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INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

MA INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

RESEARCH PROJECT

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PROTRACTED NATURE OF PASTORAL CONFLICTS IN

EAST AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF NORTHERN KENYA

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

NOVEMBER, 2018

DECLARATION

I, Mburu Wayne Ngara hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my parents Henry Kariuki and Pauline Wanja, may GOD shower you with his blessings for being there for me during my course work and research project and for supporting me both financially and emotionally. You are a blessing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Above all I would like to express my sincere gratitude to GOD for the wisdom and strength he has blessed me with during the entire process of my research project. The success of this work was as a result of valuable help from various persons. First, I would like to acknowledge the help of my able supervisor from the University of Nairobi Dr. Shazia Chaudhry for the support, guidance and encouragement during this period of my study. Her supervision and thorough analysis of my work respectively led to my better understanding of my research topic.

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Last but not least, I also wish to thank my parents and brother for their financial and emotional support during this course.

ABSTRACT

The main objective is to analyze the protracted nature of pastoral conflicts in East Africa. The Specific Objectives of the study were; to assess the prevalence of the protracted nature of pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya; to establish the effects of political actors and institutions of governance in the development of protracted pastoral conflict in East Africa particularly Northern Kenya and to establish the challenges influencing pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya. This study is focused on contributing to the theoretical body of knowledge aligned to the protracted pastoral conflicts in East Africa that have gone on for many years. Although there has been focus on past pastoral conflicts, the findings of this research which is influenced by never ending conflicts in the region will help build upon and support the outcomes of previous researchers on the Northern Kenya conflict and causes of protracted conflicts in the region. The research was studied through the use mixed methods whereby both quantitative and qualitative data was collected and analyzed. The target population for the study comprised of the members of local communities including elders and opinion leaders, county government officials, police and experts on conflict management. The researcher used questionnaire, interview guides and focus group discussions to collect the data among the Pokot's and Turkana's. Data analysis of the information gathered from the questionnaires was done through excel and SPSS. The technique that was used to analyze the qualitative approach is breaking down the information in the form of themes. Based on the findings of the study, the researcher concludes that pastoral conflicts have been commercialized overtime and other actors including the politicians and unscrupulous business men usually act as triggers to the conflict. Moreover, the pastoral conflicts have forced the inhabitants of both Turkana and Pokot to be deprived of basic services as conflict frustrate the county government effort to build and develop basic and social amenities for them. Most of the respondents also indicated that high dependency on cattle's influence pastoral conflicts which are still common and destructive. This dependency on cattle is a great impediment to peace among the Turkana's and Pokot's especially when the cattle are stolen, being the only source of income, results to high poverty levels among households. The pastoral conflicts affect pastoral community and more often leads to loss of lives and destruction of property and farm produce .The ease of access to modern small arms was cited by the respondents as the major catalytic factors to cattle raiding and banditry among the Turkana's and Pokot's. Most of the respondents also indicated that community coping mechanisms and response to these protracted pastoralist conflict remains ineffective and bear small fruits with a significant number indicating the need for community participation and involvement in conflict resolution and especially in their involvement in all conflict mitigation strategies and peace committees. Measures to remedy this include prioritization of peace and security agenda by county governments taking appropriate measures and actions to manage and resolve pastoralist conflicts and insecurity in the area. Second is community involvement in conflict resolution and developing contextualized county policies on conflict resolution. The local administration and community elders should advocate and educate the people on culture of peace, and tolerance. The community leaders should take on the guidance role and impart good morals, report and provide information on attacks, stop and discard harmful customs including cattle rustling.

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ABBREVIATIONS

DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science Research
UN	United Nations

WHO

World Health Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Protracted conflicts look at issues and conflicting goals between rival states which escalate, and the likelihood of antagonisms increases significantly¹. The protracted conflicts are never-ending and have contributed to violent inter-communal interactions in the past that have led to prolonged pastoralist conflicts. Pastoralists have throughout history been involved in violent interactions among themselves and other economic groups including Celtic tribes in Roman Empire and conflicts in Africa or the Middle East along the borders².

Protracted conflicts are long and enduring violent conflicts based on deep-rooted issues and usually have the tendency to resist efforts towards resolutions³. Of the 26 Arab-Israeli protracted conflicts since 1947, significant proportion of them indicating (42%) were interstate while more than a half of them (58%) were interstate-ethnic, with most interstate crises involving Israel, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt⁴. Nevertheless, in Africa, conflicts between inter-pastoralist and farming communities occur regularly. The causative factors for these conflicts are political, socio-economic and ecological factors. Darfur is a good example where the Zaghawa pastoralists who are well equipped with weapons in most cases engaged in cattle raids and destruction of Tama fields⁵.

Most pastoral conflicts date back to the colonial period with historical documents indicating that land and boundaries as the major causes of these disputes. The colonialists imposed fixed internal divisions which led to some areas becoming a closed district. The colonial borders and the way

¹ Hemda Ben-Yehuda and Shmuel Sandler, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict Transformed: Fifty Years of Interstate and Ethnic Crises* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002)

² Herrera, P. M., Davies. *The Governance of Rangelands: Collective Action for Sustainable Pastoralism*. (Routledge, 2014).

³ Halperin, E. "Group-based Hatred in Intractable Conflict in Israel." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (Sage Publications, Inc. (2008). PP. 52(5) 713-736.

⁴ Ben-Yehuda and Sandler, *Arab-Israeli Conflict Transformed* and Meirav Mishali-Ram, "Ethnicity and International Conflict: A Comparative Analysis of Crises and Protracted Conflicts, 1918-2003," PhD Dissertation (Bar-Ilan University, 2004).

⁵ Bollig & Hans-Wotzka. *Pastoralism in Africa. Past, present and future*. (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. 2013). PP .544.

they have been administered therefore are a crucial factor behind protracted conflicts in border areas⁶. In Nigeria the British colonialist enclosed three major nations and several small ones including Yoruba in the west, who were very different from the Muslim Hausa in the north, who were distinct to the Ibo in the east. Northern Kenya has also become a closed district and the desire for reintegration, scarcity and high poverty levels prompts pastoralists into perpetual conflicts⁷. The conflicts in Northern Kenya are majorly because of pasture and water access. Drought usually leads to loss of cattle which fuel cattle raiding with the aim of restocking resulting to counter raiding and violence from the affected communities. This explains why pastoral communities are still trapped in never ending cycles of conflicts.

Another perspective is the actors, the issues and the players who have been involved in these conflicts as well as the divergent stakes surrounding pastoral conflicts. Significant actors who actively or inactively contribute to the existence and development of pastoral conflict in East Africa includes political actors such as politicians and governmental actors, war economists or beneficiaries who supply weapons or finance conflict situations among others. Most of the pastoral communities in East Africa have also suffered immensely due to lack of inept aid, isolation, lack of development policies; neglect, discrimination⁸ and exclusion in the national economy. They also have little political influence and according to Ali⁹, they are not well integrated into the national economy as they have limited political leverage.

The protracted pastoral conflicts in East Africa have an international aspect as it affects pastoral communities in Northern Kenya who live in the border of Somalia, Tanzania, Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda where leadership tussle and bad governance of past regime also contribute to the pervasiveness of the problems¹⁰. In many cases the leadership tends to only have regional outlook. The problem is far from the focus today with the communities living in distrust of each other and

⁶ Ali A Mazrui. *Conflict in Africa: An Overview in Pumphrey Carolyn and Rye Schwartz-Barcott (Eds)* (2003). Armed Conflict in Africa Scarecrow Press Inc. Oxford, UK

⁷ Kona, S. "Baseline study for the Kenyan side of the Karamoja Cluster ". (IGAD, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2004).

⁸ Ali Abdi. "A dissertation on Education, conflict and Development: *The case of Northern Kenya.*" (Master's thesis, Institute of Education, University of London, December 4, 2012) P.9.

⁹ Conservation Development Centre. "International Institute for Sustainable Development and Safe-world, Climate Change and Conflict: *lessons from community conservancies in northern Kenya.*" (2009), P.5

¹⁰ Leff J: "Pastoralists at war: violence and security in the Kenya-Sudan-Uganda border region. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence.*" (2009) PP. 3(9):188–203

colliding over divergent issues as indicated in this study. This study sought to analyze the protracted nature of pastoral conflicts in East Africa: A case study of Northern Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the Research problem

Pastoral conflicts among the Pokot's, Turkana's, Sabaot, Samburu and Marakwet from Kenya and Sabiny and Karamajong from Uganda goes back to colonial era and especially because of the colonial borders¹¹. Within the East Africa sub-region, Northern Kenya has been a battleground of resource based and particularly pasture and water through competition by the pastoralist communities. These have led to frequent and fatal ethnic fights not only for sharing of these resources but also occupation of certain highly resource endowed areas¹². Researchers underscore that the protracted nature of pastoral conflicts are integrated in the pastoral culture and the livelihood of resident communities in Northern Kenya¹³. Moreover, the ill-advised and more often non consultative government and development actors interventions fuels pastoral conflicts as they undermine the conventional methods and systems of handling conflicts in Northern Kenya. In many cases governments have failed to recognize customary institutional arrangements; limited number of national policy documents in Kenya and East Africa addressing causative conflict issues including cross-border sharing of natural resources and livestock mobility and legal and policy vacuum on sharing of lack of natural resources¹⁴. In corroboration, Turkana pastoralist organization asserts that the government is passive in taking actions to address the raids in Northern Kenya noting that the government has failed to take action in 86.6% of the raids that were reported between 2006 and 2009¹⁵. It also failed to recover 92% of the livestock raided resulting to heightened tension between the Pokot's and Turkana. The question that still lingers in the mind of the pastoral communities is the government commitment to peace building and in conflict mitigation.

¹¹ Bollig, M., Schnegg, M., & Wotzka, H.-P. "Pastoralism in Africa: Past, Present and Future." (Berghahn Books, 2013).

¹² Adelman G., Howard E. & Suhrke A. "Early Warning and Conflict Management, in Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda." *The International Response to Conflict* (2011).

¹³

¹⁴ Felix W. Watakila. "Pastoralism and Conflict Management in the Horn of Africa: A Case Study of the Borana in North Eastern Kenya (Masters of Arts Degree in International Studies in UON, 2015).

¹⁵ TUPADO (Turkana Pastoralist Organization). "Turkana Pastoralist Organization." *Incident Register 2000-2010*. (2011).

As further indicated by GOK report of the Northern Kenya, among the factors affecting Northern Kenya includes evident gaps in security¹⁶, lack of basic amenities including road networks, hospitals, schools and scarcity of water and pasture¹⁷. However, the factors underlying the pastoral conflict and which has led to the protracted nature of these conflicts are not well established and elucidated. Little or no research exist on the protracted nature of pastoralists conflicts and as such questions on possibilities of having lasting solutions over issues that have kept Northern Kenya at bay for decades .Therefore this study sought to analyze the protracted nature of pastoral conflicts in East Africa : A case study of Northern Kenya .

1.3 Research Questions

1. What is the prevalence of the protracted nature of Pastoral conflicts in East Africa?
2. What are the effects of political actors and institutions of governance in the development of protracted pastoral conflict in East Africa generally and particularly in Northern Kenya?
3. What are the challenges influencing pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya?

1.4 Objectives of the Research

The main objective of this study was to analyze the protracted nature of pastoral conflicts in East Africa.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives of the study

- i. To assess the prevalence of the protracted nature of pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya.
- ii. To establish the effects of political actors and institutions of governance in the development of protracted pastoral conflict in East Africa particularly Northern Kenya
- iii. To establish the challenges influencing pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya.

1.5 Literature Review

This section sought to examine the literature review of the study; more emphasis was put on the three objectives of the study which was studied at length in order to show their relevance to the research under study.

¹⁶ Government of Kenya. "Security report "(2012).

¹⁷ Ibid

1.5.1 Prevalence of Protracted Nature of Pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya

Protracted conflict are the long and enduring violent conflict based on deep-rooted issues or root causes and usually has the tendency to resist efforts towards resolutions¹⁸. Intractable conflict by nature is protracted¹⁹. The intractable nature of conflicts makes it difficult if not impossible to resolve²⁰. The purpose of protracted conflicts is perceived to be linked with the need for the satisfaction of basic human needs, fight for limited resources especially among the pastoralists.

Reducing protracted conflict requires reduction in levels of underdevelopment and social inequalities. Galtung²¹ assert that conflict takes place in the context where there is a denial of access to resources for survival or wellbeing; when there is political repression, detention, marginalization and expulsion; and interference in one's need to identify or socialization or equal citizenship. In light of the above, even though in Africa's between 12 to 16% of the total population comprise of pastoralist with East Africa hosting most of them yet majority of them are impoverished and under social economic under-exclusion. In Kenya, pastoralists occupy over 70% of the land contrary to Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda where they occupy 50% of the land. Since in most of these countries pastoralists are the minority²² and deeply rooted in their cultures their views and needs are hardly respected and upheld in national planning²³. Pastoral communities are also laden with poverty, lack of social amenities, poor road networks, regular droughts and conflicts which make conflict resolution untenable .Without improvement of infrastructure conflict resolution in Northern Kenya will remain a dream.

It is imperative for the government to provide economic alternatives and job creation for youths in pastoralist communities who have been thriving on cattle raids and illegal activities including selling firearms as part of broader strategies for promoting sustainable development in Northern

¹⁸ Halperin, E. "Group-based Hatred in Intractable Conflict in Israel." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (Sage Publications, Inc. 2008). 52(5) 713-736.

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Azar, E. "The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: *Theory & Cases*." (Aldershot, Dartmouth, 1990) PP.12

²¹ Galtung, J." *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*". (London: Sage Publication, 1996).

²² Omosa K. E. "The Impact of Water Conflicts on Pastoral Livelihoods: The Case of Wajir District in Kenya." *International Institute for Sustainable development*." (2005).

²³ Bonfiglioll A. and Watson. *Pastoralists at a Crossroads. Survival and Development issues in African Pastoralism*." (NOFA, Nairobi 1992).

Kenya²⁴. Without broadening pastoralists' means of livelihood whilst not ending the pastoralist lifestyle ending protracted conflicts will be untenable. Since most pastoralists lose their livestock through preventable diseases improved veterinary services is critical in ensuring steady increase in their livestock²⁵.

What also makes pastoral conflicts protracted in nature is their view as social dilemmas, as contests over resources, as clashes of basic values or as social movements engaging in struggles for power. In the context of this study, Onyango²⁶ asserts that pastoralists held in a rut of constant conflicts in an effort to respond to the various challenges affecting them among them poor rain patterns, unavailability of water resources, natural hazards, climatic conditions and quality of their land being the major cause of vulnerability to protracted conflicts and developing coping strategies. The condition of the pastoral communities is worsened by lack of government institutions, security personnel and infrastructures necessary for peace building. These are some of the challenges faced by the communities in Northern Kenya which is ASAL region.

The greatest need in resolving protracted conflicts in Northern Kenya is resolving the political contest as against involving the military to resolve the conflicts and addressing existing grievances incoherently²⁷. This is a very important step in addressing grievances and the root cause of conflicts objectively, with the main purpose of changing wrongly ingrained imperceptions which contribute to protracted conflicts. As in the case of Northern Kenya, most pastoral communities' were marginalized, ill-treated and debased communities by the colonial state though the former is being sustained by the postcolonial governments and each successive government. Policies developed in the colonial and reviewed in the postcolonial periods have elucidates many current inconsistencies and never ending conflicts between local people and the government. It also has conflicting territorial claims and especially Turkana County with the advent of oil mining. The conflicts and insecurity are partially linked to the protracted nature of pastoral conflicts till today.

²⁴ Catherine Nekesa. "Protracted conflicts and children's social well-being: A Case of West Pokot County." (2015).

²⁵ Simon Miiri Gitau. "Conflicts between pastoral communities in East Africa. Case study of the Pokot and Turkana (2013).

²⁶ Onyango, E. "Pastoralists in Violent Defiance of the State: The Case of the Karamajong in Northeastern Uganda "(2010).

²⁷ Paul Collier. "Economic causes of civil conflict and their implications. (Development Research Group World Bank, 2001).

Northern Kenya pastoralists are caught in chronic poverty traps, insecurity, limited political leverage and challenging natural environment which combine to produce high levels of vulnerability and underdevelopment²⁸. This is further explicated by the GOK report of 2012 which indicates that the security infrastructure is inadequate for such a large area with poor communication networks, a dispersed population, and a heavy presence of illegal firearms. It is also important to underscore that lack of comprehensive regional framework governing cross border migration has also contributed to insecurity among the pastoral communities. According to CDC, Northern Kenya receives only a very small share of the national budget to facilitate development of basic amenities and infrastructure in comparison to other region of the country²⁹.

1.5.2 Challenges Influencing Pastoral Conflicts in Northern Kenya

1.5.2.1 The unpredictable nature of conflicts

The unpredictable nature of these conflicts leaves a veil of fear stripping the population of perceived control and security. The rampant pastoralist inter-community violent interactions that entail cattle raiding, border disputes and retaliatory attacks illustrate protracted conflicts among the pastoralist communities of Northern Kenya. According to Mkutu³⁰ many factors such as the pastoralist historical rivalry, cattle rustling practices and competition for water and pasture explain protracted pastoralist conflicts phenomenon in the region.

County in Northern Kenya seldom invest enough in programmes that address fundamental causes of violence or conflicts in this regions. As a result there are no intensive development interventions, clear security agreements between conflicting pastoral communities and support for customary conflict resolution mechanisms. This is due to the prevalent stigmas on conventional conflict resolution mechanisms and structural irregularities in pastoral communities leading to militaristic, combative, and forcible disarmament campaigns. These militaristic and often combative disarmament approaches in Northern Kenya are often biased in the way they target specific communities, leaving disarmed communities defenseless to attacks by neighboring tribes. As a

²⁸ Conservation development centre international institute for sustainable development and safe world. *"Climate change and conflict lessons from community conservancies in northern Kenya."* (2009) p35

²⁹ Republic of Kenya office of the prime minister, National policy for the sustainable development of Northern Kenya and other arid lands, sessional paper no. 8 of 2012 (Nairobi, Oct 11, 2012).

³⁰ Mkutu, K. *"Guns & Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflict & Small Arms."* (Oxford: James Currey, 2008).

result the pastoral communities provoke violent resistance and failure to comply with forcible disarmament campaigns. The unpredictable nature of pastoral conflicts and their underlying causes are multifaceted in nature ranging from socio-economic, cultural and environmental factors as such calling for more proactive conflict resolution mechanisms which integrates the communities affected.

1.5.2.2 Socio Economic Factors

A common feature of conflict in pastoralists is that it is intensive in wet areas neighboring dry ones. Conflict is hence transported from dry zones to focus in wet zones. It normally involves groups that want access and the ones that protects and control resources. It occurs both within and even outside Kenya and is the most violent. Protracted pastoral conflicts have negative implications on the social networks and institutions in the socio-economic and cultural environments³¹. Conflict among the pastoralists in Northern Kenya are also as a result of social struggles ,uneven allocation of resources ,insecurity ,lack of social amenities and infrastructures reflecting poor performance by the governments in developing public policies to address these inequalities involving issues of power and rights³².

