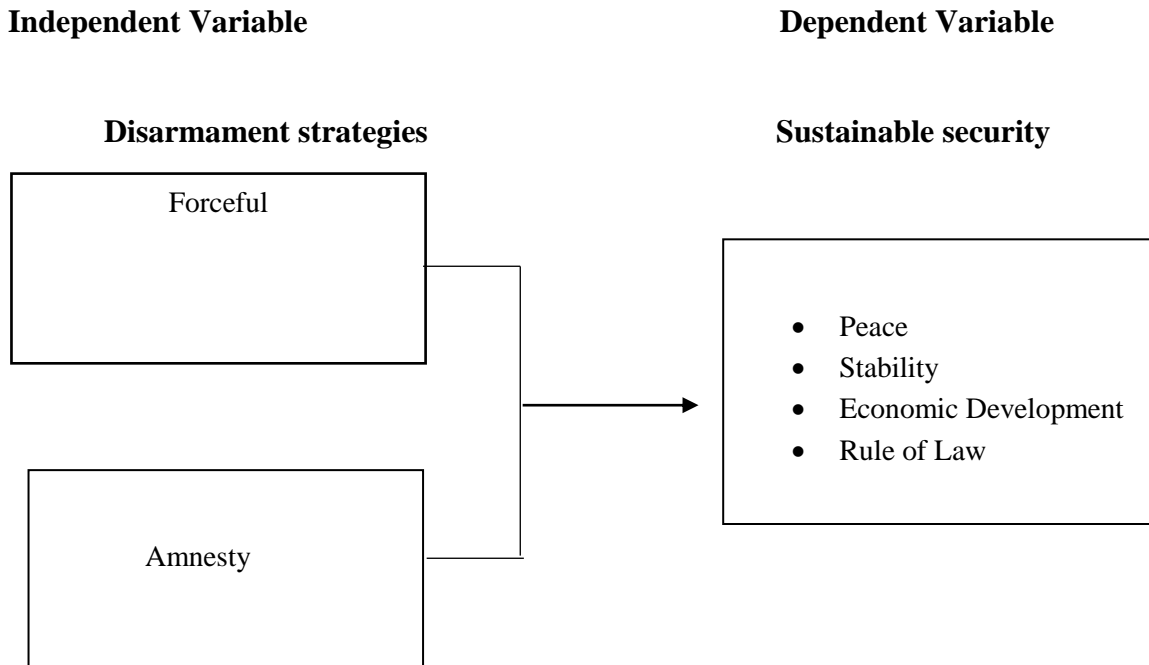
In order to surmount the limitations to this theory, the researcher critically looked at the needs and interests jointly, while trying to establish their relationship in conflict situation and how such conflicts can be resolved. This would be able to address the limitations of the theory so as to address the problem well.

2.3.4 Conceptual Framework

Conceptual framework is a diagrammatic representation of relationships between variables. Dependent variables are those that become affected by manipulation of other variables known as independent variables. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), a dependent variable is a function of independent variable. Therefore, the dependent

variable in this study is sustainable security while the independent variables are; forceful and voluntary disarmament strategies. The conceptual relationships between the variables are shown in the diagram in the next page.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework



The above diagram shows the relationship between dependent and independent variables whereby there is projected outcome as a result of manipulation of dependent variable by independent variables.

In conclusion, the literature review points out strongly that as much as forceful disarmament is necessary to get rid of illegal arms in the hands of civilians, there is a general concurrence that to surmount the problem of illegal arms, there is need to have broad based strategies in dealing with arms problem. Indeed, these broad based approaches are necessary which includes; addressing basic human needs, equitable distribution of economic resources as well as inclusivity in governance structures. Similarly, it would be able to address the root causes of conflicts which lead to acquisition of arms by civilians as well as discouraging such resolves.

2.3.5 Hypothesis

Hypothesis of this study came up with the following:-

- i. Forceful disarmament has negatively affected sustainable peace in West Pokot County.
- ii. Amnesty in disarmament has positively influenced sustainable peace.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discussed the research design utilized by the study. The section will define the research's target population, sampling procedure, and data collection methods and instruments as well as data analysis. Additionally, it specified the administration of data collection tools and explained how the study findings were analyzed and presented.

3.2 Research Design

The research was guided by qualitative research design with utilization of non-probabilistic sampling technique to come up with a sample of the target participants, so that all the different segments in the population are represented in the sample. It specifically utilized purposive sampling technique because the researcher required a maximum degree of insight into the problem under investigation and therefore purposively selected informants with relevant knowledge (Kothari, 2004, Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003).

3.3 Participants

The target participants of the study are state and non-state actors as well residents of West Pokot County. The participants were drawn from the government institutions, Sub-county peace committees, officials of Non-Governmental and Community Based Organizations as well as a section of residents of the County. The study targeted both male and female participants between the ages of 14 to 75 years residing within the County. The aim of having the two genders and various age sets was to draw varied responses, so as to enrich the study and minimize biasness among the respondents.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and in-depth interviews was employed as the main data collection tools, which according to Neuman (2009) FGDs as group conversation. Thus, FGDs are useful for gaining insight into the range of views held about a particular topic

that is of relevance to the participants and the researcher (Babbie, 2008). Therefore, in this study, FGDs was useful for gaining in-depth knowledge on previous disarmament strategies employed for sustainable security in West Pokot County. The in-depth interviews aided in counter-checking the responses drawn from the participants and targeted key officials involved in the initiation, implementation and monitoring of previous disarmament programs within the County.

Telephone interviews were also useful which enabled to get responses from individuals. Due to some observable phenomena, it was also another data collection method which enriched the study. Moreover, the study utilized secondary data from both published and unpublished works. According to Kothari (1990), published data include; books, journals, research, institutional reports, government reports among others. While the unpublished data was obtained from letters, diaries autobiographies and research works.

Questions were drawn from the study's objectives as well as relevant secondary data to facilitate administration of the FGDs and in-depth interviews. The choice of FGDs and in-depth interviews was because they are beneficial in terms of saving time, given that it allows one question to be asked to several individuals systematically and simultaneously thus enabling all participants to participate in real time. Similarly, the study employed observation as a method of data collection. This is due to the fact that there were observable phenomena which aided the study.

To ensure suitability and adequacy of available secondary data, the study considered the following characteristics; reliability of data, this can be tested through establishing the source of data, the author, place collected, whether the data was collected using the right methods and whether there were any biases during compilation or not; suitability of data, the researcher checked whether the data available was suitable for the study or not. This was done by checking various definitions of terms used, objectives, the scope and nature of the original study was also necessary; lastly, the researcher checked the adequacy of data through intensive reading for the purposes of establishing whether the available data is narrow or too broad than the current inquiry (Kothari, 1990).

To check for reliability, which according to Bailey (2007), refers to the consistency of research instruments and findings over time, the same set of questions were used on all the respondents, so as to ensure the responses provided were consistent. To ensure validity, the researcher piloted the study's tools including its FGD questionnaire and interview schedule on the first group of respondents, so as to eliminate ambiguities, which would not be reflect the phenomena under study.

3.5 Research Procedure

FGDs, In-depth interviews and telephone conversations conducted ensured a triangulation of data collected. This aided in understanding the specific benefits and shortcomings of various disarmament strategies in West Pokot County. The interviews were conducted to representative parties from selected NGO's, CBOs, National Government Officers in the ministry of Internal Security and Coordination of National Government.

After these interviews, 6 FGDs comprising of six members each drawn from the various segments of the target population with the groups further being sub-divided according to gender for further clarification was conducted. The first FGD comprised of male respondents aged between 35- 50 years and the second included women aged 35-50 years. The third FGD consisted of both male and female youth aged between 18-34 years and the last FGD comprised of grassroots leaders aged between 51-70 years.

FGDs were administered using open-ended focus group questionnaire questions in English and Kiswahili to ensure all the participants comprehend the queries raised. It was anticipated that by using the open-ended questions, the respondents would provide diverse answers and the technique provided room for further probing and clarification from the participants. The responses were recorded using note taking.

This study focused on disarmament strategies carried out in Pokot North Sub-County in areas of Kacheliba, Konyao, Kiwawa, Orolwo, Kasei and Alale areas which borders Uganda and Turkana County due to frequent raids and counter raids between Pokot,

Karimojang and Turkana communities. These conflicts have been mainly through cattle rustling as well as conflict over pasture and water.

The instruments of the study were administered with conformity to ethics in regard to cultural issues in order to avoid interference during the study. This was achieved through considering, factors such as age and gender, there were considerations of each groups involved in the study. In terms of the duration for administration of study instruments, the FGDs took about two hours in each group, so as to enable the participants answer the queries raised in the study comfortably and adequately, while the in-depth interviews lasted about one hour with the respective respondents.

3.6 Data Analysis

Upon completion of the study, the data collected in qualitative form was transcribed and clustered according to the FGDs and in-depth interviews schedule. The data was then edited, with the researcher looking out for accuracy and consistency as well as uniformity when entering writing styles. Coding followed the collation process, so as to discover emerging patterns among the data and later analyzed using thematic analysis (Kothari, 2004; Babbie, 2008). This is because thematic analysis works most effectively when a researcher seeks themes that address the study's research questions (Davies, 2007).

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research results and discusses these findings in tandem with the study's objectives. The specific objective was to examine the role of forceful disarmament in attainment of sustainable security in West Pokot County.

Sustainable security being a dependent variable is a condition where there is predominance of security in area which previously witnessed insecurity through violence by use of arms, though with previous initiatives to address the same. Sustainable security describes a condition that can last for a longer period of time.

Forceful disarmament in this study is an independent variable which comprises the use of force and coercion in pursuance of arms recovery from communities in possession of illegal weapons. The actors were drawn from the military, security and provincial administration with one objective of forceful recovery of illegally held arms. It involved arrests, confiscation of animals and prosecution of offenders found to have propagated criminal activities prior to the disarmaments.

Similarly, study assesses the influence of amnesty/voluntary being an independent variable describes the strategy used in surrender of illegal arms by the Pokot community in attainment of sustainable security in West Pokot County. In this study, amnesty will be used interchangeably with voluntary so as to gain the understanding of the objective. Amnesty involved granting pardon to civilians who voluntarily surrender arms to the government and governments' provision of economic development to the communities who perceived to have been marginalized. Additionally, amnesty involved the community, government and non-state actors in actualization disarmament strategy.

The data analyzed was derived from the study's, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with key respondents. Subsequently, thematic analysis was employed to discuss the data, given that it enables one to study themes emerging from the participants' responses (Babbie, 2008).

The findings are categorized into three; firstly, findings from the community members who included opinion and local leaders, the women and the youth resulting from FGDs conducted. Secondly, from the NGOs/Church-Based Organizations having derived from In-depth Interviews conducted. Thirdly, from National and County Government and FGDs from as derived from in-depth interviews conducted.

4.2. Local leaders and the Community

FGDs were held with community who included local/opinion leaders, the youth and women. Data were thematically analyzed and yielded the following themes:

4.2.1 State of Security in the area as at 2018

4.2.1.1 Relative Peace

Some respondents stated there is relative peace in the North Pokot along the Uganda-Kenya border due to measures undertaken by the Uganda government. The measures include voluntary disarmament programs carried out by the Ugandan government between 1992-2002.

The exercise was carried out by registration of guns owned by the civilian with exchange of Uganda shillings equivalent to ksh. 10,000 per month. The exercise encouraged many civilians who included Kenyans to register their illegal guns in exchange of the money. However, after 2002, the Uganda government asked all those who had registered their guns to hand over or else face forceful recovery. Many of those who registered their guns why the Uganda government decided to get their guns and instead requested to be paid. They were however reminded that, those who had registered earned equivalent of Ksh. 10,000 and therefore, the Uganda government had already compensated them. They therefore returned many of the registered guns. Consequently, Uganda government urged

those who had returned their guns to be enlisted as Local Defense Units (LDU) who use the guns to protect the community against aggression from communities not armed. LDUs were further given allowances which enabled them to sustain their families.

Similarly, Uganda government deployed military camps along the Kenya-Uganda border so as to keep anyone found in possession of illegal guns away from entering Uganda. These according to the respondents calling the peace as Museveni's peace "*Kalyaa Museveni*". To them, they foresee a situation of recurrent violent conflicts when Museveni will be no longer be in power.

4.2.2 Reasons why the Community Acquire Arms

4.2.2.1 Cattle Rustling

Many respondents stated that the Pokot, Sebei, Karimojng and Turkana have been fighting over cattle thefts along the Uganda-Kenya border. The respondents attributed cattle rustling to be a problem of nomadic communities who mainly depend on livestock for living. A respondent asserted that up to late 1990s, large scale cattle raids were carried out with the blessings of the seers and elders especially when the neighboring community has been persisted in attacking them (Pokot). He added that "to stop the incessant attacks, the community elders in collaboration with the seers could sanction a raid which comprised of over 1000 raiders commonly known by the Pokot as *Lopete*" Similarly, the seers could employ superstitious tactics such as rain-making so as to cripple the attacked community from staging successful counterattacks.

Another respondent stated that cultural matters such as payment of pride price encouraged cattle raids. One respondent stated that "in the area, currently those intending to get married are required to pay an average of 30 heads of cattle and an average of 25 goats/sheep." Additionally, some respondents attributed livestock to storage of wealth by the Pokot who view ownership of cattle as a symbol of status and riches. Pokot community also relied on livestock for source of food through draining of blood from cattle which are then consumed and the production of milk which also serves as a source of food.

However, as the intensity of livestock raids dropped, some bandits mainly comprising the youth from Pokot, Sebei and Karimojang have adopted a different approach where they steal small number of livestock and exchange them among themselves and later sell them by cash or through mobile money transfers. For instance in Kanyeris area along the Kenya-Uganda border, Pokot youth could steal animals from their area and exchange them with Sebei. The Pokot bandits would receive their money through mobile transfer while the Sebei would get their animals at a designated point without physically encounter. The animals would thereafter be sold at Bukwa and Kanyeris markets. The Pokot came up with this type of trade as *Lowadaka* (a collaborative illegal commercial activity).

Many respondents especially those bordering Turkana County acknowledge that indeed, mass raids have really gone down, however, there are many factors that attributes the ongoing cattle between the community and Turkana raids as an activity generated by other factors which would be disused in the next theme.

4.2.2.2 Land /Boundary Disputes

Some respondents said that land and boundary disputes have emerged in the recent past citing two areas namely Apuke, Lochorialim, Ombolion, Lorogon areas where the Turkana have laid claimed of. In Lochorialim, the inhabitants are Pokots assimilated to Turkana and the land belongs to Pokot while Lorogon is an area that was inhabited by laborers during the construction of Turkwel dam in the mid-1980s.

A respondent acknowledged that the emergence of the land disputes is because of fertility and possible presence of oil deposits. Similarly, Lorengkipi is another area with land contention between the Pokot and the Turkana over which community owns it. As the contention continue, some respondents lay claim to areas such as Loima (known as Murwasikor) Lorengkipi, Apuke, Chemrongu, Lopirchich, Cheprochpogh, Kapitir, among other areas. For instance, some residents stated that the British government during the colonial period settled the Turkana in Lorengkipi in order to carry out irrigation services, in order to be tamed from attacking the British officials then.

Some respondents stated that in 2010, Tullow Oil experts visited Alale and held a meeting with the locals over the possibility of setting up exploration site in Pokot land in Apuke and Kalongedei area. Community members urged the experts that they were ready to have the exploration conducted. To them, the recognition by Tullow to set up a meeting with them was a clear indication that the disputed areas were a Pokot land. Some respondents accused the Turkana County political leaders for not being sincere in matters of boundary especially after oil deposits were found in Turkana while other areas including West Pokot are under exploration programs. They argued that the Turkana politicians claim Turkana County border with West Pokot County was along Sekerr Hills, an assertion that has been vehemently opposed by the Pokot community including their leaders.

4.2.2.3 Water and Pasture

Many respondents attributed various violent conflicts to competition for water and pasture. This is especially when either the Pokot pastoralists take their animals to either Karimoja region in Uganda or some parts of Turkana county. Violent conflicts ensue when a group of herders find the hostile community in occupation of water point or pastureland. Those in occupation would not wish to let go the scarce resources to their neighbors at the expense of their livestock and therefore the only thing to do is defend the ground while the other group would not wish to see their animals die because of hunger and thirst.

A respondent stated that Pokot would occasionally fight with Karimojang along Okilim River in Kiriki, Uganda over competition of water. This is a phenomenon witnessed even before the onset of acquisition of sophisticated weapons. During the early period, both the communities would fight using sticks and knives and later graduated to spears leading the guns. Similarly, Pokot nomads would take their animals as far as Lake Kyoga in search of pasture during dry seasons even if they encountered attacks. This also applied in Turkana side where the Pokot would graze their animals inside Turkana County but as they return, they steal Turkana animals and drive away with their animals, a situation that constantly result into violent conflicts.

4.2.2.4 Proliferation of Arms

Respondents stated that initially, the Pokot community were using spears and that the introduction of guns became new in the society and therefore, one needed to own so as to match those who acquired them. For instance, a respondent stated that *Ntarwas*, a Turkana Sub-tribe was the first community to own guns in Turkana, after being supplied by the Ethiopian government under Menelik II. The respondent cited the 1914 massacre of the Pokots in Lorengkipi, Kalokol and other areas by the Turkana which is popularly known as *Konyi Ntarwas*. Another respondent cited a case in early 1970s when a popular Turkana man known as Losike invaded Pokot livestock taking water in Apuke area and took over 200 head of cattle and later raped a Pokot girl. During the ordeal, the Pokot youth herding the animals were helpless since they only had spears which did not merge guns owned by Losike and the group. Another respondent stated that in the 1950s, he witnessed a Turkana man come to their homestead and demanded his (respondent's) father to let go some animals.