Poverty is highly visible in Northern Kenya as the communities have very limited access to health services, education and safe water supplies compared to most of other counties in non-pastoralist areas. Frequent inter-clan wars have reduced the already very limited access to these basic services in the Northern Kenya. Northern Kenya is also encumbered with poorly developed physical and administrative infrastructures paramount for development thus leaving this area gullible to unscrupulous business men and herding as the only viable economic activity though restricted by poor roads and hostile banditry along the highways. This means that people in the Northern Kenya are left with little or no viable economic alternatives.

Azar³³ argued that the human needs are ontological meaning they were non-negotiable whereby deprivation of the same often resulted to protracted social conflicts .In this case, collective grievances by the pastoral communities due to scarcity of resources is what leads to conflicts in

³¹ Brown, G. & Langer, "*Elgar Handbook of Civil War and Fragile States.*" (Edward Elgar Publishing. London, 2012).

³² Schilling, J., Opiyo, F. E., & Scheffran, J. "Raiding pastoral livelihoods: *motives and effects of violent conflict in North-western Kenya Pastoralism.*" (2012).2(1)1–16.

³³ Azar, E "The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: *Theory and cases.*" (Aldershot Dartmouth, 1990). PP. 111-112.

search of satisfaction for their human needs calling for state's intervention in the satisfaction of the needs of the pastoral communities³⁴. In pastoralist contexts successive regimes have relegated pastoralists economically and socially engaging the communities in forceful security operations.

1.5.2.3 Environmental challenges

Climate change has resulted inter-communal conflict, in East Africa, for example Turkana in Northern Kenyan and Merrile in Southern Ethiopia due to the dwindling natural resources, caused to some extent by environmental degradation and erratic precipitation patterns in the pastoral areas of Kenya . Competition over these scarce resources has contributed immensely to armed ethnic conflicts. Climatic conditions in Northern Kenya and Ethiopia have been characterized over the years by increasing temperatures resulting to scarcity and frequent droughts. Since both depend highly on land and water for their survival and grazing land for their cattle both of these communities migrate in each of better land and more reliable water resources ensuing to protracted conflicts³⁵. This explains the long history of conflicts characterized by terrorizations, fraud, insurrection, constant combats, and interstate or intrastate wars.

1.5.2.4 Easy Access to small arms and illegal weapons

The availability and accessibility of small arms and illegal weapons originating from border areas of Uganda, Ethiopia and Somalia has also led to protracted conflicts destabilizing Northern Kenya region. The small arm reaches Northern Kenya through criminal gangs fueling the regional violence³⁶.

The ease of access to modern small arms has also made cattle raiding, banditry and predation very rampant and has increased cattle raiding among Pokot and Marakwet³⁷. As a result it has become very difficult to address the issues of cattle rustling and banditry along Kerio valley leading to never ending conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet as they incite their communities against each other for selfish gains and misadvise them against surrendering their guns and other weaponry of

³⁴ Avruch, K., & Mitchell, C. *"Conflict Resolution and Human Need."* (Routledge, 2013).

³⁵ Ramsbotham, O. Miall, H., & Woodhouse, T. *"Contemporary Conflict Resolution."* Polity. "(2011).

³⁶ The World Bank group. Population growth (2011). P16.

³⁷ Kenya Human Rights Commission. *"Morans no more – The changing face of cattle-rustling in Kenya."* (Nairobi, Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2010).

war³⁸. Raiding and violence are the common approaches used by Turkana and Pokot pastoralist communities to restock their herds, expands their grazing lands and gain access to water and pasture resources³⁹.

Politicians fuel conflicts in Northern Kenya by assisting the pastoral communities to acquire small arms and ammunitions besides guaranteed markets for stolen animals. Countries like Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia in East Africa have made access to small arms relatively easy with some communities regarding them as valuable household in the context of increasing defenselessness at the household level due to cattle raiding and poor responsiveness by the government security personnel's . This is the case in Northern Kenya where communities acquire weapons as a means of protecting, replacing or accumulating assets from both internal raiding and cross-border⁴⁰.

1.5.2.5 Media, Negative stereotypes and Prejudices

Research shows that media, negative stereotypes and prejudices reinforce and sustain protracted conflicts toward the conflicting pastoral communities⁴¹. In the context of this study, a stereotype includes beliefs about shared characteristics of one pastoral community, held by members of another pastoral community⁴². Prejudice entails biased attitudes towards a pastoral community. These negative beliefs and attitudes tend to sustain and perpetrate pastoral conflicts making resolution and reconciliation difficult, even in the presence of formal agreement. It is pivotal to address these beliefs and wrong attitudes at the grass-root levels as part of conflict resolution mechanism⁴³. This is what has been ailing pastoralists in East Africa and fuelling unending

³⁸Mkutu, K. "Cattle Rustling and the Proliferation of Small Arms: The case of Baragoi, Samburu District. Paper presented at the conference 'Improving Human Security through the control and Management of Small Arms.' (Arusha, March, 23-25, 2000).

³⁹ Eaton, D. "Violence, revenge and the history of cattle raiding along Kenya- Uganda border." (Halifax Dalhousie University, 2008).

⁴⁰ Omondi P. "A thesis on wildlife – Human Conflict in Kenya." (Monreal McGill University ,2013)

⁴¹ W. Tsuma." Climate change-conflict Nexus. Framework for policy oriented Action. *Conflict trend, environment climate change and conflict issue 2*. "(South Africa, Accord, 2011). P.7.

⁴² Maoz, I. Peace-building with the hawks: attitude change of Jewish – Israeli hawks and doves following dialogue encounters with Palestinians. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. (2003). Vol. 27, 701-714

⁴³ Wright, S. C. and D. M. Taylor "The Social Psychology of Cultural Diversity: Social Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Discrimination."(The SAGE Handbook of Social Psychology. London: SAGE Publications, 2003).

conflicts .According to Fisher such conflicts are protracted in nature and characterized as irresolvable in nature, violent, central and total⁴⁴.

1.5.2.6 Systematic Neglect

Systematic neglect further increase pastoral conflicts as noted among the pastoralists in Kenya, Uganda and Sudan⁴⁵ .Systematic neglect entails government neglect of pastoral communities which intensify protracted conflicts. Systematic neglect can act as a cause or catalyst of violent conflict as underlined by Turton⁴⁶ who indicated that pastoralism is not the cause of war but a means by which an existing pastoral community defends its territory further fueling conflicts⁴⁷.

In Northern Kenya in particular, conflict are exacerbated by the government inactivity and inaction to develop policies to address the seemingly unending conflicts. Pastoral issues are only articulated in other policies hence lack prominence or attention of policy makers. More so these policies are designed by non-pastoralists who always have bias towards cultivation of crops and see such arid areas as only viable through massive irrigation schemes leading to cultivation. This means there is no consistent and coherent and feasible plan for intervention in Northern Kenya. Pastoralists have been marginalized in terms of development and access to health, education, shelter and water facilities. Most of the pastoral communities have been sidelined by the government overtime with the outcome being ill feelings, anger and rebellion against the government institutions and structures' meaning that conflict remains highly potent⁴⁸.

According to Turkana pastoralist organization⁴⁹ the government is passive in taking actions to address the raids in Northern Kenya noting that the government has failed to take action in 86.6% of the raids that were reported between 2006 and 2009 and failed to recover 92% of the stolen animals leading to distrust towards the commitment of the Government's in conflict mitigation and enhancing peace. There is need for the government to change focus from disarmaments of the pastoral conflicts to address enhancing its commitment dealing with the catalytic and causative factors of conflicts in an integrated and proactive manner. The government can do this by adopting

⁴⁴ Fisher, R. J. Interactive Conflict Resolution. (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1997).

⁴⁵ The report on Kenya focused on Turkana and Pokot communities

⁴⁶ K. Fukui and J. Markakis. "Ethnicity and conflict in the Horn of Africa. "(2011). P.5.

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Anne Gakuria." Natural resource based conflict among pastoralist communities in Kenya."(University of Nairobi, 2013).

⁴⁹ Turkana Pastoralist Organization."Turkana Pastoralist Organization." *Incident Register 2000-2010*. (2011).

a participatory model that is in consonance with the conventional conflict resolution mechanisms which has the potential to mitigate resource based conflicts among the pastoralists.

1.5.2.7 The State Weaknesses and Inaction

Pastoralists are marginalized geographically, politically and culturally in Northern Kenya and often times the government makes technical appearances when there are conflicts and political statements. The distance from fundamental institutions and service delivery centers also indicates government commitment and widespread conflicts. This inactivity of the government falls among the reasons behind protracted conflicts and pastoralist rebellious acts towards the government. The passivity of the government is often viewed as premeditated, measured and discriminatory rather than objective weakness. The government weaknesses leading to its inaction can contribute directly to escalation of conflict⁵⁰.

The government weaknesses and passivity may destroy local initiatives in the pastoral communities as the role of the government is to arbitrate and administrate justice thus ensuring that there is peaceful coexistence among the pastoral communities. In the case of protracted conflicts the government is looked upon to provide peaceful management of the situation. However, oftentimes the government actions are misconstrued to mean they support one pastoral community at the expense of others leading to counter revenge⁵¹.

1.5.3 Effect of Political Actors and Institutions of Governance on the Development of Protracted Pastoral Conflict in East Africa particularly Northern Kenya

The reason behind the protracted conflicts in Northern Kenya is because of the pastoralists' incapability to uphold and institute mechanisms to govern natural resources which are the main cause of conflicts and differences⁵². It is this weakness that has transformed resource use in pastoral communities from cooperation to competition and confrontation thus never ending conflicts as each community wants to gain dominance over the rest as a means of survival. Ethiopian pastoral conflicts provide a good and clear picture of why lack of institutional realignment and

⁵⁰ Ahmed Kher Mohamed. "Intercommunal conflict over natural resource. *The case of Northern Kenya, 1963-2011*. (University of Nairobi, 2012).

⁵¹ Dietz. *The State, the Market and the Decline of Pastoralism: challenging some myths, with evidence from West Pokot in Kenya & Uganda: Conflict and the Decline in pastoralism in the Horn of Africa* ". (Macmillan, London, 1993).

⁵²

transformation continues to undermine conflict resolution mechanisms and endangered customary authority channels.

Most pastoral communities also lack important administrative and developmental infrastructure including police stations, adequate roads, schools, markets and health facilities. As a result they are disadvantaged as they are sidelined and not integrated with the national government development agendas⁵³. Ruto and Pkalya further postulate that the pastoralist communities have been neglected and deprived off their rights contrary to the requirement of the state as required by the constitution to treat all members of the political community as equal citizens and deliver services and resources equitably. It is the failure of the government to provide these functions that greatly aggravate pastoral conflict coupled with the failure of the government institutions to pay sufficient attention to their needs⁵⁴. Moreover, conflicts among the Dassanetch and Gabra are partly attributed by the facts that they are sidelined and marginalized politically and economically with infinitesimal involvement government agendas⁵⁵.

Based on Azar⁵⁶ argument, pastoral communities' relations can improve through the support of well galvanized political system where the rule of law is practiced without favoritism. The state's should be impartial to all the needs of all tribe and should not be used to oppress through injustice acts and while yet, favoring other tribes. In short, if there will be a lasting solution to the protracted conflicts in Northern Kenya the government cannot be used as an instrument of injustice for one group over another as inter-ethnic accommodation depends solely on a balance of power.

The tragedy in Northern Kenya is the scramble for the resources which arise when there is scramble for water and other pertinent resources and more so invention of dubious means by the parties to obtain more access compared to the competitor leading to scarcity. In Sudan, in the midst of

⁵³ Watson, E. Examining the Potential of Indigenous Institutions for Development: *A Perspective from Borana, Ethiopia*, Development and Change (2003) PP.35: 287–309.

⁵⁴ Ruto, P et.al. "Conflict in northern Kenya: *A Focus on the Internally Displaced Victims in Northern Kenya, Nairobi: ITDG-EA.*" (2003).

⁵⁵ Azar, Edward. *The Management of protracted social conflict: theory and cases.* Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited. (1990).

⁵⁵ Mburu, N. "Bandits on the Border; *The last frontier in the search for Somali unity.*" (Asmara: The Red Cross Inc., 2005).

⁵⁶ Azar, Edward. *The Management of protracted social conflict: theory and cases.* Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited. (1990).

protracted conflicts agriculture supports 70% of the populace who live in poverty⁵⁷. Pastoralists in Darfur get only 20% of their livestock exports price due to unfair internal terms of trade and distorted prices of their produce. It is also perturbing to note that only 3% of development resources go to the rural areas leaving the pastoralists to live in poverty as other communities benefit from their produce⁵⁸.

According to Homer-Dixon scarcity is not the issue but management while Sills posit that human beings can avoid conflict over resources through the reasoning capacity to cooperate. Matthew also indicate that with proper management of resources conflicts will reduce⁵⁹. Often times, it is the improper management and distribution of resources which fuel conflict: For instance in Sudan exploitation of resources by specific classes, foreign elite or the military means has led to protracted conflicts. Political Leaders and Warlords Political leaders such as Members of Parliament (MPs) and party leaders and councilors can be facilitators of a conflict especially by their acts of commissions and omissions⁶⁰. They can also directly promote conflict by certain propaganda or while competing for political leadership like in general elections and party elections. Politicians and warlords can sponsor raids as a way of raising fund for political campaigns or to maintain political leverage over their opponents in order to win power easily. They often support raids and conflicts with other clans as a way of enhancing their reputations. Similarly the elders in communities start violent conflicts in order to gain access to resources or political power⁶¹. Ibrahim and Jenner studies of 1992 and 1985 clashes in the Northern Kenya districts, found out that it was driven by the elders⁶².

Though the contribution of elders in peace building has been suppressed over time by the government and non-governmental organization they remain very powerful in pastoral communities and thus the need for their involvement in conflict mitigation. In Northern Kenya

⁵⁷ MDGs Report, UNDP (2005).

⁵⁸ Employment and Economic Reform: Towards a Strategy for the Sudan, (ILO, Geneva 1987) PP. 45

⁵⁹ J.T, Mathew. "Redefining Security", Foreign Affairs vol.68 no. 2 (spring, 1989) pp. 162

⁶⁰ Fratkon E. "Resurgence of Inter pastoralists' warfare in Kenya." Conference Paper on Resurgent Ethnic Conflict and Tribalism in Africa. Atlanta USA (1994).

⁶¹ Amisi B. K. Conflict in Rift valley and Western Kenya. USAID Conference Paper on Conflict Resolution in the area (Horn of Africa June, 1997).

⁶² Ibrahim and Jenner. *Wajir Community Based Conflict Management Seminar Paper for the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa* (1997).

chiefs, community elders and ward administrators are appointed by the state contrary to communities bordering Uganda where the customary authority system still governs. The elders use armed militia to protect their people in most of these areas⁶³.

The protracted nature of pastoral conflict also relates to the government and the role of the state in guaranteeing accessibility to basic human needs among the pastoralists. Due to political alignments some communities are able to have control and control of power⁶⁴. They use the state resources to dominate the other groups. This unfair treatment denies others their human needs. This leads to opposition thus exacerbating protracted Conflict among pastoral communities including Pokot, Turkana and Samburu among others in Northern Kenya⁶⁵.

This implies that there exist a correlation between state and protracted nature of conflict. Those communities that have faced political marginalization, therefore, in one way or the other find national security measures as inadequate in addressing their many insecurities including sometimes becoming a threat to their security. For example, the government policy of disarmament in pastoral areas without providing guarantees or alternative for security simply creates a vicious cycle of security dilemma for these communities.

Every effort since the colonial times to gain political control and to tax pastoralists has not borne fruits as every effort to have the pastoralists organized for ranching and to sedentarize them has never materialized. This is because majority of the areas in Northern Kenya comprising of arid lands, experience low rainfall, coupled with high temperatures throughout the year and as such the pastoralist are always on the move in search of water and pasture for the livestock⁶⁶.

⁶³ Armed Conflict Location and Event Dataset (ACLED) Conflict Trends: *Real Time Analysis of African Political Violence*. (2012). No.1.

⁶⁴ Oyeniyi, A (2011). Ethnicity and Indigene/ Settler Conflict. In Africa, Transcend Media Service.

⁶⁵ Yieke, F. (2011). Ethnicity and Development in Kenya: Lessons from the 2007 General Elections. *Kenya Studies Review*, 3(8).

⁶⁶ Branislav L. Slantchev. Introduction to International Relations: The Security Dilemma; Department of Political Science, University of California – San Diego (May 11, 2005).

The dominant source of income in arid counties is pastoralism often characterized by livestock mobility in search of water and pasture⁶⁷. Northern are highly marginalized from economic and political resources in recent decades has been due in part to limited capacity or ineffective state institutions in remote areas, but it also reflects the fact that pastoralist communities are largely under-represented in government and the wider political process⁶⁸.

These are mostly arms dealers and livestock traders who often times supply weapons to livestock, traders ‘bandits and even mercenaries. They see this as a form of investment and take profit from the direct participants in the conflict. The Journal of Emerging Trends in Economics and Management Sciences⁶⁹ found out those unscrupulous business human beings with links to politicians and some government officers had been said to have prepared and supervised cattle rustling sports for their character gain. They would purchase the stolen livestock at throw away prices and fetch amazing everyday profits by way of selling them in major urban centers.

Cattle rustling in Northern Kenya are considered to be a means of income generation rather than a means for boosting social livelihood of the pastoralists⁷⁰. Raided livestock are valuable commercial assets and are mostly never recovered as earlier asserted, thus ASAL communities are extra vigilant to guard their livestock.

1.5.4 Research Gaps

The review of existing literature reveals the reasons behind the protracted conflicts in Northern Kenya. Some of the reasons identified as the causative factors and impediments to dealing with conflicts in Northern Kenya will be highlighted in this section. These impediments part of the gaps that this study tries to tackle to contribute to current literature base. To begin with, in conflict management research the issues surrounding pastoral conflicts have attracted a lot of attention both within and without. There is also lack of clear definition of “protracted pastoral conflict,” and

⁶⁷ Nori. M. Crawford. A., Switzer. J. “Mainstreaming Conflict Prevention in Development Cooperation: *Tip sheet of the Links between Pastoral Livelihoods and Conflict Prevention*”. (2005).

⁶⁸ Fiki, O .C. And B. Lee, Conflict generation, conflict management and self-organizing capabilities in drought prone rural communities in north eastern Nigeria: A case study. *Journal of Social Development in Africa* (2004). pp. 2 5 -

⁶⁹ Cheserek et al, “Nature and Causes of Cattle Rustling among some Pastoral Communities in Kenya , *Journal of Emerging Trends in Economics and Management Sciences* (JETEMS) (Vol. 3 (2), 2012) pp. 173-179.