The respondent's father reached to his spear and tried to defend his animals. The asked him if he knew what he was holding (gun). The respondent though being young convinced his father to let the Turkana man go with the specified animals. The old man did as requested by his son; the Turkana forgave the old man and later asked the boy (the respondent) if he knew what he was holding. The boy replied in negative, but was later to be told that that indeed what he was holding was a gun with a tri pod whose effects were immense than that of a spear.

Consequently, Pokot begun acquiring home-made guns known as *Amitidiny*. Similarly, Pokot and Karimojang also begun to acquire more arms from Turkana traders which were being sold at about 80 heads of cattle to the Karimojong and the Pokot communities. Additionally, other guns were sourced from Somalia and later from Sudan which made the region awash with illegal arms in the hands of civilians.

More so, the unstable Uganda government in the 1970s led to more influx of illegal arms from dissident soldiers who were not happy with Idi Amin's governance. Another respondent stated that the invasion of Moroto Military barracks by the Karimojong led to more complicated situation in regard to illegal arms in the region to the civilians. Many of the looted arms were kept by the Karimojong while others sold to Turkana and Pokot.

4.2.2.5 Provision of own and defense

Many respondents stated that Pokot community begun to acquire arms as a result of lack of security that was provided by the government. Some argued that the community was marginalized and never experienced political representation that could guarantee them security from the state. Another respondent added that the chiefs were also not recognized as part of the government whenever they protected the interests of the community. Additionally, administrative areas were huge which made government officers have rare contacts with the residents and therefore creating a gap for them to acquire arms to protect themselves, children, women and their livestock.

According to some respondents, poor government responses to cattle raids by other communities against the Pokot also played a critical role in acquisition of arms, since the government failed to recover raided livestock. A respondent stated that the government has been lax in following raided livestock from Pokot community, but other communities such as the Turkana would be treated differently by recovering their raided animals. To them therefore, they believe that the government has not been neglecting them in offering them the requisite service compared to other communities.

4.2.3 Disarmament Programs

4.2.3.1 Forceful

Many respondents stated that disarmament exercises was first carried out 1979 in West Pokot County to recover home-made guns known by the community as *Lokankona*. Military operation was mounted against those who were suspected to own the locally made guns. A respondent added that several animals were confiscated, houses touched, people harassed, in a move that was meant to force those who had the guns to surrender

them. Consequently, some of those who were affected fled to Uganda while others fled to other safe areas in West Pokot. However, the exercise did not cover a large area and it also took a short time.

Another forceful military operation code named ‘‘Operation Nyundo’’ was conducted in 1984 which is being referred by the community as *Konyii Lotiriri* (the year of Helicopter). The military and other security agencies conducted the operation that which was forceful and coercive which involved cordon and search, confiscation of animals, torture, harassment of children, women, and the innocent, which was meant to coerce them surrender illegally acquired guns and criminals who participated in cattle raids.

Many respondents stated that the military confiscated their animals and were kept at military camps in Kacheliba, Konyao and Alale. They affirmed that the people especially the chiefs were being forced to disclose the whereabouts of the criminals who participated in cattle raids and those who possessed illegally acquired guns. One respondent said ‘‘one chief was from Alale was arrested and put in a helicopter, the chief was dropped to the ground the time the helicopter was airborne where he died’’.

During the operations, several people fled the country to Uganda while others were displaced and sought refuge in their kin’s home in the highlands of West Pokot in areas such as Mnagei and Lelan. The respondents termed the operations as brutal and inhuman which a government would not have subjected her people to especially the sick, the children, the elderly and the innocent people.

Some respondents also described the operations as a brutal which led to rape of girls and women as well as sodomizing men who refused to cooperate. A respondent stated that a girl in Kacheliba offered to be raped so that his uncle would be spared from being sodomized by some soldiers. According to the respondents, some chiefs who failed to cooperate with the military were tortured and testicles crushed. One respondent stated that one unnamed chief in Kodich was arrested and testicles crushed leading to impotence because he allegedly refused to disclose those who owned guns in his area.

However, according to the respondents, the government failed to return the animals which were confiscated to the owners after the efforts to recover illegal guns were futile. Some respondents stated that some animals died in the camps while others were consumed by the soldiers; others were taken and transported to unknown locations by the soldiers. Elsewhere, animals which were being held at Alale military camp were given to Turkana, a move termed by the locals as an insult to them.

Meanwhile, according to some respondents, more forceful disarmaments were carried out between 1984 to late 1990s though it was not severe as the 1984 operations. One respondent affirmed that after the 1984 military operation, there were no other major forceful disarmament exercises that were conducted. The few that were there were not much felt as the one done in 1984. Similarly, the same tactics were used to trick those targeted to surrender illegally acquired arms as well as surrender any stolen animals.

Many respondents affirmed that all the forceful disarmament carried out between 1979 to late 1990s, none was successful. According to them, members of the Pokot community began to treat government officers especially the security forces with suspicion and therefore, any exercise that was carried out by the government was viewed negatively. The suspicion arose as a result of physical and mental pain inflicted to them. Also, the victimization the community was subjected to whether women and children or innocent made them more cautious in interacting with government officials. The community therefore viewed the military operation as a collective communal punishment which was conducted in violation of their human rights.

Further, the harsh treatment according to the respondents made those who did not have the guns acquire theirs saying that there was no point of not having them as many of them those who had and those who did not have were all subjected to torture and harassment, a situation they wished not be part of it again. This situation also made the youth to be more arrogant as result of the pain their parents were subjected to during the operations.

Additionally, members of the Pokot according to the respondents begun to re-arm themselves and continued with mass raids from Karimojong, Sebei and Turkana Communities in order to replenish their lost stock. A respondent stated that, ‘‘the members of the community who did not have guns organized raids so as to raise cattle that they would exchange for guns’’. About 30 head of cattle were exchanged with one AK 47 Rifle.

Some respondents affirmed that the government ought to have conducted the exercise after considering various factors that led to acquisition of arms. Another respondent said that the local terrain as well as the adamant Pokots made the security forces fail to recover much of the guns as they wished. Moreover, the government failed to recover the arms as expected since some members of the Pokot community fled to Uganda and other areas made the forceful military operation fail.

4.2.3.2 Amnesty

Many respondents stated that the government in early 2000s begun to offer amnesty to those who voluntarily accepted to surrender their illegally acquired guns. This is after it realized that few guns were recovered after mounting forceful disarmament campaigns. The amnesty was carried alongside provision of humanitarian services by military to the locals such as; provision of water, mobile medical supplies, construction of dams, construction of feeder roads and transport services for the locals and their luggage.

Some respondents stated that the military personnel interacted with the community through games and evangelism which was aimed at changing the perception of the military by the community. Some stated the military and other security agencies cultivated friendly relations with the locals in order to change attitude of locals towards them albeit little trust.

Many respondents stated that the government promised incentives such as provision of 20 iron sheets to every family and provision of bags of maize to those who volunteered to surrender their illegally acquired guns. Additionally, the chiefs implored members of the

community to surrender their guns for the sake of peace and whoever agrees to surrender them, were pardoned from prosecution.

According to some respondents, the government in 2016 urged the community to voluntarily surrender their illegally gotten arms for registration and subsequent deployment as NPRs. One respondent stated about 10 guns were handed over to the government of which, are currently being used by the NPRs for protection and reaction to any attacks against the community living in the area. Many respondents agreed that as much as there was general suspicion among government officials, the amnesty offered gave some impetus to the disarmament exercise since the chiefs were involved.

However, many respondents stated that services offered by the military were short-lived and were not sustainable in the entire North Pokot Sub-County, therefore leading to little impact to the locals. Also, the construction of dams was done without consultation of the locals leading to constructing dams where it was not ideal to hold water, thus leading to waste of resources during construction.

This disarmament strategy which was also known as “Operation Dumisha Amani” however had a lot of challenges which included surrender of obsolete guns by the locals while retaining the serviceable ones, a condition that led to minimal recovery of the same. One respondent stated that “a gun is an asset whose purpose is not for cattle raids, but for protection”. Similarly, some of the promises such as provision of 20 iron sheets and maize to those who voluntarily agreed to register their guns were not met which continued to make them more skeptical about the whole amnesty program.

Other respondents affirmed the amnesty pronounced by the government was not inclusive enough that would have seen elders and other opinion leaders participate in the decision making processes before granting the disarmament campaigns, though the community was still skeptical of government actions.

4.2.3.4 Other Measures

Many respondents stated that some non-state actors such as Pokot Turkana Karimojong Turkana Association (POKATUSA) that was formed by reformed warriors held sensitization programs both in Uganda and Kenya whose aim was to educate/sensitize warriors of significance of abandoning cattle raids.

The sensitization according to one of the reformed warriors stated that the sensitization programs involved taking warriors for tours in urban centers including Nairobi and Mombasa. He noted that one warrior while touring Nairobi Uhuru Park, Nairobi in 1999 asked that ‘‘ for how long will that house (referring to Nyayo House) grow? and that ‘‘ It seems that house is falling? The respondent stated that taking leaders of cattle raids to such tours will greatly improve their perception of life, a life that is not solely surrounds cattle and guns.

Another respondent further stated that different churches has played a big role in changing perception of warriors where they are preached on importance of peace and shunning away illegal arms. The respondent stated that ‘‘one warrior leader was able to receive salvation after getting bible teachings which led him to donate ammunition as offerings since he had no money. To him, the ammunitions were valuables’’. He therefore concluded that indeed, the church has some divine intervention that would change the behavior of warriors.

Other respondents affirmed that the government has tried in creating more administrative units, which were previously scarce, thus bringing in closer governance structures to the people and creating employment to locals. Another concurred that indeed, the creation of Pokot North Sub-County (then District) during Kibaki’s administration gave the community some sense of belongingness. The elders urged the community to disarm in order to achieve peace, which has been elusive for a long time. The voluntary aspect was also got some recognition from some home-grown CBOs such as SIKOM and NGOs as POKATUSA and Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation through propagation of peace by reformed warriors.

A female respondent stated that a group of women in Orolwo in Kenya formed a women group known as Linyogh whose agenda is to bring some interaction with Karimojong women across the border. She said that the group would raise some money among them and take to Karimojong women that they also reciprocate. Another stated that they would encourage karimojong to bring their girls to be married to Pokots as well as Pokots girls be married to Karimojong. To them, this will bring some sense of belongingness, thus reducing attacks to both sides.

4.2.3.4 Suggestions on effective ways to address problem of arms

Many respondents opined that the government should collaborate with local churches to promote spiritual healing and convert as many warriors as possible since, it has been found out that some warrior leaders demonstrated that it is possible to do so. In addition, a respondent suggested that since education is key in culture change, the government need to come up with policy that would make children of some specific ages be taken to boarding schools and given limited access to their homes in order to break the generation of gun ownership and cattle raids.

Some respondents were of the opinion that the government should collaborate with the community and find enforceable declarations as structured by the locals. He stated that a declaration in Uganda known as *Nabilatuk* has achieved some degree of success since the Uganda government has established ways of enforcing them, thus achieving justice to those who go contrary to such agreements. *Nabiluk* is a form of covenant where the community in collaboration with the government impose specific fine to those who go contrary to the them. According to some respondents, criminal prosecutions should be subjected to politicians who incite their communities to fight with other communities, thus limiting aggression among community members. A respondent opined that it is important to conduct psychological counseling to the affected families since the locals have been directly and indirectly affected by cattle raids through death of kin, destruction of property, displacement of population, dispossession of animals among others.

Majority of the respondents argued that the government needs to invest in NPRs through training and provision of allowances so as to have the morale of complementing the National Police Service in provision of security as well as responding to emerging security challenges within the community. The strengthening would also break the mistrust between the community and the law enforcement agencies.

4.3 Government Officials

4.3.1 State of Security in the area as at 2018

A respondent stated that there is some peace that has prevailed along the Uganda-Kenya border due to disarmament carried out in the Karimoja region of Uganda. A respondent added that stationing UPDF barracks along the border was part of the disarmament strategies that was aimed at reducing inflow of arms from outside Uganda, and therefore anyone including Kenyans who were seen carrying guns entering Uganda were barred from entry unless registered ones by Uganda authorities. Similarly, according to a respondent, creation of the Karimojong Affairs Ministry was a step forward in addressing underlying issues in the volatile areas.

4.3.2 Cattle Rustling

A respondent stated that cattle rustling has been persistent among the neighboring communities of Kenya and Uganda which has been lethal due to illegal gun ownership by the locals. He stated that the persistence of the conflicts reinforced the issue of self-defense by the locals due to limited government structures at the local level which would otherwise defend the affected communities from attacks.

He re-affirmed that cultural practices also play a significant role in cattle raids where an average of 30 heads of cattle and an average of 40 goats/sheep was paid as bride price. Cattle raids therefore became an avenue of raising such a number of animals. This was more pronounced in poor families who have a limited number of animals to take care of the bride price for their sons. Also, it is more pronounced in a situation where the prospective groom is being sought by many suitors leading to completion of who among the prospective bride will produce the highest number of cattle carried the day.

4.3.3 Boundary Disputes

Some respondents stated that boundary disputes especially between West Pokot and Turkana counties were taking shape. He said that the disputed areas along the Turkwel belt has been necessitated by fertile land and possible oil deposits where some Pokot community members claim that their historical boundary is Loima (Kalemngorok as know by Pokot) while Turkana claim that the Pokot community have the boundary along the Sekerr hills, a claim disputed by all the respondents. Similarly, the Pokot observed that the Turkana are pushing them beyond the current boundary due to presence of oil deposits in Adoket, Kainuk, Ombolion among other areas. The respondent further stated that the accusation against the Turkana over the boundary was as a result of unrecognizable boundary.

4.3.4 Water and Pasture

Some respondents stated that competition for scarce resources led to persistent violent conflicts has been influenced by the nomadic pastoral economy where neighboring communities move with their animals in such of pasture and water during the dry season. Conflict also ensue when one community defends own grazing ground or water points when they are found present, thus leading to violent conflicts. A respondent cited areas where Pokot take their animals for grazing as Lokitoror near Lake Kyoko in Uganda, Akoret in the border between Turkana and Karimoja. These movements therefore make the community interact with communities living areas where the pasture and water were sought. One respondent stated that due to persistent violent conflicts between Turkana and Pokot on one side and Pokot on one side led to balance of power making the three communities in the region further seek for more acquisition of arms. To him, this is attributed to weak or lack of governance structures in the ASAL areas where mode of economic activity is mainly nomadic pastoralism.

4.3.5 Proliferation of Arms

A respondent stated that that proliferation of illegal arms has been a major problem in West Pokot County which has made it hard to achieve disarmament objectives successful. This has been compounded by regional security challenges in South Sudan

and Somalia persistently feeding the region with illegal arms. Similarly, illegal arms trade merchants who are also drawn from the Pokot community are to blame for constant supply of arms and ammunitions to their customers.

Another respondent stated that porous borders along are also as source of illegal entry of these arms, a situation which has been a great concern to security organs. The illegal entry has also been made easy by motor cycle operators who easily transport the illicit arms without detection by security officers manning road blocks. Consequently, encouraging more armaments and re-armaments by the Pokot community and the neighboring communities.

4.3.5 Disarmament Programs

4.3.5.1 Forceful

A respondent affirmed that there have been several forceful disarmament programs in West Pokot County (then District) between 1979 to late 1990s. A notable one was Operation Nyundo which was commanded by a Commanding officer of 9 KA. The Battalion was supported by 50 Air Cavalry Battalion (ACB) and a small component of Artillery. The military operation was set up for two functions; one was to recover illegal arms possessed by civilians and secondly to aid political authority to restore governance in the volatile area.

The Kenya Army collaborated with the GSU and the provincial administration in West Pokot led by the District commissioner. The respondent stated that the exercise involved confiscation of animals where helicopters were used to round them. GSU was mandated to guard the collected animals and detain those arrested awaiting prosecution. The livestock collected were used to trick the residents to surrender guns for one to be given their animals. Similarly, after some soldiers were attacked at Kanyao area, the government issued shoot on site order to whoever refused to surrender.

However, the exercise was faced challenges when the locals fled to Uganda to escape the military operation. The Kenya Army then collaborated with the Uganda National

Liberation Army (UNLA) because already their subjects had crossed over to a different territory. The duty of UNLA was to round up livestock suspected to have been taken to Uganda by fleeing Kenya. The respondent further stated that indeed, several cattle were confiscated by the UNLA, but, the animals disappeared in the military camp of UNLA. Consequently, the Kenya government terminated the military exercise which had taken almost one year.

Another forceful disarmament was carried out by one company based in Kacheliba camp in 1988 at Kiwawa area when one military officer of the rank of Lieutenant was killed by about 80 bandits. Though the operation was not a large scale compared to the 1984. Some respondents affirmed that the operations led to human suffering and displacement because everybody found during the operation was dealt with accordingly.

The *Operation Nyundo* led to recovery of about 2000 guns which were various states, some were serviceable, and some were not serviceable while others were obsolete. Additionally, there was a reduction in incidences of massive cattle raids after the 1984 and 1988 military operations, leading to successes in recoveries. However, the community further became arrogant as a result of the operations leading to many to re-arming themselves. This was because many of the cattle collected were not returned back to their owners and some of those who did not have the guns were bitter that they were victimized for crimes they did not commit. Similarly, those who surrendered also failed to get their animals back as assured. These created a wedge of mistrust and suspicion between the community and the military/security agencies.

4.3.5.2 Amnesty

A respondent stated that the government embraced amnesty in seeking arms held by civilians leading to establishment of “Operation Linda Amani”. This program was a multi-sectoral in nature which the community was sensitized on the importance of surrendering illegally acquired arms. Additionally, the military also offered humanitarian services while the commanders traversed the county accompanying political leaders and

provincial administration in attending public meetings calling on those who had guns to surrender in order to be pardoned from facing prosecution.