⁷⁰ Ndambuki Muthike. “The impact of illicit arms on security: case study of cattle rustling in Northern Kenya.” (2015).

adequate literature giving depth to the study of this concept and thus its inconsistent use. In this study protracted conflict is defined as those conflicts which are enduring ,never ending and which are often difficult to resolve due to the heightened level of violence .This study will thus seek to empirically tests protracted pastoral conflicts by investigating their relationship with other independent variables including the socio-economic and political variables. Second, the concept of protracted pastoral conflict is rather new due to the literature that is available on the same thus the need for systematic studies geared towards analyzing its impact in East Africa. A Conceptual model is also paramount to expound and exposition on the relationships between the dependent and independent variables. This study fills in this research gap by correlation of the variables presented in this study. Finally, previous studies have identified a number of factors including colonial legacy, domestic historical setting, and the multi-communal nature of the society which play important roles in shaping the genesis of protracted pastoral conflict. However, there is little research that has been done to look into the issues surrounding protracted pastoral conflicts. In the same stance, an overall theory of pastoral conflict remains to be developed. Some scholars have proposed diversifying pastoral conflict and improve conflict management. Unfortunately there has been very fragmented empirical evidence to evaluate this diversification proposal. This study proposes an integrated model to explore the predictors of protracted pastoral conflict.

1.6 Justification of the Study

There are numerous pastoral groups in East Africa and thus the selection of the same in this study. Due to the inter-connectedness of the pastoral communities geographically⁷¹ they have suffered a lot developmentally and in terms of conflicts among each other due to cattle raiding for cultural and commercial reasons and ease of access of small arms. Northern Kenya which will be our case study .Managing climatic fluctuations in ASALs is critical to sustaining livelihoods. Pastoral conflict remains one of greatest impediment to development in Northern Kenya counties: However the documentation of these conflicts on pastoral livelihoods has not been adequately researched⁷². There have been studies including a study by Kaimba⁷³ on resource-based conflicts in pastoral

⁷¹An assessment of the Socio-Economic Impacts of Conflict on Pastoral Economies in Kenya Somalia, Ethiopia and Uganda (2012).

⁷² Meier P, Bond D, Bond J: Environmental influences on pastoral conflict in the Horn of Africa. *Political Geography* (2011), PP. 26(6):716–735

⁷³Mkutu KA." Impact of small arms insecurity on the public health of pastoralists in the Kenya –Uganda border regions. *Crime Law Social Change*" (2007) PP. 47: 33-56.

areas, but it has hardly been possible to analyze the nature of the protracted conflicts as they are complex and involves many actors in the region under study. This study will thus seek to analyze the protracted nature of pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya.

Furthermore, the region is encompassed with multiple challenges among them low levels of development, poverty, illiteracy and food insecurity⁷⁴. The selection of the study sites in Northern Kenyan is based on variability of socioeconomic activities of livelihoods including primary pastoralists and agro-pastoralists, the distance of case study areas from each other and the existence/non-existence of outside interventions to reduce community vulnerability to droughts/floods. This study is important to various stakeholders for the following reasons:

1.6.1 Policy

The research will be a contribution to the raging debate on the pastoral conflicts with a view to having a positive influence on the stakeholders, policy makers of conflict by generating shared understanding on the conflict. This is important as range of policies pursued by successive postcolonial governments have not borne fruits⁷⁵. In order to mitigate the conflict in Northern Kenya cooperation based on sound policies must be employed as management strategy to circumvent the conflict before it becomes dysfunctional⁷⁶.

The study is important not only to protracted pastoral conflict management policy makers but also to other policy makers in other conflict induced sector. It will help them understand the how to manage and avoid protracted conflict and how to help achieve development. It will also be paramount to other policy makers to know the methods appropriate in management of protracted pastoral conflict and their consequent effects on development, which will help them, improve their policies and management styles.

⁷⁴ Mwagiru M. *“Conflict Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management.”* (Watermark Publications, Nairobi, 2000).

⁷⁵ USAID. *“Assessment Report on Greater Horn of Africa, peace Building Project.”* (Washington USA, 2012) PP.41.

⁷⁶ Government of Kenya. *“Draft Sessional Paper on Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya Lands. Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands.”* (GoK, 2010).

1.6.2 Academic

The results of this study will be used by academics to discuss issues of the concept of protracted pastoral conflict in other regions in Kenya. The outcomes of this study are anticipated to enhance our knowledge on protracted pastoral conflict. Understanding the relationships among various variables related to protracted pastoral conflict. The findings will also increase the collection of theoretical and empirical knowledge especially in Kenya and also form the basis for further research and teaching.

1.7 Hypothesis

The study will be guided by the following four hypotheses:

- i. There is a relationship between protracted conflicts and competition for scarce resources among pastoral communities in East Africa.
- ii. The challenges of protracted conflict among the pastoralists in East Africa is as a result of institutional and policy failure.

1.8 Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Framework

1.8.1 Protracted Social Conflict Theory

This theory was postulated by Edward Azar⁷⁷ who postulated that depriving communities of the satisfaction of their basic needs based on the marginalization of the pastoral communities the result is protracted conflicts as is the case of this study⁷⁸. However, the scarcity and deprivation in pastoral communities is the result of a complex causative chain involving the role of the government and the pattern of international linkages. There are other factors that play a huge role in the formation of protracted conflicts including the colonial legacy, the historical setting of the pastoral communities, and their livelihood⁷⁹.

This understanding of conflict was in stark contrast with a realist notion of politics that saw conflict being an inevitable power struggle which saw actors at all levels trying to establish some comparative advantage and instead argued for a view that sought 'collective security, community building and prosperity'. This theory puts more weight on conflicts which are violent, enduring,

⁷⁷ Azar, E. "The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: *Theory & Cases*." (Aldershot, Dartmouth, 1990) PP.12

⁷⁸ Salim Bilali. The nature of conflicts between the Borana and Meru communities in Isiolo county of Kenya (November, 2013).

⁷⁹ Burton, John. Conflict Human Needs Theory (New York: St Martin's Press, 1990).

and thus difficult to resolve. According to Protracted theorist, violent conflict emerge and prolong as a result of a struggle between communal groups for basic needs such as security, recognition and fair participation in Traditional and political institutions⁸⁰.

Azar underline that there are four prerequisites for protracted conflicts and this is true of Northern Kenya including the Communal Human factors, Human Needs factors, Government and political factors and international linkages. With regards to communal content, it was linked to colonial legacy and local historical settings of that particular society in conflict. It is assumed that, the role of the colonial Governments during colonial period contributed to the protracted nature of conflicts in that in a bid for the colonial masters to get a foothold of the various communities they imposed policies aimed at favoring one community over the other communities in the same geographical setting. In Northern Kenya there have existed now for many decades divergent conflicts. Notable of all was started around the time Kenya was getting its independence. The impact of emergency rule after independence had a negative ramification in Northern Kenya for over 30 years rendering the place more marginalized⁸¹. The largest counties in Kenya are found in Northern Kenyan region. Marsabit and Turkana are the biggest counties in its geographical outlook. With the discovery of oil in 2012 in Turkana, Northern Kenya will be a hub of economic boost for the nation⁸². Yet it is a region characterized by poverty and lack where the practice of pastoralist livelihood is the order of the day.

Some of the boundaries set by the colonial masters empowered one group to dominate the other. This further widened the relationship and interactions into more of an acrimonious one. After the departure of the colonial powers, the stratification of the various groups and thus their privileges were made to be carried on. The remnants of these divide and rule policies by the colonial administration became contestable by the group that feel disadvantage and began to fight in order to restore the erstwhile status quo. The advantaged group also became intransigent to reverse or to restore the social order into one of an equal society.

⁸⁰ Ibid

⁸¹ Government of Kenya: Vision 2030 Development Strategy for Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands (2011).

⁸² Government of Kenya: "Kenya discovers oil, president Kibaki announces," http://www.statehousekenya.go.ke/news/march_2012 (November, 2012).

Human needs can be achieved better through collective activities. These human needs include security, fair participation and access to recognizable institutions, religious, and cultural needs. It is considered that these needs are necessary elements for the survival and existence of identity groups⁸³. Denial and deprivation of the pastoral communities from these human needs motivate them to be mobilized and to express their objection collectively leading to conflicts as is the case of Turkana due to the insecurity ensuing from oil mining. The pastoral communities in our context will identify and fight for the reinstatement of what they feel is legitimate to them. Their most obvious primary needs being their individual and communal survival and well-being contingent upon the satisfaction of basic needs⁸⁴.

This theory further underscores on the role of the government and the role of the state in guaranteeing accessibility to basic human needs. As it has been experienced in East Africa authoritarian, dictatorial, exploitive and exclusionary governments are naturally more likely to create opposition thus increasing the propensity for pastoral conflicts especially in Northern Kenya⁸⁵. The sociopolitical underpinnings affect the way the government relates with various pastoral communities in the case of this study as well as the way in which their conflicts are resolved. It is the repressive and exclusionary government beliefs among the pastoral communities' that contributes to the discrimination of sections of society by preventing the government from responding to and meeting the needs of various pastoral communities thereby increasing discontent⁸⁶. This explains the laxity of the government to make policies to enhance the delivery of basic humans needs among the pastoral communities as also elaborated in this theory. Instead, the dominant pastoral communities use the government resources and machineries to dominate the other groups leading to unfair treatment and denial of rights and human needs leading to opposition which exacerbate protracted social conflicts.

International linkages also promote protracted social conflicts in that they emphasize on economic dependency and client relationship. Some states depend economically on the international economic system. This weakens the sovereignty and the ability of the state to make policies to

⁸³ Azar, Edward. "The analysis and management of protracted social conflict. *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships*." (Lexington, Y: D.C. Heath, 1991).

⁸⁴ *Republic of Kenya. "Constituency Report on Well-Being in Kenya." (2011)*

⁸⁵ Ryan Stephen. "Ethnic Conflict and International Relations. "(Aldershot Dartmouth, 1990).

⁸⁶ WISP. "*Policies that Work for Pastoral Environments.* "(2008).

enhance the delivery of basic humans needs to these communities. The conflict in Northern Kenya has at times had international dimension with bordering communities from Ethiopia taking sides in the conflict by supporting their own communities on the other side of the border either by giving them safe hiding place or by coming in and attacking the protagonists in the conflict. The conflict in Northern Kenya affects as far as the border of Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda where the same ethnic group of larger Northern Kenya are found.

Effective operations of administrative and political institutions in most cases are stunted by the process of protracted social conflict especially among the pastoral communities. Protracted pastoral conflicts tend to reinforce cynicism throughout the society, discourage leaders and restrain the search for peaceful solutions⁸⁷. Protracted conflicts create a sense of paralysis which leaves the community incapable of initiating conflict resolution mechanism including initiating the search for answers to their problems and grievances.

1.9 Research Methodology

Research methodology involves the process used to collect data and other types of information for use in composing a proposal or research project. This section outlines the methodological approaches that will be used during the research study. The major items in this chapter include the Research design, Data collection instruments and procedures, data analysis and presentation and finally Conclusion.

1.9.1 Research Design

This research will employ mixed research methods whereby both quantitative and qualitative data was collected and analyzed. It employs a mixture of both qualitative and quantitative methods in many phases in the research process⁸⁸. This section therefore provides a critical description of the procedures that was employed by the researcher while conducting the study⁸⁹. The key components

⁸⁷ Azar Edward. "The Management of Protracted Social Conflict. Theory and cases," (Macmillan Press, London, 1996).

⁸⁸ Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. "Mixed methodology: *Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches.*" (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 1998).

⁸⁸ Creswell, J. W. & Plano, C. V. L," *Designing and conducting mixed methods research.* Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications (2007).

⁸⁹ Elias A. Hadziliias. "qualitative and mixed research methods (CA: 2011)

for research methodology are identification of the target population, research design and the sampling procedure.

In the quantitative paradigm, Cross-sectional survey study will be used to analyze the protracted nature of pastoral conflicts through the collection of standardized and measurable information from a selected sample.

In qualitative research method, the researcher will use the phenomenological design. So as to obtain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon being investigated, the researcher will adopt a qualitative research design which contains features, which enable the researcher to obtain thick descriptions. The research question of this study will seek to investigate the extent of the protracted nature of pastoral conflicts in East Africa? The non-pastoral issues significant to the development and existence of conflict in East Africa? The study also employed different data collection methods including questionnaires, interview guides, focus group discussion and participant observation.

1.9.2 Sampling

In research, sampling is undertaken for it gives access to the comprehensive study of a part as opposed to whole population. It involves selecting a number of individuals to represent the large group from which they are selected⁹⁰. Both probabilistic and non-probabilistic sampling techniques were used to arrive at a suitable sample size. Snowball and purposive sampling will be employed for this study. Snowballing is preferred by the study because of the need to capture the opinions of "hidden populations" in the study area owing to difficulties of reaching some populations in the area under study as they are nomads. In this method, research institutions with which the researcher interacts, makes use of their social networks to refer the researcher to other people/institutions who could potentially participate in or contribute to the study.

Purposive sampling was used for in-depth interviews on 15 key informants. The key informants included elders, opinion leaders, prisoners, local government including administrators, range management, law enforcement officers, and experts in conflict management and development partners' active in the region. Information that helps to understand the background and history of

⁹⁰ Mugenda, O.M and Mugenda, A.G *Research Methods-Quantitative and Qualitative* (Acts Press, 2003).

the conflict situation identify primary and secondary parties to the conflicts, as well as factors that underpin the protracted pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya will be gathered using the interview guides. In using this technique to select the sample, the researcher believes that the respondents will be able to provide the required data for the study.

1.9.3 Data Collection Instruments

This study will rely on both primary and secondary sources.

1.9.3.1 Primary data

Primary data is data observed or collected directly from first-hand experience. Primary data was obtained from interviews⁹¹. Data for the study will be obtained through structured and open-ended interviews. Structured questions will be accompanied by a list of all possible alternatives from which respondents will select the answer that best describes their situation while open-ended questions will give the respondent complete freedom of response.

1.9.3.2 Secondary data

Secondary Data entails the information collected for purpose of completion of a research project. It's used to gain insight into the research problem. This study will employ the use of; Books, online sources, printed journals⁹². The study will also use internet searches on carefully selected materials to ensure the reliability of information.

1.9.4 Data Analysis

All the literature that will be used and responses will be intensively analyzed to inform the conclusion and recommendations that will be reached. This will involve analyzing the data collected in the previous chapters by comparing and contrasting with the hypothesis and the theoretical framework that will be used to guide the study to see if the research meets its objective and either confirm or nullify the hypothesis of the research. The statistical software SPSS version 17.0 will be used to analyze the generated data. Descriptive and inferential statistical analyses will be employed and data will be summarized using graphic presentations for the interpretation of

⁹¹ Mugenda, O.M and Mugenda, A.G. Research Methods-Quantitative and Qualitative. (Acts Press, 2003).

⁹² Bishop, L. "A reflexive account of reusing qualitative data: *Beyond Primary/Secondary Dualism*. Sociological Research Online (Online), Special Section on Reusing Qualitative Data (May 2007).

findings. Statistics will be based on percentages and frequencies which will be presented using tables and figures.

1.9.5 Ethical Considerations

The standards of a good research design account for efficient strategies, information-rich informants and strict adherence to ethics. As such this study will follow ethical principles because of the research topic, which will involve face-to-face interactive data collection.

1.10 Scope and the limitation of the Research

The study will seek to analyze the protracted nature of pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya. This study will be confined in Northern Kenya Counties. The respondent's attitude towards the study may be a limitation since it will be a major barrier to right information in that, the respondent might lack trust for the researcher thus wrong information might be obtained. Shortage of time will also likely affect the study due to the fixed research period of three months that will not be adequate for conducting an extensive research amidst a very extensive scope. Several people might also not respond to the questionnaires due to language barrier and their general unwillingness to give information. Cost of conducting the study may be a limitation as the researcher lives in a completely different environmental setting. As a result the study will heavily rely on secondary data because of the geographical distance and the cost involved in carrying out the surveys.

1.11 Chapter Outline

The study is categorized into five chapters. The first chapter is the background of the research study. It will basically show an idea of the task of the subject under study as well as showing what the study intends to accomplish. It will include the subjects such as Introduction to the study, the statement of the research problem, the objectives of the study, justification of the study, the Literature Review, justification of the study, the hypothesis, the theoretical and conceptual framework, the Research methodology, scope and the limitation of the study and the chapter outline.

Chapter two will explore historical and contextualized analysis of pastoral conflict in East Africa. It will delve into analyzing the pastoral conflict while at the same time looking at the key actors of pastoral conflict in Africa. With this, it brings into picture the major components the protracted pastoral conflict in East Africa and specifically Northern Kenya. Further, challenges that embed

pastoralists' communities will be highlighted while in the later discussions an in-depth historical perspective of Northern Kenya's Conflict will be widely discussed and the possible mitigation strategies for the protracted conflicts.

Chapter three will provide an in-depth examination by putting reference to pastoral conflict case study of Northern Kenya Counties. We will look at the historical perspective of pastoral conflict dynamic with a particular bias Communal content; Human Needs; Government ,the State's Role; and International linkages leading to protracted pastoral conflicts . Other contributing factors in pastoral conflict will also be mentioned in this chapter.

Chapter four will give a critical analysis of the gathering from both primary and secondary data on the case study. It will focus on the findings and profoundly underline the emerging issues from the findings. These findings will be married with the reality that happens in Northern Kenya in the context of protracted pastoral conflicts. This chapter will examine these findings in order to derive at a conclusion.

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

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF PASTORAL CONFLICT IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

Chapter two gives a general overview of protracted conflict in Africa. It will also give an overview of conflict in the Horn of Africa and in particular in the Eastern Africa region. The chapter examines the role of IGAD and conflict resolution in the Horn of Africa. It further discusses the role of Kenya in conflict Management at the Horn of African Region.

2.2. Historical Conflict Dynamics in Africa

The history of Conflict around the globe can be traced back several years in the century. Apart from other parts of the globe, Pastoral communities are found especially in 21 countries of Africa. These countries range from the Sahelian West, the rangelands of East Africa and the horn to the nomadic populations of Southern Africa. The first pastoral occupation of the present Sahel occurred around 4000BP .The livelihood for the pastoralist at this time was fishing and herding. The archeologist have found evidence including stone axes, pots and beads to indicate that in Mali and Niger Delta some pastoralist lived there⁹³. The only distinguishing factor among the pastoralist then was how they conducted burial ceremonies .While some pastoralist would put pots in the cemeteries other pastoralists would not .

Most of the pastoralists have also been on the lookout for a tsetse flies free regions and this defined their movements in the East and West. The pastoralists are also concentrated in arid areas making it easy for them to practice nomadic livestock grazing⁹⁴. The communities in the Sahel region have grappled with protracted conflicts characterized by the use of guns and other weapons during inter pastoral armed violence. These conflicts have extended up to Senegal, Mauritania, Chad and Sudan border triangle to the East⁹⁵. Population is not static but dynamic with each concurrent shift in a continuum leading to a given rise to conflicts over resources and land tenure as elucidated by Kinahan⁹⁶ case study of Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Nigeria.

⁹³ Gaussen, M. Gaussen, J. Apercur sur les divers facies neolithiques du tilemsi et nouveaux objets en quartz poli Bull. Socc (1962). Munson, P.J. Late Holocene climatic chronology of the southwestern Sahara (1974).

⁹⁴ Munson, P.J. Late Holocene climatic chronology of the southwestern Sahara (1974).

⁹⁵ Smith A.B , Pastoralism in Africa :Origins and Development ecology .(London : Husrt in press ,1992)

⁹⁶ Kinahan, J. Pastoral nomads of the central Namib desert. (PHD thesis Univ. witwatersand, 1989).

In the dry lands of Namibia and Botswana, similar factors have caused conflict explaining the presupposition that any country that has significant number of pastoralist has world's lowest human development indicators as the pastoralists are livestock keeping people. Pastoralists are a special category of the population who keep cattle and camels⁹⁷.

Pastoralists are also considered as the minority groups in terms of their livelihood, culture, values and language. Usually the views and needs of pastoralists are rarely taken into consideration in planning by the state⁹⁸. This is partly because they are considered inferior and illiterate thus insignificant in determining the policy and development indicators for their communities. Throughout Africa, we have different types of pastoralist. The contemporary pastoralists are now farming and have diversified their activities with some pastoralists in Turkana going for fishing. To minimize the loss during the drying seasons the pastoralists increase their cattle's and sheep's numbers in rainy seasons intentionally to carry over enough healthy stock to provide for sustenance during the dry and drought seasons⁹⁹.

2.2.1 Development of Pastoralism in East Africa

In East Africa pastoralism didn't begin until 400 BP. The pastoralism is said to have started in Northern Kenya around Lake Turkana. In other areas in the region including in Sudan, Tsetse flies and high lake levels prevented the pastoralists from their livelihoods and occupation¹⁰⁰. In North East Lake Turkana Barthelme¹⁰¹ excavated bones of cattle, ceramics, fish bones and stone bowls dated 4000 BC. The movement of the pastoralist within East Africa takes note of the Cushite's who moved out from Ethiopia into Equatorial province and southwards to Northern Kenya and later into Central highlands¹⁰². Later on, the Southern Nilotes went through Sudan ousting out most of the Cushite's who inhabited there.

⁹⁷ Elio F, Galvin. African Pastoralist Systems: an Integrated Approach. (Lynne Publishers, 1994).

⁹⁸ Bonfiglioli A. and Watson. Pastoralists at a Crossroads. Survival and Development issues in African Pastoralism. (NOPA, Nairobi, 1992).

⁹⁹ Glantz, M. H. Drought and Hunger in Africa; Denying Famine a Future. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1987).

¹⁰⁰ Robertshaw P.T The development of pastoralism in East Africa .In the walking larder patterns of domestication pastoralism and predation .ed. J Clutton Brock (1989) PP. 207-14

¹⁰¹ Bartheleme, J. Holocene sites North East Lake Turkana: A preliminary report (1977) PP.12:33-41.

¹⁰² Kryzyzaniak, L. Late prehistory of the Nile basin and the Sahara (1989) PP. 387-40).

It was during the colonial period that the pastoralists from Northern Kenya who were considered hostile, ignorant and unreceptive to development were sidelined by the colonial powers from the any form of development including education, infrastructures and security. As a result most of the pastoral communities have remained undeveloped without infrastructures and systems of governance and ingrained poverty¹⁰³. In East Africa, the British colonialists were mainly interested in the development of agriculturally high potential areas for cash crop production and for export. Most of the development thus went to the highly fertile areas favored by good climatic conditions. As a result the colonialist divided East Africa into the highly developed white highlands; the less developed native lands where they got cheap labour, and the pastoral zones¹⁰⁴.

The pastoral areas were out of reach and one needed a permit to travel there because the only focus for the colonial regime was developing policies and infrastructures to heighten crop production for export. This means that they paid little if any attention to them, their environment and were unwilling to invest in the development of infrastructures in pastoral societies¹⁰⁵.

Bonfiglioli¹⁰⁶ in congruence with the former indicates that the pastoralists have lived being demeaned and degraded by the governments who often use them for political gains and then shelve them until the next election. Furthermore pastoral communities are perceived as primeval, aggressive and unreasonable and thus protracted conflicts in pastoral livelihoods. The genesis is that pastoralists had less to offer during the pre and in the post-colonial era especially in terms of resources for the export market. As a result the pastoral communities have less political influence in governments both in the colonial and independent Kenya .This has not been changed by the inauguration of the new constitution in Kenya where the conventional stereotype and supposition continue to affect the developmental aspects leading to structural and violent conflicts in that they are considered immaterial and unwilling to modernize due to their ingrained attachment pastoralism¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰³ Ibid

¹⁰⁴ Daoud Abkula," Pastoral conflicts impediments by colonial policies: *Effective pastoral resource management in Northern Kenya* (Brussels, 2010).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

¹⁰⁶ Mwangi M. *Conflict Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Watermark Publications, Nairobi, 2000).

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

What characterizes most of the pastoralist is the access they have to natural resources. Most of the protracted conflicts therefore revolve around access to pasture especially between pastoralist communities and settled farmers. More tension tends to rise when pastoralist communities meet in a single area with limited pastures and water for their livestock. In this case the battle becomes that of survival¹⁰⁸. The pastoralists don't have any regard for fences or gates while looking for pastures for their livestock and as such they enter into violent battles with settled farmers who are willing to do anything to keep their harvest intact and perceiving the pastoralists as intruders. Though these issues can be mediated to avoid conflicts there are more factors which drive pastoral conflicts including political factors, socioeconomic factors, topography, lack of road networks and insecurity¹⁰⁹. To address protracted conflicts among the pastoralist thus calls for multi-stakeholders approach and proactive approach.

2.3 Protracted Pastoral conflict in East Africa

2.3.1 The state weaknesses and protracted conflict

There a number of factors that contributes to protracted conflicts leading to economic, political, social and cultural disfranchising among the pastoralists including poverty, illiteracy, injustice, corruption, illicit trade, land disputes and weak state institutions. To deal with factors there is need for commitment from all parties and actors in the government and sustained support from the international community¹¹⁰. The never ending conflicts in East Africa have to some extent destroyed the state's capacity to equitably provide for all its citizenry. The volatility of the state's due to militia and organized groups in Somalia, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya has resulted to internal clashes destabilizing the systems of the state and denying the state a room for recuperation so that the states institutions of governance remains weak to tackle protracted conflicts. Hartzell¹¹¹ says that, "state weakness intensifies insecurity because there is no effective agency present that is capable of ensuring implementation of the society's agreed-upon rules. The

¹⁰⁸ Brauch. Climate change, environmental stress and conflict in Federal Ministry for Environment, Climate change and conflict (Berlin: Federal Ministry of Environment, 2009). PP. 9–112.

¹⁰⁹ Osbahr, H. Linking climate change adaptation and disaster management for sustainable poverty reduction, Kenya country studies (European Commission Report, Geneva, Switzerland, 2011).

¹¹⁰ Watson, E. Examining the Potential of Indigenous Institutions for Development: *A Perspective from Borana, Ethiopia*, Development and Change (2003) PP.35: 287–309

¹¹¹ Hartzell, C., Hoddie, M. Stabilizing the Peace after Civil War: *An Investigation of Some Key Variables International Organization* (2011) pp. 183-208

disarticulation between state and society is exacerbated by political elites that pursue policies contradictory to the needs of citizens, limiting needs satisfaction to the dominant communal group.”

Galaty¹¹² finds that addressing insecurity in East Africa is critical due to the impact of escalating local cycles of conflict especially in Somalia, Sudan and Kenya. Gradual erosion of elders’ authority, the failure of the state to provide security, the proliferation of small arms and greater integration into the national political and economic sphere has led to intense conflicts in the area.

Indeed, protracted conflicts destroy the very foundation and principles guiding nation building: fundamental for national cohesion and peace building in Africa. Due to protracted conflicts the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Angola, South Sudan and Somalia among others have been reduced to halls of conflicts¹¹³. The never-ending conflicts among the pastoralist in East Africa have also led to violent inter-communal interactions that have contributed to protracted pastoralist conflicts in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs).

2.3.2 Lack of political will and External support

The East Africa states also lack external support to deal with the conflicts among the pastoral communities and especially from the neighboring countries. It requires the political will to deal with conflicts from neighboring countries which has not been forthcoming in East Africa as most of the government’s pursuits are contradictory to the needs of citizen’s partially due to conditionalities by external parties¹¹⁴. Political disorders including the disorders in Somalia, South Sudan, Uganda and Northern Kenya and in neighboring countries may also increase the likelihood of conflicts cumulatively leading to protracted conflicts.

Due to lack of collaboration in dealing pastoral issues along the borders and often times turning blind eyes on issues ailing the pastoralist they have overtime started engaging in selling of guns and others weapons leading to imbalance of power across borders or between different groups

¹¹² Galaty, J. (2012). *Vue Sur La Violence: Les Frontieres du Conflit Pastoral au Kenya*. *Anthropologies at Societies* 26(1): 107-126.

¹¹³ Leavitt, L. & Fox, and N. *The Psychological Effects of War and Violence on Children* (Hillsdale, Erlbaum Associates, 2014).

¹¹⁴ UNESCO. *Achievements and challenges: EFA Global Monitoring Report* (UNESCO Publishing, 2015).

resulting in an escalation of raids¹¹⁵. Besides the pastoral movements between borders as evinced by the Oromo and Boran involved in south and west Ethiopia has changed the dynamics of conflicts. This coupled with the corrupt politicians using the militia and Al-shabbab in Somalia to destabilize other East Africa countries including Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenyan and Uganda¹¹⁶.

2.3.3 Environmental factors and protracted conflicts

Heightened climate change is also evident in pastoralists' communities with those inhabiting the dry lands living with the effects of climate change¹¹⁷. The arid nature of the land inhabited by most pastoralists in East Africa has tough environmental conditions due to climate change factor. In the context of this study, Onyango¹¹⁸ says that, "Pastoralists are in a persistent state of crisis due to the widespread violence in an effort to respond to the various challenges among them natural and human induced environmental conditions. "What Onyango was pointing out to was that rain patterns, natural hazards, availability of water resources and quality of land are the critical determinants of conflicts as they affect the community coping strategies. This explains why the pastoral communities in East Africa are more exposed to the environmental threats leading to conflicts as the pastoral communities migrate in search of pasture as a coping strategy.

In corroboration, Herrera¹¹⁹ concurred that pastoralist are involved in never ending battles due to the never ending environmental challenges. To tackle protracted conflicts would therefore call for more concerted effort among all the stakeholders including the state in a bid to address the environmental challenges affecting the pastoral communities in East Africa as they are the constant causative factors for conflicts¹²⁰.

¹¹⁵ Azar, E. *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory and Cases* (Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited, Dartmouth, 1990).

¹¹⁶ Masibo, Moses. *The Political Impact of the Instability of Somalia to the Horn and East Africa*. (Missouri State University, United States, 2010) .P 2.

¹¹⁷ Ibid

¹¹⁸ Onyango, E.O. *Pastoralists in Violent Defiance of the State: The Case of the Karamajong in Northeastern Uganda* (2010).

¹¹⁹ Herrera, P. M., Davies. *The Governance of Rangelands: Collective Action for Sustainable Pastoralism* (Routledge, 2014).

¹²⁰ Getu, M., & Mulinge, M. *Impacts of Climate Change and Variability on Pastoralist Women in Sub-Saharan Africa*. African Books Collective (2013).

2.3.4 Competition for scarce resources

Pastoralist conflicts are varied based on competition for the scarce resources, environmental challenges and inter-ethnic armed conflicts. According to Mkutu, the militarization of pastoralist practices was due to widespread of modern weapons that were spillover effects of end of Cold war era of the early 1990s. Moreover the colonial policies and the successive post-colonial governments isolated pastoralist communities from developing¹²¹ and borders and boundaries created by them interfered with the pastoralist social system, disrupted mobility and confined pastoralists into one area and split communities in different countries¹²².

2.3.5 Ease of Access of small arms

The proliferation and usage of Small Arms and Light Weapons among the pastoralists in East Africa sustained and escalated violent inter-communal interactions. Small arms are often given as payment for stolen cattle, and are regarded as valuable assets and sources of prestige by young men. Porous borders including the Kenya Somali Border and Kenya Ethiopia¹²³ Border where Somali and Ethiopia has experienced prolonged conflict underline why the weapons cross easily into Kenya and Ethiopia¹²⁴.

As a result, cattle rustling have become a regional concern being widely covered by the media as it has resulted into banditry and violence in pastoralist areas along Kenya-Uganda and South Sudan borders. Moreover, though Kenya has set a good precedence in addressing illegal arms proliferation through policy frameworks most if the neighboring countries are yet to adopt the same. This includes the development of strict weapons Act and policy. A cohesive regional policy on weapons and small arms should be developed and adopted as a strategy to reduce insecurity and cattle raids in East Africa.

¹²¹ Catley, A., Lind, J., & Scoones. *Pastoralism and Development in Africa: Dynamic Change at the Margins* (London, UK: Routledge, 2013).

¹²² Bollig, M. & Wotzka, H. *Pastoralism in Africa: Past, Present and Future* (Berghahn Book, 2013).

¹²³ Mesele S., Kagunyu A.. (2007): *Impact of cross-border livestock mobility on Conflict over natural resources and spreading of livestock diseases*. In proceedings of sub-regional workshop on Managing East Africa rangelands for better response to feed crisis, 9-12 November 2008, Addis Ababa Ethiopia

¹²⁴ Meier, V., Bond, F. & Bond, G. *Environmental influences on pastoral conflicts in the Horn of Africa* (2002), Kenya Firearms Act Chapter 114

2.3.6 Unmet Expectations after independence

Later in the late 1950s and early 1960s, most African states got their independence from their colonial masters to be able to govern themselves. However, freedom to most communities in the African continent is variably incoherent with what they dinged for when they were fighting for independence. The successive leadership has carried along the ideology of their colonial masters in practicing it to manipulate its citizens hence increasing conflict related experiences especially among the pastoralists. With the end of the systems of world order that colonialism and the cold war provided, Africa is experiencing a greater degree of conflict than it has seen in a long while¹²⁵. After independence most of the pastoralist feels out of place due to lack of inclusivity and equitable distribution of state's resources.

2.4 Challenges of Protracted Pastoralists in East Africa

2.4.1 Pastoralist are migrants and highly mobile

Pastoralist coping strategies like migration can also contribute to conflict dynamics including their movements across political and national boundaries with a good case study being the Afar who move between Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Djibouti and the Somalis who move between Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somaliland, Somalia, and Kenya¹²⁶. In periods of low climatic stress, migration is limited to a relatively small area; in periods of high stress pastoralists will take their herds as far as necessary to find water and pasture supplies. Wider migration leads to increased contact with other migrating pastoralists, with whom historical conflicts may already exist, which can lead to inter-community violence¹²⁷.

To be able to safeguard their flocks the pastoralists cross political and natural boundaries under very extreme conditions. As they cross the political boundaries the incumbents retaliate leading to conflicts of interest and in this case pasture and water. Pastoralist entails keeping of herds including goat, sheep, camel, and other domestic animals for consumption or economic gain. They are majorly characterized by movement from one place to another in search of livelihood including water and pasture. In Africa, pastoralism is a common practice. Some of the most common

¹²⁵ William Zartman, *Traditional cures for Modern Conflict: African Conflict medicine* (USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc 2000), P.2

¹²⁶ Oxfam Briefing Paper. Survival of the fittest: *Pastoralism and climate change in East Africa* (East Africa: OXFAM publication, August 18, 2008). P.14

¹²⁷ Karimi M. *Conflict in Northern Kenya: A Focus on the internally displaced Conflict via Northern* (United States Institute of Peace, 2003).

socioeconomic activities among the pastoralists in Africa include rearing of cow, goat, sheep, camel, and other domestic livelihood. Pastoralists' communities are also mobile and they migrate from one place to another in search of water resource and pasture which is usually the leading cause of conflicts. Put differently, they tend to be remote and highly mobile¹²⁸. Since the challenge of migration embeds the pastoral community's in that these communities are seen living at a periphery of border areas in search of resources for their livestock. Ghana grapples with migrant Fulani herdsmen from neighboring countries who, in pursuit of grazing pasture, migrate into the country¹²⁹.

2.4.2 Marginalization

In East African countries pastoralists are many in number though they inhabit land that is unproductive and with little economic potential¹³⁰. This can be attested by the fact that the marginalization of pastoral communities may have been contributed by colonial distribution of land. For instance in Kenya, the pastoralist communities were allocated to live away from the heart of the town and live in the periphery. The former Northern Frontier District is an example of a marginalized place where most pastoralists in Kenya lived. Since this livelihood live in marginalized and peripheral zones, conflict over resource and boarder areas has become a common occurrence including the 2005/6 conflict between Turkana in Kenya and the Ethiopian pastoralist which left 40 people dead .The conflict was due to drought and pasture and water¹³¹.

The economic livelihood of people of Somalia, Northern Uganda, Northern Kenya, and Northern Nigeria relies significantly on pastoral livelihood. In Northern Nigeria, Livestock production forms the basis of the socio-cultural, economic and socio-political organization of over 9 million pastoralists¹³². Political and economic marginalization is also prevalent among the pastoralists in

¹²⁸ Oxfam Briefing Paper. Survival of the fittest: pastoralism and climate change in East Africa. (OXFAM publication, 2009).P.14

¹²⁹ Andrews & Emmanuel Kwesi. Demography *'Demography, Environment and Conflict in West Africa* (Senegal: CODESRIA, 2011). P.88

¹³⁰ Ibid

¹³¹ Oxfam Briefing Paper. Survival of the fittest: *Pastoralism and climate change in East Africa* (East Africa: OXFAM publication, August 18, 2008). P.14

¹³² Gefu J. Pastoralist perspectives in Nigeria (Sweden: Nordiska Afrikaninstitutet, 1992). P.11

East Africa dating back to colonialism partly due to the inappropriate policies adopted by the subsequent governments which sidelines them¹³³.

2.4.3 Climatic changes

Since climate change leads to depletion of natural resources the results are not good including scarcity, high mortality rate, and competition for midget resources causing unending conflicts¹³⁴. Despite the fact that natural resources form a significant part as causative factors too many conflicts in East Africa, this is only one aspect among many complex conflict-generating factors. Pastoralism all over the world is commonly found in areas with low rainfall, hot conditions with long dry periods. Without negating or downplaying the effects of climatic changes it is expected that these drastic changes will impede human development in terms of security and livelihood¹³⁵.