He stated that the exercise was still marred by suspicion by the local community due to fear that those who registered their guns would be tracked and victimized in the process. Similarly, the voluntary surrender only realized a few of obsolete guns surrendered and the serviceable ones were still kept by the owners.

The program according to some respondents had some significance in restoring restoration of good will between the security agencies and the community. Though no clear documentation on how many guns were collected, but a significant number of them were recovered. However, there was a challenge where the same community would seek more arms due to persistent violent conflicts among neighbors.

4.3.5.3 Other Measures

A respondent stated that the County government of West Pokot has undertaken projects which would aid in change of perception regarding pastoral lifestyle and gun ownership among the community. In this regard, he said that the prevailing conditions faced by the residents were as a result of lack of basic needs. He asserted that the County Government has constructed health facilities in the area which would provide medical services to the locals. He also said that the devolved government has and still in the process of opening up inaccessible areas which would aid in good governance and provision of basic services to the community. In addition, the respondent stated that the National and County government has constructed three peace schools in Katikomor, along Trans Zoia West Pokot Border, Kanyeris along Kenya Uganda Border and Akulo in Turkana and West Pokot border. The objective of setting up these schools are to bring children from all the warring communities to learn together so as to bring some cohesion through learning.

He confirmed that the devolved government also has embarked on providing Early Childhood Development (ECD) which would transform generational change in regard to

reliance of pastoral lifestyle while embracing other form of economic reliance. Similarly, introduction of Adult Education by the County Government has greatly raised the number of those keen of undertaking the classes. He said that the county government has employed Adult Education Mobilizers who move around the villages and sensitizing the residents of the importance of undertaking the adult lessons. He disclosed that over 4000 have enrolled for the program in the entire county. He added that the increased number has been necessitated by the Cash Transfers the National government grant to the elderly and the vulnerable in the community where beneficiaries accept to be taught so that they could access their money without assistance from their defendants.

4.3.5.4 Suggestions on effective ways to address problem of arms

A respondent opined that the source of arms in the region is a major obstacle to arms control. This is because there are unknown merchants who sell the illegal arms from their sources to the region as well as the country. To him, the best approach is to carry out collaborative disarmament programs which would address the illegal arms ownership by neighboring communities especially in the North Rift which has experienced persistent violent conflicts before sealing all the arms trade routes. Similarly, the community needs to embrace different kind of cattle breeds which are resistant in the area so as to maximize profits from animal sales. This should be supported by the local political leadership and the county government.

4.4 NGOs/Church Based Organizations

4.4.1 State of Security in the area as at 2018

Insecurity in West Pokot County is currently witnessed in Chesekon, Kapusien and Kamolokon area border of West Pokot and Elgeyo Marakwet County.this is due to increase of illegal guns purchased by communities living in the area. Similarly, there is perennial violent conflict along the Turkwel Belt bordering Turkana County due to border row between the two counties. A respondent from the NGO stated that the increase of illegal arms in these areas necessitated by disarmament programs in Uganda. He further stated that many gun owners sold their guns to residents of Elgeyo Marawet as well as those of Baringo County.

It was stated that the civilian in parts of the county initially had limited state structures and security services which made locals rely on providing own security against attacks from other neighboring communities. However, from the year 2000, the government established various Provincial Administration units which included North Pokot Sub-County (District) as well as Police station in Amakuriat and more AP posts.

4.4.2 Cattle Rustling

According one respondent, cattle rustling has been major problem between the Pokot in North Sub-County with Turkana neighbors as well as with Sebei and Karimoja of Uganda. In the recent times, mass cattle rustling diminished leading to small scale cattle thefts. Sebei in Uganda and the Pokot continue to engage in livestock thefts at a low scale where some of the stolen animals are sold in Karita and Bukwo markets. Another respondent stated that cultural issues such as payment of pride price are a major contributor to cattle raids where a large number of livestock are required by a groom's family to pay as a pride price.

4.4.3 Land / Boundary Disputes

A respondent stated that the issue of land conflicts is a major contributor to the violent conflicts between the Pokot and Turkana both communities claim ownership of areas such as Sarmach, and Porkoyo . Similarly, the Pokot and Sebei claim of land ownership in Karita and Nakuyen area where clashes ensue from time to time between the two communities.

Additionally, the issue of boundary between West Pokot and Turkana County plays a significant role in escalating conflicts. This is because, there is no clear map showing the exact boundary recognizable by both the counties. Some community members from the Pokot community claim that they need to use the colonial map of 1924 to determine their border while the Turkana claim that indeed the Pokot boundary is along Seker hills.

According to some respondents, scarcity of pasture and water is another contributor of violent conflicts this results from invasion of pastureland and water points by the warring communities. For instance, the Pokot community would travel as far as inside Turkana County looking for pasture. As they travel back with their animals, they drive away livestock belonging to the Turkana especially in the month of May and June every season. Similar violent conflicts over water and pasture every year has been witnessed in Kanyeris area between Pokot and Sebei communities.

4.4.4 Disarmament Programs

4.4.4.1 Forceful

A respondent said that the government carried out forceful disarmament exercises between 1979 and late 1990s. The campaigns involved confiscation of livestock from the community which would be returned to them once they surrendered illegally possessed gun. It was also meant to expose criminals who were suspected to be cattle rustlers and those in possession of illegal arms.

The respondent further stated that Operation Nyundo of 1984 was more severe to the residents of Pokot North Sub-County which led to torture, displacement of population, death and loss of property. Another respondent stated that many of the residents fled to Uganda during the operations, hence leaving them more vulnerable to attacks from the Karimojong. Consequently, hostility by community and the political leaders against the government emerged.

According to them, whether there was success or failures in the forceful disarmament programs, but there is the question of human rights violations against the citizens which required a calculated approach in addressing the illegally held arms. One respondent stated that the government needed to address the root causes of arms acquisition before embarking on the operation. This led arrogance among the Pokot who went further to arm and re-arm themselves in order to carry more cattle raids to replenish lost stock and protect themselves.

4.4.4.2 Amnesty

A respondent from the NGO stated that there have been various government efforts to urge the locals to register illegally owned guns they, an exercise that was carried out by the ministry of Internal Security and Coordination of National Government. He cited the 2016 exercise that focused on communities with guns to register them and get pardon from prosecution. Between 2012-2013, World Vision offered alternative livelihoods to reformed warriors who voluntarily surrendered their guns. The reformed combatants as popularly known from Pokot and Turkana communities received business start-ups capital value of Kshs. 12,000 from World Vision who later ventured into various businesses. World Vision collaborated with the County Commissioner's office in West Pokot and Turkana Counties in vetting and recovering the surrendered guns. The respondent stated that there is a success rate of the initiative is 60% which has been achieved since the onset of the program.

The exercise which involved state, non-state and the community was described as sufficient in achieving mop up of illegal guns. This is because members of the community who are always suspicious of the government would be relieved when a third party is a participant. However, some similar programs initiated lacked funding which would bring some sustainability in collecting the illegally held guns.

4.4.4.3 Other Programs

A respondent from the NGO stated CJPC has been carrying out collaborative programs which involve the community and the government through holding public meetings to sensitize the community on importance of peaceful co-existence. The respondent affirmed that CJPC introduced an initiative which would foster peace by creating Community Peace Representatives (CPRs).

The committees are voluntary accepted by those who shown interest and in performing such duties. The duties of CPRs are to report any incidences of conflicts to the interior ministry as well as CJPC itself. Each committee member receives Kshs. 2,000 monthly each as a token. The respondent further stated that so far, CJPC has been able to recruit

representatives from 14 villages in Kanyeris and Turkwel Belt areas which are actively monitored due to occasional eruption of violent conflicts.

Additionally, late Bishop Cornelius Korir , former Catholic Bishop of Eldoret Diocese held peace meetings along the Turkwel Belt between Pokot and Turkana. During the meeting, Korir which donated 10 motorcycles to reformed warriors which was to serve as an alternative economic activity as well as entice others to follow suit. Many respondents affirmed that there are many challenges that hindered success of the various strategies of disarmament in the county. He stated that it was difficult for the community to give up arms for fear of being attacked from other neighboring communities who were not targeted for disarmament and therefore to accept to give up arms was a sure way of making themselves vulnerable to attacks.

Similarly, some disarmament programs followed top down policies which ignored the targeted community whom would have some inputs on the best way possible to carry out the exercise. Political leaders were also established to be barriers to disarmament efforts and establishing permanent and lasting peace. For instance, the current conflict between the Pokot and Marakwet in Kameloi area are blamed on political leaders who make public pronouncements that were detrimental to establishment of peace, hence making them hard to accept to give up arms.