Due to extremely hot climatic condition, alternative agricultural produce is a challenge either for reasons of the nature of soil or the hot weather. Different seasons mean different lifestyle for pastoral communities. In high season where there is rain, pastoralists tend to relax and graze their livelihood within their boundaries. In low season where there is shortage of rain, and the ground water's dried, pastoralists tend to move from one location to another in search of convenient and reliable area where they can find pasture and water resource for their livelihood. Due to climatic changes the pastoralists have adapted themselves to migrate by moving their livestock according to the shifting availability of water and pasture¹³⁶. The challenge of cattle rusting happens in the pastoralists communities. Communities such as Pokot, Karamoja of Uganda, and the Nuer in Sudan, Samburu and Rendille in Northern Kenya have cultures that encourage cattle rustling.

2.4.4 Cattle Rustling

Most East African pastoralists' communities pay dowries in the form of cattle, goats, sheep and camels necessitating cattle thefts. Due to the looming poverty in the pastoral areas which ASAs and low economic livelihoods a group of warriors commonly called Morans in Northern Kenya

¹³³ Oxfam Briefing Paper. p.11

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

¹³⁴ Bonte, P. Casciarri, B. Local Trends and Perceptions of Processes of Commodisation in Central Sudan: The Responses of Ahamda Pastoral System to State Pressures and Capitalist Dynamics. *Nomadic Peoples* (2002). PP. 6(2), 32-50

¹³⁵ Omiti, J M. Development issues in pastoral areas: setting agenda for policy advocacy in Kenya (2003).

¹³⁶ Ibid

rustle the cows as a means of transition into the rite of passage to marriage. This is further aggravated by the possessions of small firearms in which porous borders where these communities live become an opportunity of propagating conflict. According to Oxfam¹³⁷ the herdsmen when invading other communities destroy crops, attack people, cause bush-fires, and conduct highway robberies with guns and fire arms¹³⁸. The process of disarmament has not successfully worked in the pastoralists regions as they are using it as a defense mechanism from their enemies. Resource scarcity is paramount in areas inhabited by pastoralists. Looking at Northern Kenya for example, there is not much water resource or pasture land for these communities as the area is dry.

2.4.5 Dysfunctional state systems to curb corruption and impunity

Pastoral conflicts are also complex, favoring impunity, brutal human rights violations and civilians as the main target. Today pastoral conflicts have different and unique dynamics characterized by modernized weapons, organized groups, militia and porous borders. This is clearly exposed in the conflicts experienced in Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Liberia, Kenya, and Sierra Leone just to name a few¹³⁹. These conflicts went from political tension to unprecedented levels of violence in a very short period of time. These conflicts have led to political, economic, and social disruption well out of proportion beyond humanity. These conflicts have led to the disintegration of local governments' leading to proliferation of small arms, dysfunctional protection systems; social security, justice system, public health and rule of law and overall instability, resulting in humanitarian crisis¹⁴⁰.

Significant trends in prolonged pastoral armed conflicts globally from Africa includes the deliberate targeting of civilians, multiplication of actors, increased and easier access to automatic weapons by civilians . These armed conflicts have become fluid depicting disjointed violence that are difficult to measure and classify. The internal armed conflicts increased in intensity causing more casualties. There is a long and pervasive trend of severe armed conflicts in the Horn and East Africa region. According to Gurr¹⁴¹ many countries have been trapped intractable conflicts due to

¹³⁷ Andrews Atta-Asamoah & Emmanuel Kwesi Aning, Op cit, p.88

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ Williams, P. D. War and Conflict in Africa (John Wiley & Sons, 2013).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid

¹⁴¹ Gurr, T. R. Political Rebellion: Causes, Outcomes and Alternatives. (Routledge, 2015).

the social complexities and high levels of violence; combined with general poverty and long-term destruction of local environments and social systems.

2.5 Actors of protracted pastoral conflicts in East Africa

Protracted pastoral conflicts are because of different actors both at the regional, national level and county level. Ethnicity, natural factors and insecurity geared up by easily available weaponry, guns and ammunitions are among the influences that necessitate and lead to conflicts among the pastoralist. These factors shape how the pastoral communities relate, interact and trade amongst each other and the issues which culminate to their violence. In particular the arms traders promote conflicts and cattle thefts as they act as middlemen for the stolen livestock. In cognizance of the above, Goldsmith¹⁴² indicated that the conflicts among the pastoralist had shifted from the conventional and had taken up a business model which is very well financed by unscrupulous politicians and tycoons¹⁴³. The booming business of cattle rustling has led overtime to constant recruitment of youths and school leavers as soldiers, and retired military fighters with experience in armed conflict from neighboring countries¹⁴⁴.

The struggle for control of resources in the pastoral communities and access to political power has been a continuing source of conflict. Often times the politicians look aside as the pastoralists fight against each other though the machineries to restore peace and build structures that would sustain peace are available. This is because conflicts afford the politicians and law enforcers an opportunity to indefinitely control the wealth in the pastoral communities in form of minerals, cattle's and perpetuate illicit trades of small arms since a large percentage of trade passes outside of official channels¹⁴⁵. A good example is Somalia, South Sudan and Northern Kenya where oil was discovered.

¹⁴² Goldsmith P. *Cattle, Khat, and Guns: Trade, Conflict, and Security on northern Kenya's Highland Lowland Interface* (1997).

¹⁴³ Malombe, J. *Conflict in Urban Settlements in Kenya: Access to Land and Services in Unplanned Settlements. A paper prepared for the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Great Horn of Africa.* (1997).

¹⁴⁴ Amisi, B. *Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya. Towards an early warning indicator identification, paper presented at the USAID conference on Conflict Resolution in the Great Horn of Africa, Kenya* (1997).

¹⁴⁵ Fratkin, E. *East African Pastoralism in Transition: Maasai, Boran, and Rendille Cases.* *African Studies Review*, (2008). 44(3), 1-25.

The politicians further use the chiefs and the headmen to instigate conflicts¹⁴⁶. In some communities the politician is considered heroic if he is able to initiate a successful raid against other neighboring communities which often times works for them when vying for parliament seats. A good epitome of the former is the well-known Wajir conflict which took place between 1992-94. The gatekeepers and opinion leaders played a key role in shaping, financing, organizing and coordinating the conflict¹⁴⁷.

Part of what is presumed to be a self-evident explanation for protracted conflicts in East Africa is the terrain and long distance from the already inadequate security institutions and police posts. Less state involvement in East Africa is a major causative factor on protracted conflicts besides the total annihilation of the state on the traditional conflict mitigation groups and strategies. In other words the state is a major contributor to clashes often experienced in pastoral communities conflict should include the state and not negate the conventional actors in conflict mitigation¹⁴⁸.

The governments within the region have not come up with a collective intervention strategy. Respective governments individually carry out military operations aiming at disarming the pastoralists, which only serve to alienate the government from the people¹⁴⁹. The governments within the sub-region also individually encourage the pastoralists within their respective countries to voluntarily hand in illegal arms with the aim of disarming the communities. However, this is only done when illegal arms in the hands of pastoralists threaten the internal security of a given country.

Security is a right for the pastoralists including developing police posts, security personnel and cars to hasten and bring reliable services to the pastoralist in good time. However, the East African states have not performed as expected in providing security and protection to the pastoralists and their wealth.

The different eras of government haven't made any meaningful responses to insecurity in pastoral areas in East Africa in that most of the time they have been unresponsive: More often than not

¹⁴⁶ Goldsmith P. 1997.

¹⁴⁷ Ibrahim D. and Jenner. Wajir Community Based Conflict Management: *Conflict Resolution in the Great Horn of Africa* (1997).

¹⁴⁸ World Bank Report. Rethinking Resource Conflict (2011).

¹⁴⁹ CRA Working Paper on Historical Injustices (2012).

there have been no response at all for cattle rustling, clashes and raiding. Historically it has been unacceptable to torch or kill women and children. However, pastoral communities today are involved in inhuman and discriminatory killings during the raids. Most of the acts go unreported and when reported the law enforcers turn a blind eye to the perpetrators or are unable to assist the communities. Delayed response is a denial of human rights to the communities and an impediment to truth, justice and reconciliation¹⁵⁰. Though police are not to blame all the time there are structural issues and logistical issues that stand on their way to providing justice to the pastoral communities including lack of fuel and support in allowances for timely responses. The use of force among the pastoral communities has an inverse result in that it effectuate collective punishment instead of helping to bring to book all culprits of raiding. The impact of the former is nil in ending the ongoing cycle of conflict in East Africa¹⁵¹.

The justice systems has not performed as required to mitigate protracted conflicts as its systems have been enervated by corruption as countless perpetrators of injustice including murder or cattle rustling go scot free through bribery. In addition, the external agencies who work through the Non-governmental organizations necessitate protracted conflicts through discriminatory acts including giving weapons, and other aids including food to the warlords. The external agencies usually have hidden agendas including mining of minerals. To them, the more destabilized a nation is including Sudan and Somalia, the more opportunities they have to tap into the resources within. As such they go to the extent of giving additional source of income to the disputants and reconfirming and affirming hatred among the conflicting parties which serves to fuel the conflict instead of ceasing it. As a result they hinder amiable resolutions by maintaining an antagonistic approach towards the conflicting parties¹⁵². We can't however negate that the external agencies have worked in other area in Africa by supporting conventional mediators through focus group discussions deal with conflicts. External support can be measured in the forms of weapons, military aid, training, intelligence, logistics and provision of safe havens¹⁵³.

¹⁵⁰ Michael .O. Impact of Conflict on Pastoral Communities' Resilience in the Horn of Africa: *Case Studies from Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda* (2012).

¹⁵¹ Ibid

¹⁵² Goldsmith P. Cattle rustling and Guns: Trade, Conflict, and Security on Northern Kenya's Highland Lowland Interface. A Case Study on Conflict Resolution in the Great Horn of Africa (1997).

¹⁵³ Högladh, S. Pettersson. External Support in Armed Conflict 1975–2009. Presenting new data in Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association (Montreal, Canada, 2011).

The social economic factors and the difficult livelihood in the pastoral dissolve and defy any efforts of dealing with conflicts leading to endless conflicts especially between the settled farmers and pastoralist communities¹⁵⁴ as further corroborated by Eck¹⁵⁵. The clashes are more during the famine and drought seasons as the pastoralist are mobile looking for fodder often in the farms of the farmer's. The conflict bred in this case is heightened by local authorities' adamant and incapability to resolve these conflicts. There is also a distinct literature on inter-pastoralist violence that often, but not always, revolves around cattle raiding¹⁵⁶.

2.6 Pastoral conflicts Resolution and Management

Moreover, the intervention strategies in pastoralists' conflicts in IGAD sub-region have been in the past reactive and not proactive. It is also clear from different studies that multi-stakeholder approach has been lacking in the governments approaches to address the seemingly protracted conflicts in East Africa. The pastoral communities believe that the best intervention strategy for them is either offensive in revenge or as pre-emptive measures during the dry season. Farther the colonial policies being used by most of the East African countries to address the contemporary conflicts among the pastoralists are outdated, lack depth and clear cut focus on the issues affecting the pastoralists in East Africa. There is thus a need for the development of up to date policies adapted to the needs of pastoral communities with a multi-stakeholders approach¹⁵⁷.

The management of cross border conflict has not been an easy one for a number of reasons. One of which is structural conflict over resources which requires institutional framework and policy guidelines. There is an obvious linkage between resource scarcity and cross-border conflicts¹⁵⁸. In pursuit to find lasting peace, different countries have endeavored to sign treaties and agreements in solving border disputes¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁴ Turner. Et al. Livelihood Transitions and the Changing Nature of Farmer: *Herder Conflict in Sahelian West Africa*. *Journal of Development Studies* (2011) 47(2).PP.183 –206.

¹⁵⁵ Eck, K. *The Law of the Land: Communal Conflict and Legal Authority. Order, Conflict, and Violence*. (Yale University, 2011).

¹⁵⁶ Butler, C.K. & Gates, S. African range wars: Climate, conflict, and property rights. *Journal of Peace Research* (2012) PP.23 –34

¹⁵⁷ Omiti, J M. *Development issues in pastoral areas: setting agenda for policy advocacy in Kenya* (2003).

¹⁵⁸ Krupa S.V. *Cross-Border: Resource Management Theory and Practice*. "(Netherlands: Elsevier, 2005). P.107

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

It is also paramount to have intergovernmental strategies to address the boarder issues leading to protracted conflicts. In most of the East African countries including Kenya, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia the subsequent conflicts are orchestrated by weak structures at the border lines with the main issues along the Ethiopia border being lack of strong administrative structures¹⁶⁰. The good news is that, in East Africa, we have regional bodies such as Inter Governmental Authority on Development, Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism which continue to help in enhancing and sustaining peace, wellbeing, goodwill and security in the region.

Conflict being a cross-cutting issue requires a proactive approach, multi-stakeholders approach and integrative approach as it affects all ministries, different communities, countries and development outcome of a Nation. A passive, exclusive and narrow approach has proven to be ineffective in the case of protracted conflicts among the pastoralists. Multi-stakeholders approach which entails involvement of all relevant stakeholders and in this case the police, civil society, elders, religious leaders, youth, and women will prove to be successful in mitigating conflict. Whereas border issues might often times include international boundaries, countries such as Ethiopia is making sure that the borders within its country where it's people live is well managed to avoid potential conflict within¹⁶¹. In Awash valley in Ethiopia, and among Karamoja Kitgum communities in Northern Uganda such peace building initiatives have borne great fruits as they have enhanced cooperation in bringing together all the stakeholders to solve conflict and create peace. This means that decentralization of roles and responsibilities at the grass root is pivotal in conflict mitigation and management. In Northern Uganda the church has been a key stakeholder in enhancing peace and security in the regions. Nabilatuk Roman Catholic church addressed negative traditional Karamajong values such as pride in body marking and livestock raids¹⁶². The role of religion and church is significant in peace building. In Uganda, the Catholic Church has exhibited a role of mediation and dialogue among the communities to help them realize the benefit of shared resources. Conflict mitigation is the responsibility and duty of multiple players and cannot be delegated to an individual or a single institution¹⁶³. This will also include traditional

¹⁶⁰ Ibid Krupa S.V. Cross-Border: Resource Management Theory and Practice. "(Netherlands: Elsevier, 2005). P.107

¹⁶¹ Krupa S.V. Cross-Border: Resource Management Theory and Practice. "(Netherlands: Elsevier, 2005). P.107

¹⁶² Ibid

¹⁶³ Ibid

institutions such as alokita in the Karamajong Cluster which has been used for decades to air grievances among communities¹⁶⁴.

Socio-cultural change including behaviour change communication is critical in conflict mitigation including decreasing the bride wealth price necessities cattle rustling and conflict¹⁶⁵. Since most of the protracted pastoral conflicts in the ASALs are always related to scarcity of water, the governments in the regions should increase their efforts in the provision and Governance of water resources by drilling wells and boreholes and managing the little water that is available during scarcity¹⁶⁶. Instead of adopting solely the police and army operations in pastoral communities as it has been a habit with little gains if any in ending conflicts among the pastoralists there is need for a more proactive approach.

2.7 Conclusion

In East Africa protracted conflicts can be said to be long and enduring violent conflicts which are based on deep-rooted issues including socioeconomic issues, political issues, colonial boundaries, cultural factors and climatic factors¹⁶⁷. The deep rooted issues among the pastoralists have resisted efforts towards resolutions as most of the conflicts started as early as 400BP. This study delved into analyzing the pastoral conflict while at the same time looking at the key actors of pastoral conflict in Africa and East Africa including the police, elders, religious leaders and non-governmental organizations. To deal with protracted conflicts there is need to employ a proactive approach, multi-stakeholders approach and integrative approach contrary to earlier approaches which have been exclusive and passive in response to the protracted conflicts in East Africa. The pastoral conflict in East Africa have an international dimension as it affects as far as the border of Somalia, Ethiopia ,Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda¹⁶⁸. This means that there is need for more concerted efforts by East African states to develop policies and to deal with conflicts. However, lack of political will, leadership tussle and bad governance impede any efforts of the East African community to address protracted pastoral conflicts.

¹⁶⁴ Krupa. Cross-Border: Resource Management Theory and Practice (Netherlands: Elsevier B.V, 2005), P.107

¹⁶⁵ Ibid

¹⁶⁶ CRC (2013)

¹⁶⁷ Oxfam's Peace and Development Committees in Wajir (2013).

¹⁶⁸ William (2013)

CHAPTER THREE

DYNAMICS OF PROTRACTED PASTORAL CONFLICTS IN NORTHERN KENYA

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three will give a historical perspective of conflict in Northern Kenya. It will also seek to expound on the dynamics leading to never ending conflicts in Northern Kenya counties. The chapter will also examine the catalytic factors of protracted pastoral Conflict and their effects in Northern Kenya.

3.2 Historical perspective of Northern Kenya's Conflict

The history of Northern Kenya goes back to 1800s. Menelik II of Ethiopia controlled part of Northern Kenya in 1800s claiming ruler ship over all the Oromo speakers .His ruler ship in the area was sustained by his conquest of the Italians in the battle of Adowa in 1896. It was then that Emperor Menelik II wrote to the heads of states of Italy, France, Britain, Germany and Russia stating claim over the territory stretching from Juba River on Lake Turkana to the territory stretching to Marsabit Mountains¹⁶⁹. Until today Northern Kenya area of Moyale is still shared by both Ethiopia and Kenya with one portion of the area being called Moyale Ethiopia at the south part of Ethiopia while the other is called Moyale Kenya which is categorized as a territory within Northern Kenya.

The conflict in Northern Kenya started around the time Kenya was getting its independence in 1963. With the emergency rule at around that time and after independence there was more negative ramification in Northern Kenya for over 30 years rendering the place more marginalized. It also ironical that largest county in Kenya is found in Northern Kenyan region including Marsabit and Turkana which have the biggest geographical outlook.

In Turkana, the discovery of oil has made the county the center of attraction for the nation and it is presumed that Northern Kenya will be a hub of economic boost as a result of the discovery. However, 14 years down the line, the region is still characterized by poverty and scarcity as the practice of pastoralism livelihood is the order of the day. A noteworthy conflict the region can be

¹⁶⁹ The dilemma of Citizenship In Northern Kenya, Foreigners at Home (Nairobi: KHRC, 2009), p.23 see also, KHRC, The forgotten People Revisited: Human Rights Abuses in Marsabit and Moyale Districts (Nairobi: KHRC publication, 2000)

said to have started during the shifta war period of 1960s where mass killings were realized. The sidelining of the region in terms of development can be said to have commenced with the curving off of the Northern Frontier District, which later formed Northern Kenya besides the establishment of separate laws for the region. The Shifta war which took place between 1963- 1967 after independence and the discriminatory development policies thereafter¹⁷⁰ have also contributed to the challenges facing the region. Shifta war was one of the massacred wars that the region had ever experienced as many lives were lost during this conflict¹⁷¹. According to TJRC report over 2,000 people were killed during the Shifta War¹⁷².

The government have not been fair both in responding to the outcry of the pastoral communities as well as in addressing atrocities committed by its agents including mass killings. For instance, in the Wagalla Massacre in 1984 over 5000 people were killed based on the estimations given by the survivors: The government however declined these assertions that many people were killed listing only 57 as the official number of the people killed¹⁷³. The government has been covering the trails of death committed by its agent leaving no room for the prosecution of the perpetrators of the same atrocities .This is the reason behind the protracted conflicts as the root causes are never addressed. Therefore the official number of 57 by the government was meant to underplay the seriousness of the Wagalla massacre which left so many people dead. This is an example of the generally thoughtless manner in which the government has traditionally treated massacres committed by its own agents¹⁷⁴.

Going back to the history of the pastoral conflicts and organized raids and/or attacks the elders, it was the elders that head the power to approve and consent to all raids. However, oftentimes the young men would make the decision by themselves and carry out the raids without the approval of the elders. However, the power structure of the pastoral communities required that large scale daylight attacks typical of escalated conflict and all-out war required a degree of organization and

¹⁷⁰ Ibid

¹⁷¹ Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission ‘ “Report.” volume IV (2013), P.18

¹⁷² Ibid

¹⁷³ Anonymous, “Wagalla massacre survivors testify.” BBC NEWS AFRICA, KENYA, April 18, 2011

¹⁷⁴ Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission ‘ “Report.” volume IV (2013), P.18

mobilization by the elders or war leaders. Control of the pastoral economy used to be a monopoly of the elders¹⁷⁵.

3.3 Protracted Conflict Dynamics in Northern Kenya

Youth-driven and elder-driven conflict

As earlier asserted there are both the youth driven and elder driven conflicts in Northern Kenya. The actors and influencers of the pastoral conflicts is both internal actors and external actors with where the external actors includes the international sources. In most of these conflicts the elders spearhead them and the young men go for the actual fights. This means that for the peace building initiatives to succeed the support of the elders is paramount. Elders have their own herd and a family their interest majorly is in ensuring that there are good relations with other pastoral communities in order to widen availability and accessibility to resources, trade and security.

However, the elders may also start violent conflicts to gain access to resources or political power: For instance the clashes in Wajir district in 1992-1995 were driven by the elders. Married women feed the family and, in some cases, trade. It is in their interest to secure access to markets, to safeguard their children, to increase milk production. Young men are waiting to start their own homestead; they want to increase their prestige and respect within the community, attract girls and be able to afford marriage. Security offers them few immediate advantages. They are highly mobile. It is in their interest to shake up existing power relationships within the community and they may prefer to trade security for cattle, money or prestige including the Samburu, Gabbra and Boran where the distinction between the elders who sponsor the present warrior age-sets, and the other elders, constitutes a further differentiation of interests.

Communal identity and Protracted Conflicts

The relationships between communal groups and the state are at the core of protracted pastoral Conflicts in Northern Kenya .This is further aggravated by the state being dominated by a few communities that are oblivious and inhuman including to the needs of others in their society. As evidenced by the protracted conflicts in Northern Kenya most of the conflicts have as their roots the colonialists actions which pushed them aside of any developmental aspects. The colonialist for

¹⁷⁵ Gulliver, P. H. (2003). A Preliminary Survey of the Turkana. A Report Compiled for the Government of Kenya. University of Cape Town: Communication from the School of African Studies, New Series No. 26

their own selfish gains created a multi-communal society with structures and system of governance which discriminated on the basis of race. Moreover the policies developed by the colonialist served to oppress the indigenous population, leading to the hardening of the pastoral communal identities which resulted to the emergence of a dysfunctional nation-state. The anger and the feelings of alienation persisted even after independence leading to antagonism between pastoral communities especially due to their political sides. Elders and women chiefly influence the conflicts among the pastoral communities and especially among the Turkana and Pokot's even though their role in raiding is ambivalent. When the young men go for raiding the elders, chiefs and women get their share of the livestock though in case of revenge these groups of the population suffer gravely including the children. Every community should be largely responsible for its own peace. The elders also play the role of invocation of blessing to the riders during wartime. Some elders who are gullible to corruption and affiliated to unscrupulous business men may also encourage cattle raids upon receiving bribes or rewards. This is not to say that the elders should be ousted out of all the peace agendas because they are also instrumental in peace building initiatives including recovery of stolen by raiders and in ensuring that the people killed and properties destroyed are compensated. Involvement of elders in settling disputes is critical for lasting peace between pastoral communities and in ensuring that there is lasting peace with other groups.

However, the elders to gain access to resources or political power may instigate violent conflicts as evidenced in the Wajir district clashes between 1992 and 1995¹⁷⁶. Married women have been left to feed the family and, in some cases, trade. It is in their interest to gain entry to markets, to safeguard their children and to increase milk production. For young men to attract girls and be able to afford marriage they want to increase their reputation and respect within the community and waiting to start their own homestead. Security offers them few immediate advantages. They are highly mobile. It is in their interest to shake up existing power relationships within the community and they may prefer to trade security for cattle, money or prestige including the Gabbra, Samburu, and Boran where the distinction between the elders who sponsor the present warrior age-sets, and the other elders, constitutes a further differentiation of interests.

¹⁷⁶ Ibrahim D. 1994. Report on the 'Peace and Development' Workshop, Wajir, 19-22 December 1994, Nomadic Primary Health Care Programme, Wajir

The state and protracted conflict

When the state denies the pastoral communities the means or the agency to develop their capabilities then protracted conflicts becomes inescapable as evidenced by Northern Kenya. It is the structures and the systems that the government has developed that determine the brevity of conflicts when the communities are hit by drought and famine and especially how resources are distribution and managed. In most of the pastoral communities a lack of government structures and political goodwill has been a great impediment to lasting peace. As a result the impacts of climate change in Northern Kenya has been highly destructive as the pastoral communities heavily rely on cattle and the area is sort of food security. Pre-existing developmental challenges and weak governance in the area make the climatic stresses more threatening.

The government structures should have the capacity and the authority to control resources and their distribution in areas encompassed with diverse challenges like Northern Kenya¹⁷⁷. With the government structure being well adapted to the challenges in Northern Kenya there is also need for political and economic capacity which is often lacking preventing the state from satisfying all of the needs of its citizens. Political leaders responsible for governing in the pastoral communities have to grapple with discontented citizens and lack coherent policy framework to address the current challenges. As a result the politicians prefer manipulative actions as against accommodating the citizenry grievances. Accommodating collective protests as recently seen in Turkana county due to heightened insecurity linked to oil mining could mollify grievances as the state improves its capacity to satisfy the needs of the pastoralist.

A major issue to be confronted when working in pastoral areas of east Africa is insecurity. According to Galaty¹⁷⁸ addressing insecurity and root causes of conflicts reduces the impact of protracted of conflict caused majorly by low profiling of elders by the state and other non-governmental organization , insecurity, proliferation of small arms and low integration into the national political and economic sphere . The protracted conflicts in Northern Kenya underline that even 8national leaders can still face resistance posed by powerful local elites, for example chiefs

¹⁷⁷ Chazan, N., 'Patterns of State-Society Incorporation and Disengagement in Africa', in D. Rothchild, N. Chazan (eds.), *the Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa*, Westview Press, Boulder(1988).

¹⁷⁸ Galaty, J. (2012). *Vue Sur La Violence: Les Frontieres du Conflit Pastoral au Kenya*. *Anthropologies at Societies* 26(1): 107-126.

or warlords, reducing the states capacity to exert control . As a result some of the pastoral communities are seen as more favored and privileged more than others due to the government failure to provide means and agency for the communities to meet their basic needs .This is partly because of corruption, incompetent leadership and lack of policies to guide their actions. Even the peacemaking efforts have politicized addressing only the surface factors instead of the root causes. Often times leaders it is the politicians rhetoric which fuel conflicts instead of peace among the warring communities.

What has been ailing the Turkana and Pokot's is that all attempts of peacemaking have been focused on the communities themselves. According to Grahn¹⁷⁹, even though communal involvement and participation in conflict resolution is good they go a long way in addressing structural and general weakness within a conflict. In corroboration, Hartzell¹⁸⁰ study indicates that states structural and systematic weaknesses only intensifies and facilitates conflicts as there is no effective means and agency capable of ensuring the peace agendas and policies are implemented. This is further exacerbated by the political elites pursuing their interests at the expense of the needs of the citizens, limiting needs satisfaction to the dominant communal group. As a result the government is unable to make certain that the wants of the marginalized groups are addressed. The degree of political organization and the willingness of the elites to safeguard the rights of the marginalized groups can lead to violent conflict¹⁸¹. This clearly explains why conflicts erupt due to change of climatic conditions as then the communal groups face a shortage of resources and they strive to ensure the survival of their own group. The dominant and largest group ends up satisfying their own interest first, leaving smaller and weaker pastoral groups struggling to meet their needs.

International linkages and protracted conflicts

International linkages including donors' conditionality can cause the state to stray from meeting the citizenry needs by focusing on the requirements of the international bodies, nations and organizations. This also includes the political turmoil in bordering countries which may increase

¹⁷⁹ Grahn and Akabwai (2009)

¹⁸⁰ Hartzell, C., Hoddie, M. & Rothchild, D., , 'Stabilizing the Peace after Civil War: An Investigation of Some Key Variables', International Organization vol 55 (2011) no. 1, pp. 183-208

¹⁸¹ Azar, E. *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory and Cases*, Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited, Dartmouth (1990).

the accessibility and availability of automatic weapons in a region¹⁸². The extent of access to automatic weapons by the local communities determines the balance of power across borders or between different pastoral groups within Kenya, which usually results in an increase of raids. The effects of civil war and widespread fighting in bordering countries, however, go well beyond the direct consequences of the weapons trade. Cross-border political movements such as Oromo nationalism and the growing pan-Oromo identity are changing the way some pastoral societies represent themselves and their relationship with their neighbours and with the Kenyan state.

In a geo-political context in which the state has collapsed in Somalia and Eritrea is using the OLF to destabilize southern Ethiopia, some north Kenyan pastoral conflicts should rather be seen as part of an Ethiopian proxy conflict. Most of the East African countries have not yet developed policies and laws in addressing illegal arms proliferation except Kenya which has set a good precedence. Kenya's also has a strict weapons policy and more often smugglers are willing to jeopardize their living to propagate and transport arms leading to a substantial reduction of small arms coming to Kenya. Regional integration and cohesive regional policy on weapons and small arms should be developed and adopted as a strategy to reduce insecurity and cattle raids in Northern Kenya. Protracted pastoral clashes causes the breakdown of social networks and other collaborative means including trade with the neighboring communities and organizations which have demonstrated to be important with doubt. Rural-urban migration is also as a result of insecurity, poverty and destitution in rural areas contributing to the high numbers of people moving to urban areas whereas a large majority of the population lives in informal settlements without legal access to land or services.

3.4 Critical analysis of protracted pastoral Conflict in Northern Kenya

Conflict in pastoral communities can be regarded as a dispute and struggle for inadequate resources between two or more pastoral communities in the absence of conflict or dispute resolution mechanisms¹⁸³. While a dispute has to do with interests that can be negotiated and settled through a compromise of one of the parties involved, pastoral conflict on the other hand is about conflicts which are derived by human needs and scarce resources thus calling the parties involved to meet

¹⁸² Edward Azar, *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory and Cases*, Aldershot: Dartmouth Pub. (1990), pp. 5.

¹⁸³ Edward Azar, (1990), *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory and Cases*, Aldershot: Dartmouth Pub., pp. 5.

the needs of the pastoralist for effective resolution. In Northern Kenya the dominant livelihood is pastoralism characterized by livestock rearing and mobility. Due to the ineffectiveness of state institutions and structures for governance these communities in Northern Kenya are marginalized and lack fairly all the significant mechanisms for development and basic amenities. They are also underrepresented in the government and ministries which often ignore their needs¹⁸⁴. These are among the reasons why the populace living in this region often engages in protracted violent conflicts as they endeavor to feed their livestock and gain access to water. This often results to violent clashes between the armed pastoralists, the ranchers and the farmers. Pastoralist groups have had devastating conflicts with other communities explaining the genesis of protracted violence and counter-violence.

There is also a correlation between drought and the increased incidences of pastoral conflicts due to the limited resources of water and pastures which go even beyond the borders. Most of the pastoralists lose their cattle due to prolonged and frequent periods of drought as it has been the case for the past eight years. The destruction of cattle severely affects the continued existence of the pastoralist as they depend on them. The hard hit areas by drought are mainly in the Northern parts of Kenya. In an instance between 1979 and 1980 the Turkana of Northern Kenya lost about 70 per cent of their livestock due to drought. The Borana also lost large herds of livestock to the multiple droughts between 1983 and 1984, 1991 and 1992, which were experienced in Obbu and other Borana pastoral regions.

Northern Kenya is also experiences both symmetrical and asymmetrical conflict. They face symmetrical conflict in that its different tribal community's disputing though these tribes are similar and have similar capabilities including Borana, the Garre and the Rendille communities which have comparatively related stages of military and economic strength. According to Anatole¹⁸⁵ conflict resolution for this category calls for a change of perspective including helping them to see that conflicts aren't rewarding. They also face asymmetrical conflicts due to militarization of pastoral conflicts. In the majority of cases in Northern Kenya the government responds to conflict and pastoral dispute through coercive repression as they have a weak

¹⁸⁴ Hogg, R. (1982). Destitution and Development: The Turkana of North West Kenya. *Disasters*, 7(2), 156-156

¹⁸⁵ Anatole Rapoport, (1967), *Fights, Games and Debates*, Ann Arbor, MI : University of Michigan Press

governance structures. The use of radical or callous reaction by the government underlines the core of government strategy in handling pastoral dispute. The pastoral conflicts who have been hardened by conflicts over time also respond to with militant responses through the support of their armed militia groups.

According to Azar¹⁸⁶ co-option though alleged as a tactical scheme plan to scrap the opposition and redirect its attention its attention could serve to mitigate communal grievances. As evidenced in Northern Kenya, Strategies of coercion and combative domination often backfire and lead to an exacerbation and prolongation and do not result in control of pastoral conflicts. The pastoral group's reaction to the former directs to more conflict division and entrenchment. Consequently, the security predicament agitates the increase of conflict as government or pastoral groups prepare to defend themselves and their interests abroad prompting a common reaction by adversaries. When insecurity is high in Northern Kenya they graze their livestock in small secure grazing zones, while leaving large tracts of land unused in most of the region. Admission to pasture areas is limited by the fact that cattle raids increase when there is change of climatic conditions¹⁸⁷. A good example is the abandoned grazing land on the borders between, the Garre and Ajuran of Wajir and the Garre and Murule of Mandera, the Garb and Borana of Marsabit and Moyale, the Somalis and Borana of Isiolo.

Galtung¹⁸⁸ asserts that conflicts are dynamic and non-linear process and often times manifest becomes protracted if not dealt with well at the initial stages in which underlying conflict will manifest as it has been in Northern Kenya. Pastoral Groups tend to galvanize into organized opposition and militia groups which are usually armed with small arms. These groups becomes radicalized with hostile attitudes and aggressive behaviors against each other. The pastoral conflict is made worse still by widening entry of extraneous actors. These actors hinder peace building by adding secondary issues to the peace agenda which becomes an impediment to the mission of dealing with the root causes of the initial pastoral conflict including the conflict between the

¹⁸⁶ Azar, E., *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory & Cases*, Aldershot, Dartmouth, 1990 p12.

¹⁸⁷ Meier, V., Bond, F. & Bond, G. (2002), *Environmental influences on pastoral conflicts in the Horn of Africa*.

¹⁸⁸ Johan Galtung's (1996), *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, London: Sage Publications, pp. 72.

Turkana's and Pokot's. Conflict resolution begins by addressing the prejudices and attitudes which from the behaviors of the pastoral communities in terms of protracted conflicts. Finally the fundamental connection contradicting the conflict is addressed as part of peace building. There is also a significant relationship between pastoral group identities and historical conflicts. This generates protracted conflicts as there are cycles of attacks and revenge attacks derived from the entrenched hatreds between different pastoral groups.

The predominant form of conflict among pastoralists is cattle-raiding which is linked to commercial and cultural practices. These relate to the traditional role of the Moran or young warrior, whose participation in cattle-raiding represents his transition from youth to manhood. Dowry payments required for marriage often take the form of cattle, which becomes another reason for cattle-raiding¹⁸⁹. Other cultural factors are also significant, such as the social status attached to the ownership of cattle which characterizes all pastoralist societies. However, economic drivers of cattle-raiding are increasingly significant. In recent years it has become a more commercialized phenomenon sometimes described as cattle-rustling to distinguish it from the traditional practice of cattle raiding.

Based on the rational approaches of conflict cycles it is paramount to look and to analyze the nature of protracted pastoral conflict especially due to the difficulty of ending conflicts. The erroneous notion carried by the pastoralist that continual divergence is the most efficient means to achieve their goal and meet their needs is what fuels conflicts in Northern Kenya. Change of the perception of the pastoralist is critical because it this perception of their situation and the losses incurred by both parties in the conflict that determines the willingness of the pastoral communities to opt for negotiations and decide to end conflicts. Mostly the conflict are ended when the communities are mutually hurting calling for a third party to intervene and mitigate their conflict¹⁹⁰. The third part helps the pastoral communities to settle their conflicts through negotiations often involving discussions between the warring parties and the third party¹⁹¹. In mediation though there is a third party to facilitate the negotiations the conflicting parties retain

¹⁸⁹ Barnett, J. and Adger, W. *Climate change, human security and violent conflict, Political geography* (2007). PP 26, 639–655

¹⁹⁰ William Zartman, *The Structuralist Dilemma in Negotiation*, Montréal: REGIS, Research Group in International Security (1997).

¹⁹¹ Ibid

the control over the outcome. The third party may entice or coerce by providing positive or negative inducements into a settlement if mediations fail.

3.5 Catalytic factors of protracted pastoral Conflict in Northern Kenya

3.5.1 Difference of opinions over administrative and political boundaries and borders

One of the major causes of conflict among the pastoral groups in Northern Kenya is difference of opinions over administrative and political boundaries and borders. What further strengthens the conflicts over boundaries whether political or administrative includes competition for scarce resources, droughts, land disputes, insecurity due to cattle raids and counter raids and lack of infrastructure. For instance the Borana and the Garre, have been fighting for decades over boundaries though their conflict is also hinged on competition for access to resources and fodder¹⁹². Disagreements between the Garre and Borana are further fuelled by administrative and political boundaries. The leaders of the two communities bring about disagreements between their communities to drive the plan for competition for political dominance. Communities are effectively used as substitutes in the pursuit of the political plan of the respective principal. An expansionist agenda been pursued by both communities in the process. Control of the economy and through it the politics of Negelle and Moyale are part of the strategies pursued by the leaders in this regard¹⁹³.