4.4.4.5 Suggestion on effective ways to address problem of arms

Many respondents opined that there is need to establish boarding schools , irrigation projects farms and opening up the area to encourage investors to establish businesses as well as setting up other infrastructural facilities such as access roads, water among others which would encourage many people to give up arms. Opening up of technical and vocational training centers as well as creating employment opportunities for the youth who perceive neglect by the government.

Meanwhile, state and non-state actors need to develop programs which would be directed against cattle raids leaders from all the warring neighboring communities and offer them

with alternative economic livelihoods through provision of incentives. The reformed combatants need to be monitored for a period of two years in order to establish whether they change or not.

4.5 Analysis of Forceful and Amnesty disarmament strategies

The findings derived from the three categories i.e from the community, government and NGO/ Church-Based Institutions respondents presented some universal responses that addressed the research objectives. This part presents analysis of the findings stated earlier.

4.5.1 Forceful Disarmament Strategy

Many respondents from all the categories stated that disarmament exercises was first started in 1979 in West Pokot County to recover illegal weapons was mainly forceful which was undertaken the military and law enforcement agencies. The main objective was to recover arms and aid the political authority in asserting it's in the volatile area due to persistent violent conflicts. According to Zukov (2013), governments use force and coercion in carrying out disarmament programs to restore states' authority in persistent insecurity areas. Confiscation of animals, arrests were carried out in order to intimidate the residents to surrender the illegally held arms and known cattle raids criminals. The law enforcement, GSU and the regular police had the responsibility of guarding the confiscated animals and prosecuting individuals suspected to be criminals found during the exercise.

Similarly, there was a shoot on site order to any individual who refused to surrender to the law enforcement due to resistance from the community leading to ambush meted against the security personnel which was witnessed during ambush of soldiers in Konyao area. During the exercise, Kenyan military and law enforcement agencies collaborated with UNLA to recover and detain animals that were driven away from the Kenyan side by the fleeing Pokots. Kenya Army collaborated with the GSU and the provincial administration.

The respondents concurred that indeed there were violations of human rights during the entire forceful programs leading to dissent from the community thus resorting to be hostile. The community felt that it is due to marginalization and neglect that made them acquire arms so as to protect themselves and their livestock since they are surrounded by hostile communities. According to Mkutu (2003), policies pursued by successive governments have failed to reduce the marginalization of pastoralists from mainstream national development in most countries of the region. Mkutu attributed this to the case in Kenya-Uganda border area where pastoralist needs were not addressed, giving an example West Pokot district in Kenya which has seen the loss of much land to agriculturalists in recent years. During the operations, several people fled the country to Uganda and other parts of West Pokot in areas such as Mnagei and Lelan leading to internal displacements. The exercise was as brutal and inhuman which a government ought not to have subjected her people especially the sick, the children, the elderly and the innocent people. Bevan (2008) argued that the forceful disarmament destabilized an already volatile security situation, leading to displacement of civilian and engendered widespread fear of military, a situation witnessed in Karamoja region, in Uganda, replica to the Pokot situation.

However, according to the respondents, the government failed to return the animals which were confiscated to the owners after the efforts to recover illegal guns were futile. Some respondents stated that some animals died in the camps while others were consumed by the soldiers; others were taken and transported to unknown locations by the soldiers. Elsewhere, animals which were being held at Alale military camp were given to Turkana, a move termed by the locals as an insult to them. After the forceful disarmaments, the community felt victimized by the government thus subjecting them to suspicion and mistrust with the government personnel. They then viewed the military operations as a communal collective punishment.

After the forceful disarmament exercise, the Pokot community continued to re-arm themselves with those who did not have arms getting to them. Cattle raids would be carried out so as to raise a substantial number of cattle to exchange for the arms. One AK

47 Rifle would go at approximately 30 head of cattle. This was for self-defense against attacks from Turkana, Karimojang and Sebei communities. According to Mkutu (2003) by quoting Daily Nation Newspaper dated 22nd April, 2001 that it was difficult for the Pokot to live without guns, while their neighbors, including the Karimojong of Uganda, were allowed to use guns like walking sticks”. According to Tanner (1996) pastoral communities resort to arm themselves for to fear of attacks from neighboring communities due to perception of government’s failure to provide adequate security. Similarly, they would also resort to re-arm themselves for fear of attacks from communities not disarmaments. Pokot community also embraced the use of modern weapons to further their interests in cattle rustling which is a predominant feature among the pastoral communities.

According to the community, the forceful disarmaments were not successful because, the community felt victimized by the government due to harassment during the disarmament exercise. Thus leading to fear suspicion and mistrust to government officials. The community therefore viewed the military operation as a collective communal punishment which was conducted in violation of their human rights. This made the community resort to acquisition of more arms to replenish the lost and re-armaments to lost ones to defend. This was done through continued with mass raids against Karimojong, Sebei and Turkana Communities in order to replenish their lost stock. About 30 head of cattle were exchanged with one AK 47 Rifle. The exercise also was ineffective as the some respondents affirmed that the government ought to have conducted the exercise after considering various factors that led to acquisition of arms.

Responses from the government respondents argued that though some substantial number of arms was recovered, there was some degree success in recovery of illegal arms which comprised of obsolete, unserviceable and serviceable ones. However, the success was hampered by the local terrain as well as the arrogance from the Pokots made the security forces fail to recover much of the guns as they wished. Moreover, the government failed to recover the arms as expected since some members of the Pokot community fled to Uganda and other areas made the forceful military operation fail Bevan (2008).

Though the exercise was carried out, it did not guarantee sustainable security due to continued armaments and disarmaments leading to persistent violent conflict between the community and their neighbors. According to the respondents from the NGO, the issue of whether there was success or failures in the forceful disarmament programs, the question of human rights violations against the citizens was more critical which required a calculated approach in addressing the illegally held arms. Addressing the root causes acquisition of arms was more important to be evaluated before embarking on the operations.

4.5.2 Amnesty Disarmament Strategy

The government began to offer amnesty coupled with threats of military operations to residents who failed to heed the call for disarmaments. According to Mkutu (2003), the government offered amnesty to illegal arms owners to surrender them. However, due to mistrust and fear exhibited by the community as a result of previous forceful disarmaments, the government therefore, began to incorporate development in the strategy to address the mistrust question, leading to establishment of Operation Dumisha Amani (ODA). According to Wepundi (2011), integrating development and provision of security to the disarmament efforts was to persuade the community to voluntarily surrender arms and end the motivations for demand for arms and rearmament.

Respondents mainly drawn from the community affirmed the amnesty pronounced by the government was not inclusive enough that would have seen elders and other opinion leaders participate in the decision making processes before granting the disarmament campaigns, though the community was still skeptical of government actions. Therefore, the government sought to incorporate other stakeholders who include; Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), local political leaders, private sector, the media, and local community leaders so as to enhance community ownership of the program. The operation was further in line with Kenya's Vision 2030, an economic blue print whose aim is to provide an enabling environment for development (Wepundi 2011)

The amnesty was carried alongside provision of humanitarian services by military to the locals such as; provision of water, mobile medical supplies, construction of dams,

construction of feeder roads and transport services for the locals and their luggage. Musau (2016) acknowledged that the essential services that were provided by the military such as water, infrastructure, medical care, as well as construction of markets remain to be success stories expressed by the locals. The amnesty in surrender of illegally held arms also offered treatment of patients in the affected areas, led to re-opening of closed schools due to insecurity and construction of feeder roads (Wepundi et al 2011).

Similarly, the strategy focused on provision of security to the residents as some of the reasons for arms acquisition was due to insufficient provision of security by the government. Therefore, the government needed to provide the security so as to allow people to surrender voluntarily without fear of attacks. According to Leff (2009), for the community to voluntarily surrender their arms, the government permitted those who voluntarily surrendered be given the choice to be enlisted to the Kenya Police Reserve (KPR) who would provide complement the work of national police and respond to emerging security issues in the areas. According to some respondents, the government in 2016 urged the community to voluntarily surrender their illegally gotten arms for registration and subsequent deployment as NPRs. One respondent stated about 10 guns in Alale area were handed over to the government of which, are currently being used by the NPRs for protection and reaction to any attacks against the community living in the area.

As stated by some respondents, the military personnel interacted with the community through games and evangelism which was aimed at changing the perception of the military by the community. Some affirmed that the military and other security agencies cultivated friendly relations with the locals in order to change attitude of locals towards them albeit little trust. According to Musau (2013), the positive interactions between the military and the community changed the pastoral communities' negative perception of the military.

Moreover, respondents by government officers indicated that amnesty disarmament strategy had some significance in reduction of arms owned by the community. According to them, the governance, infrastructural and economic development that it was integrated

in the ODA gave the impetus to the exercise which was previously seen by the community as some of the factors that contributed to armaments and re-armaments. According to Musau (2013), The operations have however been acknowledged for reducing attacks and revenge attacks to some extent as well as building confidence surrender of arms weapons were publicly.

However, many respondents stated that services offered by the military were short-lived and were not sustainable in the entire North Pokot Sub-County, therefore leading to little impact to the locals. According to Musau (2013), the challenge among other was occasioned by planning deficiencies prior to the operation which was predominantly conducted on ad hoc basis. Similarly, some of the promises such as provision of 20 iron sheets and maize to those who voluntarily agreed to register their guns were not met which continued to make them more skeptical about the whole amnesty program.

4.6 Disarmament and the Human Needs Theory in West Pokot

Disarmaments programs in West Pokot County have been carried out in the post-colonial government which started in 1979. However, armaments and re-armaments continue to be witnessed leading to many questions as to whether the forceful and amnesty leads to sustainable security. As seen from the findings, the two strategies never fully met the set objectives of disarmament. Therefore, to achieve this, the best strategy is required on how disarmament needs to be adopted.

The forceful disarmaments that was carried out in the County between 1979 and late 1990's with the aim of reducing illegally held arms and asserting state's authority on the conflict ridden zone had a limited effect of reducing or mitigating the causes of armaments and re-armaments. The government focused mainly on the number of recovered arms other than addressing security aspect. Similarly, amnesty in recovery of arms has been a strategy that the government has been undertaking since the early 2000. With the focus on sensitizing the community of the importance of surrendering illegally held arms. However, the community continue to re-arm themselves though on a lower scale, this is because the community feels unsafe from attacks by the neighboring

community, thus resolving to re-arm themselves for own defense. Consequently, a threat to human and state security was at stake in the County and the country at large.

The government approach to the disarmament exercises especially forceful, was focused much on arms recovery instead of also focusing on economic development. Leading to conflict between the state and the community who resisted the process. Similarly, the Pokot community also became suspicious and developed mistrust between them and the government, thus making them further to seek for arms. Moreover, the forceful disarmament strategy was carried in a coercive manner which led to violation of human rights of the affected families which was describe by the respondents to have brought some dissent from the community who saw themselves as non-Kenyans. This led to some fleeing to a Uganda and some other parts of the County as result of the military operation.

Disarmament therefore should be carried out based human needs theory based disarmament which is principled upon the fact that its success depends on addressing basic human needs of safety, security, identity and recognition. The human needs theory based disarmament also involves addressing root causes of insecurity which drives the community to arm and re-arm themselves after various disarmament exercises. John Burton argued that if conflict arises as a result of is perceived unmet human needs, then the resolution of that conflict takes a long term process with the objective of meeting the human needs and thus resolving the conflict. On the other hand, force is applied to suppress the conflict without resolving underlying causes in order to tame the human aggressive behavior, hence, risking chances of eruption of violent conflicts. On the proliferation, of arms, the respondents concur that proliferation of arms is a major problem which according to them, the communities strive as much as possible to arm or re-arm themselves, leading to the question of the demand side of these arms. According to Atwood, Glatz and Muggah (2006), it important to understand civilians' motivation for acquisition of arms as well as the means that would come into play in enhancing the acquisition of such arms. They opine that for disarmament to work, the factors enhancing demand ought to be identified and mitigated.

Thus the study established that human needs theory was employed in both forceful and amnesty disarmament strategies in West Pokot. However, the forceful strategy according

to the theory only focused on suppressing the human aggressive behavior without resolving it hence creating a room for eruption of more violent conflicts. This is evident where the community conducted more cattle raids after forceful disarmament exercises in order to acquire arms by those who lost theirs and by those who did not have. Similarly, human needs theory was also used in amnesty as this focused on addressing the root causes of insecurity and conflict though it fell short of the long process of meeting the human needs for successful resolution due to improper planning.

The respondents articulated their wishes to have a community free of arms with a condition of government's provision of security and protection from attacks from bandits and hostile communities. Peace and harmonious coexistence with the neighboring communities was seen to be the wishes of the community, though with the condition of addressing the root causes of conflict especially addressing the boundary disputes with the Turkana. It was therefore obvious that the community also were disturbed with other aspects of life not addressed other than security such as addressing marginalization, economic sector, health sector, political sector among others. The study therefore based on the respondents, interpreted disarmament to be based on security as a basic human needs which would go a long way to improving effectiveness of disarmament in West Pokot County.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises of the conclusions and recommendations arising from the study which are based on the analysis of the study. The recommendations and conclusions are in line with the objectives of the study and the emerging themes from the findings. The chapter will also elaborate successes from such strategies which can be replicated and challenges which can be surmounted in other situations in the other parts of the country with similar problems.

5.2 Summary

From the findings of the research, West Pokot County provides a good case study for assessing the influence of disarmament strategies on sustainable security, given that it has experienced various disarmament programs over time. The study ascertained that though the number of illegally acquired arms has dropped in the recent past in North Pokot Sub-County, there is a combination of many factors that led its declines. Though Forceful a disarmament campaigns played a critical role in recovery of illegally acquired arms, there are many questions on whether the approach that was used was necessary. This because, it resulted into violations of human rights, destruction of property, displacement of population as well as death of the soldiers and those of the targeted communities.

Similarly, amnesty offered a good opportunity in collaborative approach in voluntary surrender of illegally owned guns. However, the program was not sustainable due to various factors such as non-accomplishment of promises given to those who volunteered to surrender their guns. Thus giving room to more re-armaments by the targeted community. It is worth noting that a collaboration between state and non-state actors would provide a middle ground in bringing the affected Pokot community to establish a long lasting solution to the arms problems.

The drop in gun ownership among the Pokot community living in North Pokot is due to disarmament programs carried out in Uganda where no one could cross to Uganda with non-registered guns, therefore discouraging the nomads travelling to Uganda in search of pasture. Some of the disarmament measures also was creation of military camps at short distances along the Uganda-Kenya border and establishment of LDUs to monitor those carrying illegal guns. Additionally, the Uganda government introduced Ministry of Karimojong affairs where it could address underlying causes of conflict in the region, thus drastically reducing movement of illegally owned guns.

Though well-intended, the efforts have not effectively addressed the root causes of the conflicts leading to recurrence of the conflicts and more acquisition of arms. The study also established that there is a nexus between development and conflict which was illustrated by the competition between Pokot, Sebei, Karimojong and Turkana over access to resources. Besides, disarmaments efforts other challenges are at play such as armaments and re-armaments, vested communal interests, interference by politicians and elites, perceived marginalization and non-inclusion of locals in decision making.

5.3 Conclusions

The study sought to shed light on the influence of disarmament strategies on sustainable security, given that few scholarly works have been done within this research area in the country. Firstly, the findings elucidated that forceful disarmament strategy led to instability and conflict leading to insecurity due to dissent from the community as a result of wide ranging human rights violations. The research established that some members of the community who did not own illegal arms begun to arm themselves while those who were lost their during the disarmament re-armed themselves following the exposure to other warring not disarmed communities. Similarly, cattle raids increased as a way of restocking to fill the lost stock during forceful disarmament. Secondly, amnesty offered some form of stability prompting to some level of security. This is due to government's commitment to involve the community and human approach to disarmament. These achievements were as a result of some acceptance of the community to the government's approach. However, the strategy had some deficiencies due to some failed promises given

to those who accepted to surrender their illegally held arms. There were also sentiments expressed by the respondents that with long term programs of amnesty coupled with economic development would have led to some level of sustainable security.

5.4 Recommendations

5.4.1 Rule of law in Forceful disarmament

To restore government's control and authority in conflict environment, forceful disarmament is necessary. However, to achieve these, the exercise(s) need to be carried out in a more human rights friendly environment so as to not to injure the rights of innocent citizens. This would therefore inform the community that the exercise is not collectively punishes everybody, but those only found in the wrong side of the law. Similarly, to achieve some level of restoration of law and order, the exercise also needs to be conducted in a manner that is in conformity with the rule of law whereby suspects of illegal gun ownership and cattle theft criminals are prosecuted and due legal process takes effect so as it becomes a deterrent to others who may be hiding using the community name as being victimized.

Similarly, success of forceful disarmament objectives is through disarming other neighboring communities so as to address the issue of re-armaments. This is because, if one community is disarmed, while another is not, feeling of vulnerability of attacks from the community not disarmed is more evident. To address these concerns, there is need to carry out simultaneous forceful disarmaments of the neighboring communities so as to reduce or eliminate fear of attacks after disarmament. This will also address the issue of one community complaining of bias if one community is disarmed while another is not, therefore, bringing out uniformity in disarmaments.

5.4.2 Strengthening Amnesty

In order to achieve disarmament through amnesty and discourage more armaments and re-armaments, there is need to offer alternative livelihoods to reformed combatants. This will act as a way of changing forms of livelihoods from cattle theft to other forms such as farming and trading. Similarly, there is need to have a wide ranging programs of

monitoring and evaluation by the state and non-state actors of the reformed warriors under a specific scheme so as to keep track of their behavior to ascertain whether they are conforming with the new ways or not. This should be done simultaneously with other neighboring communities with a similar problem; this will reduce fear of attacks by those not disarmed as it will create vulnerability once one community gives up their arms.