3.5.2 Marginalization of the Pastoralists and Protracted Conflicts in Northern Kenya Marginalization in Northern

Kenya has its roots back to the colonial era where they set restrictions to free movement of livestock in search of water and pasture by introducing grazing blocks. Its intension was to bind the mobility of the pastoralist so as to make them bendable to the new system of governance and reduce pastoral ethnic conflicts over natural resources. Nevertheless, this splitting up shaped ethnic awareness and disrupted the traditional approach to access natural resources, mutual assistance during droughts and other calamities, reciprocity among different ethnic groups. Contrary to their expectations, independence didn't improve the livelihood of the pastoralists. Instead, subsequent

¹⁹²Michael Ochieng Odhiambo (February 2012): *Impact of Conflict on Pastoral Communities' Resilience in the Horn of Africa: Case Studies from Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda*, Nakuru.

¹⁹² Ibid

¹⁹³ Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). *Pastoralism in the new millennium*. Rome: FOA, 2001.

droughts of 1968 and 1973 led to the deterioration of both the political and ecological relations in Northern Kenya, and the secessionist war popularly known as Shifta in Northern Kenya¹⁹⁴.

International development agencies and donor countries started programs designed at improving the livestock production and market integration of the pastoralists. Pastoralists have had to become accustomed to the cyclic tendencies of the drought and with time have come to rely on traditional coping strategies aimed at minimizing losses from drought or facilitating recovery thereafter including spreading risk through mobility or migration, informal social security systems, forming economic alliances with non-pastoral communities, communal land ownership, large and diverse herds, herd separation and splitting and engaging in non-pastoralist activities like charcoal burning and farming¹⁹⁵.

Regrettably, these strategies that have served the communities very well in the past are inadequate in the light of the frequent occurrence of droughts, rapid social and economic changes and deteriorating climatic conditions. This is in addition to the presence of other factors such as cattle rustling, social and economic marginalization, poor government policies, illiteracy, population explosion and the displacement of pastoralists the proliferation of small arms, which exacerbates their vulnerability amid the challenges already created by climate change. About 70 per cent of livestock are found in the ASALs of Northern Kenya indicating the important contribution of the ASALs for the growth of the country. On the other hand, over many years, the pastoralists of Northern Kenya have faced challenges that have destabilized their economies and livelihood. Among other effects, these challenges include habitual drought, climate change, ethnic clashes, political and economic marginalization, competition for rangeland and high population growth¹⁹⁶.

3.5.3 Easy Access of small Arms, Cattle raiding and Protracted conflicts

Due to porous borders and cattle raiding in Northern Kenya there has been proliferation of small arms and light weapons¹⁹⁷. Most of the perpetrators of cattle raiding are usually young men armed to the tooth with the small arms. This pastoral militia groups are made possible by different actors including community elders, women politicians and businessmen. In most cases the raids are

¹⁹⁴ Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). Pastoralism in the new millennium. Rome: FAO, 2001.

¹⁹⁵ Mario, I A. (1998) Being Oromo in Kenya. Trenton NJ: African World Press Inc

¹⁹⁶ Hjort, A. (1979) Savanna town: rural ties and urban opportunities in northern Kenya. Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology, Vol 7. Stockholm: University of Stockholm.

¹⁹⁷ Meier, V., Bond, F. & Bond, G. (2002), Environmental influences on pastoral conflicts in the Horn of Africa.

commercially driven more than the culturally driven. Most of the local leader's don't want the conflicts to end as stealing cattle is their only method of restocking and amassing wealth with unscrupulous business people. As a result they facilitate the training of the young people and in arming them with small arms being given as payment for stolen cattle. Most of the young men value and regard small arms highly and are willing to do anything for these weapons which is a source of prestige for them. Intensification of protracted violent conflict among the pastoral communities is as a result of acquisition of arms by one group to match up the level of other groups and be able to protect their communities and livestock. Research by the Conflict Early Warning Network indicates that from 1996 to 2002 about 300,000 cattle were rustled in Northern Kenya of the Sudan-Northern Kenya Somalia triangle, killing 1,200 people.

The governments' disarmament operations as a response to the protracted conflicts have been counterproductive and highly ineffective. What further contributes to the pastoral communities need for fire arms is lack of security and enough security personnel to safeguard them¹⁹⁸. Due to lack of state security and prosecution of the offenders conflict actors in Northern Kenya operate freely and with a high degree of impunity. It is for these reasons that the communities arm their youth for their defense against their enemies. For instance, in Isiolo in the year 2009 the violent attacks involving Samburu, Turkana and Borana left 32 people death as they were fighting for pasture and water for their livestock¹⁹⁹. The displacement of thousands and extensive livestock theft pushed the government to move hastily by giving 2300 guns to Isiolo residents in the name of bolstering security through the Northern Kenya Police Reserve only introducing more weapons to the area. With the Isiolo residents supplied with weapons the antagonism with other groups increased as they felt now at greater risk.

3.5.4 Ethnic rivalry and protracted conflicts

The cycle of conflict within a society that lives together has been an obvious one. People have different cultures, norms and values which are unique. In other words, democratic traditions in ethnically plural societies may be influenced by keen competition, ethnic rivalries and jostling for

¹⁹⁸ Omosa, E. (2003). Natural Resource Based Conflicts and Pastoral Livelihoods: The Impact of Water Resource Based Conflicts on Pastoralism, Wajir District. University of Nairobi, Institute of Development Studies

¹⁹⁹ E. Anugwom, "Ethnic Conflict and Democracy in Nigeria: the Marginalization question," Journal of social development in Africa (2000), p. 65

power and resources. In the case of Northern Kenya, the dynamism of conflict among tribal groups ‘changes in season. Though, many tribes living in Northern Kenya have Cushitic origin, tribal rivalry is mostly pronounced. A case in point is for example the conflict between Borana and Burji in 1994 largely over a political difference. Conflicts where identity issues are important engage disputants on deep psycho cultural levels²⁰⁰.

3.5.5 Climate Change and Protracted Conflict in Northern Kenya

Pastoralism, as an economic activity, is indeed a dangerous enterprise because it depends heavily on rapidly changing ecological systems; however it is practiced in a sensitive and insecure environment characterized by highly spatial and temporal rainfall distribution, which often results in long, dry periods. Currently, climate change poses a threat to human development in terms of security and livelihood²⁰¹. This sentiment has been underscored abundantly by various scholars and renowned personalities in many forums. Climate change and pastoralists livelihood are interlinked processes in that pastoralist and their livestock depend directly or indirectly on the environment; hence threats from climate change, particularly persistent drought, have far reaching consequences for them. Severe drought affects the availability of water resources and fodder for livestock, and long periods of drought have led to the loss of large numbers of livestock in most pastoral areas. There is a positive correlation between climate change and protracted conflicts among the pastoral communities as the climatic changes result to scarcity, lack of pasture and water for livestock resulting to conflict over the limited resources. Most importantly is that what determines whether there will be conflicts is both the willingness to share the available resources peacefully and how people manage the reduced supply of the required pasture and water.

The effects of pastoral conflicts due to climatic changes vary across villages and households. This is because of the rural communities already have adapted and have started farming although on a less scale. Rainfall feeds vitally important water sources such as rivers and lakes²⁰². Depletion or disruption of established water supply will affect livelihoods, while lack of access to clean drinking

²⁰⁰ Lynne M. Woehrle and Patrick Coy, “*Collective identities and the Development of Conflict Analysis*,” in *Social Conflicts and Collective Identities* eds P. Coy, L. Woerner, (USA: Rowman & Little Publishers, Inc. 2000) , P.6

²⁰¹ Omiti, J M. (2003) *Development issues in pastoral areas: setting agenda for policy advocacy in Kenya*

²⁰² Bonte, P. Casciarri, B. 2002. *Local Trends and Perceptions of Processes of Commodisation in Central Sudan: The Responses of Ahamda Pastoral System to State Pressures and Capitalist Dynamics*. *Nomadic Peoples*, 6(2), 32-50

water may have negative implications for people's health and well-being. Attempts to secure control of water sources are likely to be divisive and may become politicized along ethnic lines, or even lead to inter-state tensions with neighboring countries²⁰³. Moreover, many people in Northern Kenya rely on rain fed agriculture for their livelihoods as small farmers or as employees in the commercial agricultural sector. This explains the protracted conflicts in Northern Kenya.

3.5.6 Environmental Conflict and Growing Population in Northern Kenya Environmental

Conflict and growing population in Northern Kenya amidst the growing climatic challenges may have an implication on rural urban migration and displacement due to conflicts arising as a result of scarcity. Due to politicization of natural resources along ethnic lines and political sides changing climatic conditions have been disruptive in Northern Kenya. Other factors which have been impacting negatively upon the environment include deforestation which impacts negatively upon the environment as it turns upon conflict dynamics. For instance Borana groups and Kalenjins have unsettled disputes over forest and water which has resulted to fear of conflict. The ability of a community to adapt to new styles of living and to the changing climatic conditions is critical to peace building in Northern Kenya²⁰⁴.

Many of the world's dry land areas are located in developing countries which makes them more vulnerable to climatic changes and conflicts due to the same. The distribution of water in Northern Kenya depends on the level of rainfall distribution in a year. Low distribution means that the scarcity of basic things including pasture for the livestock will be high and so the loss of the livestock. It is when the level of scarcity for water and pasture is high that the likelihood of conflict increases between pastoralist groups and sedentary farmers²⁰⁵. Climatic changes also significantly affect migration among the pastoral communities as it is part of their coping strategy. Pastoral migration is however low when the climatic conditions are good. It is the migration which often

²⁰³ Glantz, M. H. (1987). *Drought and Hunger in Africa; Denying Famine a Future*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²⁰⁴ Omosa, E. (2003). *Natural Resource Based Conflicts and Pastoral Livelihoods: The Impact of Water Resource Based Conflicts on Pastoralism, Wajir District*. University of Nairobi, Institute of Development Studies

²⁰⁵ Gudrum, D., and Hjort, A. (1976). *Having Herds: Pastoral Growth and Household Economy*: Stockholm.

times trigger conflicts as they meet with other pastoral conflicts with whom historical conflicts may already exist leading to violent conflicts and cattle theft .

3.6 Effects of pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya

Some of the effects of pastoral conflicts include cross border, diminishing role of traditional governance systems and competition over control and access to natural resources such as pasture, water and land issues²⁰⁶. Chronic insecurity and endemic violence in the region have also been more destructive and claimed more lives over the long term than episodic outbursts of election-related violence elsewhere in the country. Pastoralist complaints have not been taken up by the national government to the extent that they have elsewhere in the country²⁰⁷. In addition, conflicts in Northern Kenya are also politicized as antagonistic pastoralist groups are often drawn into local political rivalries by politicians seeking to gain votes leading to conflicts. State security agents are absent if not inadequate in Northern Kenya and most pastoral areas due to the remoteness and vastness. Illegal fire arms for self-protection are acquired mostly by the pastoralists hence infuriating the problems of increase of small arms and light weapons and creating an environment conducive for criminals engaged in commercialized livestock raids. These traditional conflicts have become increasingly destructive and less manageable due to the use of firearms. The prevalence of insecurity in the area has led to increased gun culture in a bid for pastoralists to protect themselves and their livestock from aggressors²⁰⁸.

Armed violence not only kills, but also causes fear, migration and disrupted livelihoods. It agreeable that the use of small arms has made the impact of conflicts to be more severe than when they were using conventional arrows and spears. Cross border conflict is destructive to people's social and economic wellbeing and as such attracts considerable attention. Gabra and Borana communities are among the communities which have been hit by negative conflict effects. In fact in 2006, these communities lost many livestock during the time of war. There were also displacements of the two communities. Boran pastoralists who were displaced from Northern Kenya got settled at Sololo, Walda, Megado, Harbale and Dilo. The Gabra pastoralists who were

²⁰⁶ Karimi M., 2003: *Conflict in Northern Kenya: A Focus on the internally displaced Conflict via Northern*, ITDG –EA, United States Institute of Peace.

²⁰⁷ Oba, G. and Lusigi, W. (2009), An overview of drought strategies and land use in African pastoral system. Paper of Overseas Development Institute, Pastoral development network , March

²⁰⁸ Kamenju, Mwachafi, Wairagu 2003: *Profiling Small Arms and Insecurity in the North Rift Region of Kenya*, Oakland Media Services Ltd, Nairobi, Kenya.

displaced from southern Ethiopia settled in Turkana and other parts of Marsabit and Moyale Counties. The displaced families settled in urban centers where they receive food aid from the UN, governments and other well-wishers.

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

3.7 Conclusion

Chapter three has highlighted that climatic change ,marginalization ,ethnic rivalry and boundaries as the major catalytic factors to protracted conflicts in Northern Kenya impending the achievement of vision 2030 which underscores that issues of poverty eradication, food security universal health coverage in all counties and promotion of environmental sustainability. Based on the above assertions protracted conflicts being experienced in Northern Kenya did not emerge spontaneously but rather they are a result of aggravation of multiple factors. These factors range from historical grievances, unfair tenure arrangements, political incitements and droughts. Balancing the varying ecological needs of livestock in the midst of tough climatic conditions and myriad Kenyan pastoral ethnicities creates a distinctly complex problem of food security and cattle raiding. There is therefore a need the locals to create co-beneficial solutions to the issues surrounding pastoral conflicts .The challenge so far has been the lack of structural mechanisms for the implementation and sustaining peace building strategies in Northern Kenya.

CHAPTER FOUR
**CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF PROTRACTED PASTROAL CONFLICTS AND
MANAGEMENT IN NORTHERN KENYA**

4.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the analysis of the results obtained from the primary and secondary data that was obtained in the course of the study. The primary data was obtained through administration of questionnaires, interview guides and focus group discussions to both the Pokot and Turkana communities in the conflict, while secondary data was obtained from newspapers and reports. A total of 40 questionnaires were randomly administered 20 to each community. Fourteen questionnaires were received from Pokot community and 16 from the Turkana community. Therefore the number of questionnaires analyzed was 30. Microsoft Excel and the Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) software were used to analyse the data. Findings were illustrated in tabular (tables) or graphic (figures) and percent (%) form accompanied by text describing the salient information contained in each table or figure arranged according to the questions of the study.

4.2 Demographic Data of the Respondents.

This section provides information on the demographic information of the study respondents. This was categorized to show marital status gender, age, and education status.

4.2.1 Marital Status

The researcher was interested in finding out the marital status of the respondents and the results indicated in the Table 4:1;

Table 4. 1: Marital Status

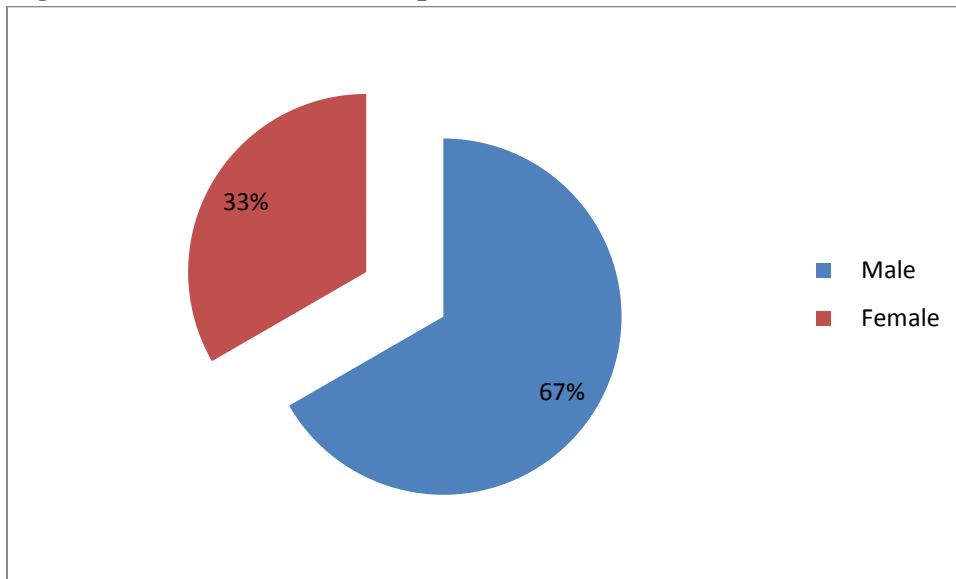
	Frequency	Percent
Married	19	63.3
Single	5	16.7
Divorced	3	10.0
Widowed	3	10.0
Total	30	100.0

Most of the respondents had been married at one time. From the responses, 63 percent were still in a marriage, 10 percent divorced, and 10 percent widowed and 17 percent single. This information ties up very well with the study findings that most of the houses are male headed except in special circumstances occasioned by death or divorce.

4.2.2 Gender of the respondents

The researcher was interested in finding out the gender of the respondents and the results indicated in the Figure 4:1:

Figure 4. 1 : Gender of the respondents



Most of the respondents were men. From the responses 66.7 percent were men and 33.3 percent women respondents. The male respondents are the main pastoralists; heads of the families and decision makers'. Their decision and actions impacts negatively on their families if and when pastoralist conflicts erupt.

4.2.3 Age of the respondents

The researcher was interested in finding out the age distribution of the respondents and the results indicated in the Table 4:2:

Table 4. 2: Age of the Respondents

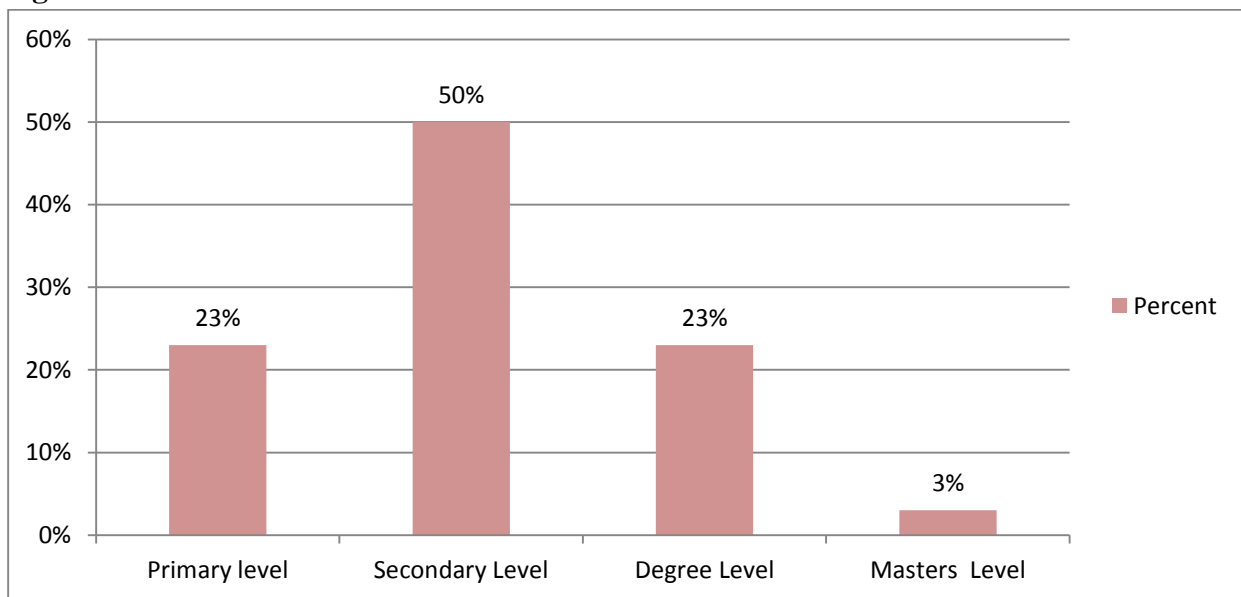
Age	Frequency	Percent
30--35 years	10	33.3
36-40 years	11	36.7
41-50 years	4	13.3
51-55 years	2	6.7
56 and Above	3	10.0
Total	30	100.0

The age of the respondents ranged between 30 years and 56 years and above years. The age is spread out so that the highest were 36.7 percent for 36-40 years followed by 33.3 percent for 30-35 years, 13.3 percent for 41-50 years, 6.7 percent for 51-55 years, and 10 percent for 56 and above years.