Since vulnerabilities of attacks are fears expressed by disarmed communities, there is need for the government to recruit NPRs who will be responding to any emerging security issues in the villages and complement the work of the National Police. The NPRs should also be trained and compensated so that they could be discouraged from misusing the same firearm issued for personal gain. This means therefore that the community will be assured of security, hence reducing the urge for re-armaments.

Additionally, the amnesty disarmament programs need to have some long term measures with commitment of restoration of trust of the community. The long term approach would guarantee in providing the promised incentives to the affected community members thus bringing some levels of trust, thus, changing the whole perception of gun ownership. This is because such programs would provide some time frames of completions of various objectives that would address the problem.

5.4.3 General Recommendations

To address marginalization and sentiments that the government has previously neglected the community, there is need to improve social and physical infrastructure in the affected areas including provision of health services, water, sanitation and electricity as well as construction of feeder roads using the local manpower, so as to spur development and economic wellbeing of the local population. The government, both National and County in collaboration with non-state actors needs to initiate more economic development projects intertwined with sensitizations, so that they are rolled out concurrently in an effort to not only empower the targeted communities but also foster sustainable co-existence among them derived from absence of illegal arms.

However, it is imperative for the root causes of the conflicts to be fully addressed if any meaningful development and empowerment is to be realized. Key among the root causes to be addressed is the perennial land dispute between the Pokot and Turkana. The current problem between West Pokot and Turkana is the contention of boundary, in order to achieve security, common projects need to be set up in fertile areas along the disputed boundary so as to bring some buffer zone between the two communities as a permanent solution is sought. More importantly is that the two communities are Kenyans, and therefore, politicians need to address the issues of boundary so as not to bring more chaos once successful oil explorations are realized in the disputed areas as this may generate more hatred between the two communities.

Land adjudication is critical in the entire Pokot North sub-county which is required so that registered land owners could be able to invest in the land as well as using the land as collateral in getting loans than the current situation where it is difficult for one to develop because the land is a trust land. Meanwhile, the government also needs to sensitize the people to cross breed their animals so as to make it more profitable ventures by turning livestock keeping to reasonable economic activity. Also, being an ASAL area, incentives should be given to those residents to keep camel and goats which will in turn give them more economic value. Meanwhile, the County government needs to source for investor who will be able to partner with the community to carry out mining of minerals such as ruby and gold which are in abundance in Alale area. This will open up the area as witnessed in the mid-1990s. This will also enable local residents especially the reformed combatants to venture into businesses.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: FGD GUIDE FOR RESPONDENTS FROM THE COMMUNITY

Hallo Participants,

This is and FGD Questionnaire guide on the role of disarmament strategies in attainment of sustainable security in West Pokot County. Your contribution will be treated in confidence and will only be used for academic purposes.

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study.

1. What security problems are you facing within the County?
2. What causes these conflicts? **Probe:** How have they affected you and the entire community?
3. Are you aware of any disarmament efforts carried out in your area? **Probe:**
4. Apart from the government undertaking the disarmament exercises, is there any other organization collaborating with the government? **Probe:** NGOs, CBOs and churches
5. How has the community been involved in the disarmament exercises? **Probe.** was it conflictual or harmonious?
6. What is the contribution of community leaders in promoting these disarmament exercises?
7. In your view, do you think the disarmament efforts have addressed the security concerns facing your community?
8. In your opinion, what can be done to make the disarmament successful?
9. According to you, what other initiatives would you prefer that would discourage armaments in your community?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR NGOs, CBOs and CHURCHES

Hallo Participants,

This is a guide that is aiding research on the role of disarmament strategies in attainment of sustainable security in West Pokot County. Your contribution will be compiled with others and will be used for academic purposes and will be treated with confidence.

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study.

1. What security concerns has your organization encountered within the County?
2. In your view what factors are contributing to insecurity in the County?
3. What measures have you put in place to bolster disarmament efforts carried out by the government? **Probe:**
4. What specific roles do you play to actualize these initiatives?
5. Are there other stakeholders participating initiatives that would address human needs that could promote disarmament efforts? **Probe:** if yes, name them, if not why?
6. To what extent do you engage with government agencies in promoting civilians meet basic needs? **Probe:** How cooperative are they?
7. What is the response of the community towards the support of disarmament efforts?
8. In your view, how have the disarmament efforts impacted on the security situation in the County? **Probe:** Kindly point out a few examples which illustrate the impacts.
9. In your observation, what challenges are affecting the disarmament campaigns in the area?
10. In your opinion, how best can the challenges be addressed? **Probe:** What is the way forward in promoting sustainable security within the County?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICERS

Dear Participant,

This is a guide that is aiding in conducting research on the role disarmament strategies in sustainable security within West Pokot County. I kindly request for your responses, which will aid this academic research in effectively addressing the impact of various disarmament strategies insecurity within the North Rift region. Your responses will be treated with strict confidentiality. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study.

1. How long have you worked within the county?
2. What are the challenges in the area in regard to possession of illegal arms by civilians?
3. What are the impacts of arms by civilians in the community and the neighboring communities? **Probe**
4. What type of disarmament programs have you participated in the within the county?
5. Are there any disarmament programs going on within the county?
6. How was the security situation before and after the disarmament exercises? **Probe**
7. How do you engage the locals to support the disarmament efforts? **Probe**
8. In your opinion, do you think the various disarmament efforts have achieved it objectives? **Probe**
9. In your view, do you consider various disarmament strategies previously used as appropriate in dealing with illegal arms in the hands of civilians and suppress more acquisition? **Probe**
10. What other measures are appropriately necessary to achieve sustainable security in the area?
11. In your observation, what challenges are affecting the disarmament efforts in achieving its desired goals?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION.
APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTER FROM
NACOSTI



**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 3316571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote:

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Wanyaka Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/18/87001/26073**

Date: **1st November, 2018**

Simon Lonyangareng Rialem
University of Nairobi
P.O. Box 30197-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *“The role of disarmament strategies on sustainable security: Case of West Pokot County”* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **West Pokot County** for the period ending **29th October, 2019.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, West Pokot County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.


BONIFACE WANYAMA
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
West Pokot County.

The County Director of Education
West Pokot County.

APPENDIX V: NACOSTI RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. SIMON LONYANGARENG RIALEM
of UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, 23744-100
Nairobi, has been permitted to conduct
research in Westpokot County


on the topic: THE ROLE OF
DISARMAMENT STRATEGIES ON
SUSTAINABLE SECURITY: CASE OF WEST
POKOT COUNTY

for the period ending:
29th October, 2019

[Signature]
Applicant's Signature

[Signature]
Director General
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/87001/26073
Date Of Issue : 1st November, 2018
Fee Received :Ksh 1000




THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013

The Grant of Research Licenses is guided by the Science, Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014.


CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period.
2. The License and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.
3. The Licensee shall inform the County Governor before commencement of the research.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.
5. The License does not give authority to transfer research materials.
6. NACOSTI may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project.
7. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy and upload a soft copy of their final report within one year of completion of the research.
8. NACOSTI reserves the right to modify the conditions of the License including cancellation without prior notice.

National Commission for Science, Technology and innovation
P.O. Box 30623 - 00100, Nairobi, Kenya
TEL: 020 400 7000, 0713 788787, 0735 404245
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke, registry@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

RESEARCH LICENSE

Serial No.A 21581

CONDITIONS: see back page

**APPENDIX VI: INTRODUCTION LETTER FROM COUNTY
COMMISSIONER**

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT



**MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL
GOVERNMENT**

Telegrams: DISTRICTER' Kapenguria
Telephone: kapenguria 054-62291
Radio call: kape 5ZRO
Email: westpokotland@rocketmail.com

The County Commissioner,
West Pokot County,
P.o. BOX 1,
KAPENGURIA.

REF: OOP.CC.ADM.15/14 VOL.1/ 149


12TH OCTOBER, 2018

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION
SIMON LONYANGARENG RIALEM-UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

The above named student is from Nairobi University, he is pursuing a Master of Arts degree course in strategic and security studies in the Department of political science and public administration. He has been dully authorized to carry out research on the topic "**The role of Disarmament Strategies on Sustainable Security: case study of West Pokot County**"

The purpose of this letter, therefore, is to request you to accord him your cooperation and necessary assistance he may require during his research study within this County.

PP

(KHALIF D. ABDULLAHI)
FOR: COUNTY COMMISSIONER
WEST POKOT COUNTY



**APPENDIX VII: INTRODUCTION LETTER FROM UNIVERSITY OF
NAIROBI**

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Our Ref: C50/5208/2017

Date: 3rd October 2018

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

MR. SIMON LONYANG'ARENG' RIALEM

This is to confirm that the above named student is Pursuing a Master of Arts degree course in Strategic and Security Studies in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration. He is conducting research for his M.A. project titled "**The Role of Disarmament Strategies on Sustainable Security: Case of West Pokot County**".

Any assistance accorded to him shall be highly appreciated.


Dr. Fred Jonyo, Ph.D. (Makerere)

Chairman, Department of Political Science and Public Administration