4.2.4 Educational Status

The researcher was interested in finding out the educational status of the respondents and the results indicated in the Figure 4:2;

Figure 4.2 : Educational Status



From 50 percent of the responses, the highest level of education attained is secondary education. Furthermore, 23.3 percent of the respondents have degree level and primary level education and while 3.3 percent have masters' level education. This shows that most of the people interviewed within the community had a formal education.

4.2.5 Gender and Educational Status Cross tabulation

The study sought to find out whether there existed any relationship between gender and educational Status among the pastoral communities and results indicted in Table 4:3:

Table 4.3 : Gender and Educational Status Cross tabulation

		Educational Status				Total
		Primary level	Secondary Level	Degree Level	Masters Level	
Gender	Male	1	11	7	1	20
	Female	6	4	0	0	10
	Total	7	15	7	1	30

In relation to gender of respondents, most of the men respondents had higher level of education in comparison to women as indicated by Table 4.3 above. Low levels of education have implications on the people's sources of income. To be engaged in the formal sector demands a certain level of schooling; hence most of the Pokots and Turkana communities have limited choices and alternatives to pastoralism. This explains the large number of people involved in pastoralism as their main source of a livelihood. More people depending on pastoralism imply that they will be forced to keep large numbers of livestock that will compete over the limited pastoral resources like water leading to conflicts.

4.3 Forms of conflict in Pokot and Turkana

The researcher was interested in finding out the forms of conflict in both Pokot and Turkana and the results indicated in the Table 4:4:

Table 4. 4: Forms of conflict in Pokot and Turkana

	Very Great Extent		Great Extent		Neutral		Small Extent		Very Small extent		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Conflict over land and water	15	50%	10	33%	5	17%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Conflict over boundaries	2	7%	17	57%	1	3%	6	20%	4	13%	30	100%
Perceived increase of military in the area	0	0.0%	4	14%	7	23%	12	40%	7	23%	30	100%
Livestock raids or commercialized raids	7	23%	17	57%	0	0.0%	6	20%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Road thuggery and banditry	0	0.0%	15	50%	11	37%	4	13%	0	0.0%	30	100%

On the extent the Turkanas and Pokots face conflict over land and water, majority of the respondents 50% and 33% indicated to a very great extent and great extent respectively. However, 17% of the respondents were neutral.

With regards to conflict over boundaries, 57% and 7% of the respondents concurred that they were facing conflict over boundaries while 3% were neutral .However, 20% of the respondents disagreed and 13% strongly disagreed that they were facing conflicts over boundaries.

On whether increase of military contributed to pastoral conflict, 14% agreed ,23% were neutral while 40% disagreed and 23% strongly disagreed that increase in military contributed to pastoral conflict.

On the extent they were facing livestock raids or commercialized raids as a form of conflict, majority of the respondents 57% and 23% indicated to a great extent and very great extent respectively. However, 20% of the respondents were neutral that the conflicts they were facing were as a result of livestock raids or commercialized raids.

On the extent they were facing road thuggery and banditry as a form of conflict, majority of the respondents, 50% indicated to a great extent. However, 37% of the respondents were neutral that

the conflicts they were facing road thuggery and banditry as a form of conflict. However, 13% disagreed with that assertion.

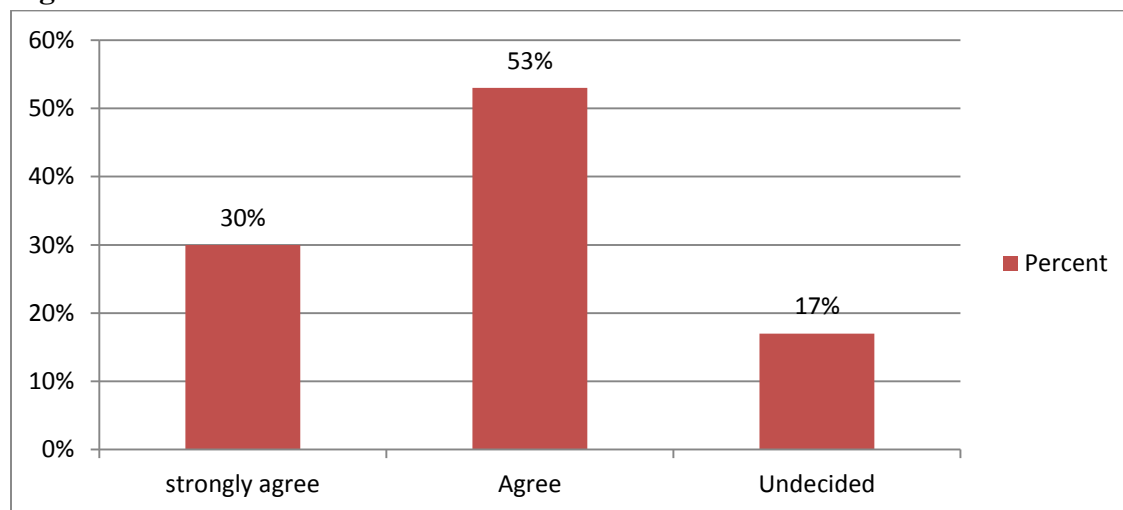
4.4 Factors leading and sustaining pastoral conflicts

This objective sought to establish the factors leading to protracted conflicts and the factors sustaining conflicts among the Turkana and Pokot thus protracted conflict. Based on the FGD and interview guides a big percentage of the Pokot community are pastoralists and they value cattle which historically was their custom passed on from generation to another. This corroborates with Bob²⁰⁹ findings in his study that indicated that livestock was the most important asset owned by pastoralists. Findings revealed that pastoralist conflicts in the study revolved around cattle possession, replenishing livestock lost during drought and diseases as well as dowry payment. As acknowledged by interviewed respondents, Turkana's experience rampant raids from the Pokot's. The raids are bloody as the Pokot's come armed with guns. This explains the animosity between the Turkana's and Pokot.

4.4.1 Whether Pastoral conflicts are common

The researcher was interested in finding out whether pastoral conflicts are common in both Pokot and Turkana and the results indicated in the Figure 4:3:

Figure 4.3 : Whether Pastoral conflicts are common



According to study on whether the pastoral conflicts are common in both Turkana and Pokot 53% of the total respondents agreed and 30% strongly agreed that pastoral conflicts were common.

²⁰⁹ Bob (2014)

Only 17% of the respondents were undecided. The assertion of most of the respondents who participated in the FGD corroborates with these findings that pastoral conflicts are common since they also served the interest of the politicians and community elders who were benefiting from the conflicts.

4.4.2 Whether there are suspected dangerous armed gangs criminals or bandits

The researcher was interested in finding out whether there were suspected dangerous armed gangs criminals or bandits in both Pokot and Turkana and the results indicated in the Table 4:5:

Table 4.5: Whether there are suspected dangerous armed gangs criminals or bandits

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	8	27%
Agree	13	43%
Undecided	1	3%
Disagree	7	24%
Strongly disagree	1	3%
Total	30	100.0

Even though a large portion agreed that dangerous gangs and bandits roamed in the area, 27 % felt that bandits and gangs are not in the area. This was because in the area of study security had been intensified and many people had embraced new ways of life. Many families were sending children to school; others had been influenced by the church and had different perspective in life other than pastoralism. Majority of the people interviewed in prisons, the general community and experts indicated that pastoralist conflict were destructive and regressive and thus people were opting for other means of survival including agriculture besides education .

4.4.3 Factors leading to protracted conflicts

In analyzing the factors leading to protracted conflicts among the Turkana's and Pokot's, correlation analysis was undertaken to determine the relationship and the interaction of the independent variables on the dependent variable. Thus, study variables, underdevelopment, drought and scarcity of resources, Illiteracy, tribalism, historical injustices and political incitement as the measurable variables among the study variables were correlated with pastoralist conflicts

being never ending. The results of correlation analysis were judged based on the strength of relationship between the correlated variables and whether or not the correlation coefficient was negative or positive. Interpretations were made based on the following scale.

Coefficient	Strength
1	Perfect
0.7 - 0.89	Very Strong
0.4 - 0.69	Strong
0.3 - 0.49	Moderate
0.1 - 0.29	Weak

Table 4.6 : Correlation Analysis on factors leading to protracted conflicts

		Pastoralist conflicts are never ending	Drought and scarcity of resources	Underdeve lopment	Illiteracy	Tribalis m	Historical injustices	Political incitemen t
Pastoralist conflicts are never ending	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2- tailed) N	1 30						
Drought and scarcity of resources	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2- tailed) N	.364* .048 30	1 30					
Underdevelopment	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2- tailed) N	.283 .129 30	.932** .000 30	1 30				
Illiteracy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2- tailed) N	.060 .763 28	.497** .007 28	.497** .007 28	1 28			
Tribalism	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2- tailed) N	.436* .018 29	.928** .000 29	.863** .000 29	.600** .001 28	1 29		
Historical injustices	Pearson Correlation	.450*	.929**	.866**	.600**	1.000**	1	

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.013	.000	.000	.001	.000		
	N	30	30	30	28	29	30	
Political incitement	Pearson Correlation	.206	.870**	.796**	.401*	.863**	.809**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.274	.000	.000	.034	.000	.000	
	N	30	30	30	28	29	30	30

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The Pearson correlation matrix illustrates the correlation coefficients (degree of association) drought and scarcity of resources. Drought and scarcity of resources is significantly positively associated with pastoral conflicts being never ending at confidence levels of 0.048. This is shown by the coefficient of 0.364. This relationship is statistically significant at P value 0.048 is less than 0.05. Correlation analysis further established that human injustices and pastoral conflicts being never ending had a positive correlation of 0.450*which was significant at P Value 0.013 is less than 0.05. This implies that human injustices fueled pastoral conflicts between the Pokots and Turkana's. Correlation analysis further established that tribalism and pastoral conflicts being never ending had a positive correlation of 0.436*which was significant at P Value 0.018 is less than 0.05. This implies that tribalism contributed to protracted pastoral conflicts between the Pokots and Turkana's. However, other explanatory variables were found to be insignificant either at positive or negative levels of relationship including underdevelopment, Illiteracy and political incitement with a weak positive correlation with pastoral conflicts being never ending. The strength is shown by the co-efficient of 0.283 for underdevelopment which is not significant since the *P* Value 0.125 is more than 0.05. Similarly, the correlation result for illiteracy has a weak positive correlation of 0.060 with pastoral conflicts being never ending which is not significant at 0.763 which is more than 0.05. The strength is shown by the co-efficient of 0.206 for political incitement which is not significant since the *P* Value 0.274 is more than 0.05.

4.4.4 Factors sustaining conflict

The researcher was interested in finding out the factors sustaining conflict in both Pokot and Turkana and the results indicated in the Table 4:7:

Table 4.7 : Factors sustaining conflict

	Strongly Agree		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Unwillingness to share the grazing land	4	13%	21	70%	5	17%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Refusal of the community to abide by security measures put by the government	11	37%	14	47%	5	16%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Rampant drought and famine in the area leading to inhabitants engaging in all sorts of activist to survive	14	47%	16	53%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Rivalry over land ownership	0	0.0%	13	43%	0	0.0%	1 3	43%	4	14%	30	100%
Inadequate policing and state security arrangements	4	13%	17	57%	0	0.0%	9	30%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Diminishing role of traditional governance systems	3	10%	15	50%	2	7%	9	30%	1	3%	30	100%
Political incitements	7	23%	18	60%	0	0.0%	5	17%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Increasing level of poverty	14	47%	16	53%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Diminishing livestock numbers	14	47%	16	53%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Unlimited and uncontrolled inflow of small arms from neighboring communities	4	13%	21	70%	5	17%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	100%

The findings of this study as shown in the table above indicated unwillingness to share the grazing land as a major causative factor to protracted pastoral conflict and an issue sustaining conflict among the Pokot's and Turkana's as indicated by 83% of the respondents . Only 17% of the respondents were undecided that unwillingness to share grazing land lead to pastoral conflicts.

The study findings indicated that 47% and 37% of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that refusal of the community to abide by security measures put by the government also played a part in the protracted conflicts. However 16% of the respondents were undecided on the issue.

Rampant drought and famine in Pokot and Turkana also contributed to conflicts as the inhabitants engaged in all sorts of activities to survive. 47% and 53% of the respondent strongly agreed and agreed that drought and famine sustained conflicts in their region.

With regards to rivalry over land ownership, 43% of the respondents felt that it contributed immensely to never ending conflicts among the Turkana's and Pokot's while a 43% and 14% disagreed and strongly disagreed with that assertion.

The findings of this study show that 57% and 13% of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that inadequate policing and state security arrangements were sustaining pastoral conflicts in the region. However, 30% of the respondents declined with that assertion.

With regards to diminishing role of traditional governance systems, 60% of the respondents concurred that it was sustaining conflicts, 7% were undecided, 30% disagreed and 3% strongly disagreed that diminishing role of traditional governance systems contributed to protracted conflicts.

60% and 23% agreed and strongly agreed that political incitements by the politicians encouraged conflict between the Turkana's and Pokot's communities. Political utterances triggered violence and ensured that the violence persisted as a way of showing strength and might over the rival group. Moreover, the enmity was also triggered by the fact that the two tribes supported different political parties and as a result the politician takes advantage of the same to trigger conflicts during the election times, reducing voters' turnout and eventual results after elections. However, 17% of the respondents disagreed that political incitements by the politicians encouraged conflict.

The findings also indicates that the increasing level of poverty as a major factor sustaining conflict as indicated by 43% and 53% of the people who concurred with that assertion. FGD in both Pokot and Turkana indicated that constant conflict had led to poverty and impoverishment among the community members. The river also had become a battle ground and so fetching water had proved difficult further necessitating conflicts due to inadequate natural resources.

47% and 53% of the people interviewed in Turkana and Pokot indicated that diminishing livestock numbers was among the reasons why pastoral conflicts was rampant .The droughts of 1995 -1999, the community lost a large number of livestock. The drought of 2000-2004 also claimed a large number of livestock, while the drought of 2005-2009 took away their cattle, leaving them impoverished and vulnerable. Between the years 2010 and 2016, the community has lost innumerable numbers of livestock. The respondent explained that when the weather conditions were favorable, the Turkana lose larger numbers of livestock to raids by their Pokot as it has been the case recently.

With regards to unlimited and uncontrolled inflow of small arms from neighboring communities, 13% and 70% of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that small's arms sustained conflicts in the region.

4.5 Assessment of the actors, causes, and nature actors of protracted pastoral conflict

This objective sought to describe the causes, nature and actors of pastoralist conflicts. It is imperative to understand the dynamics of pastoralist conflicts prior to determining their effects in the community. Pastoralist groups are extremely vulnerable as a result of inter-community conflicts, the harsh terrain, and lack of enough infrastructure, insufficient security personnel and unfavorable climatic conditions. They are marginalized on matters of socio-economic development. To meet this objective the respondents were asked questions on several variables that entail protracted pastoral conflicts.

4.5.1 Actors of pastoral conflict

Most of the actors of the pastoral conflict as revealed in the study during the FGD include the politicians, opinion leaders, religious leaders, media, police, businessmen and traders. The researcher was interested in finding out the extent different actors' influence protracted pastoral conflicts and the results indicated in the Table 4.8:

Table 4.8: Extent different actors influence protracted pastoral conflicts

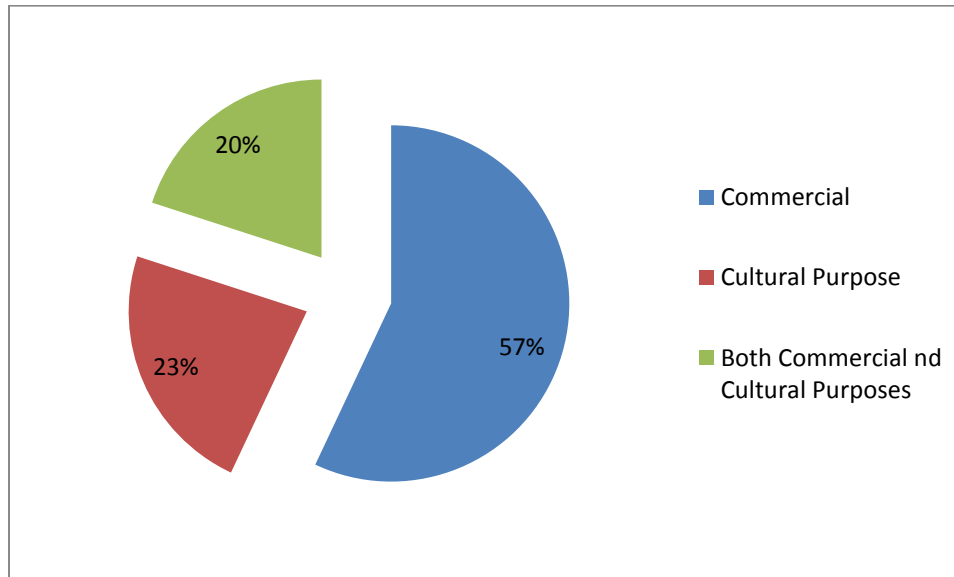
	Frequency	Percent
Very Great Extent	1	3
Great Extent	21	70.0
Neutral	2	7
Small Extent	6	20.0
Total	30	100.0

From the study findings,70% of the study respondents indicated that different actors influenced pastoral conflicts to a great extent and 3% to a very great extent .However , 20% of the study respondents felt that the actors didn't play a role in influencing conflicts as they conflicts have been ongoing for decades while 7% were neutral on the assertion. Pastoral conflicts as indicated by the expert during the interview affords the politicians and law enforcers an opportunity to control the wealth in the pastoral communities as is the case of Turkana and Pokot in form of minerals, cattle's and perpetuate illicit trades of small arms since a large percentage of trade passes outside of official channels. Political actors play a role in protracted conflicts through their tribal lines. The MCAs and local leaders are the main sponsors of the criminal activities as asserted by most of the respondents interviewed. They promise various things such as land and cattle to those who will participate in the raid of their neighboring communities. During the focus group discussions the respondents also indicated that political incitements by the Pokot politicians against the Turkana community led to more and more violence, revenge and counter revenge.

4.5.2 Causes of protracted pastoral conflict

The researcher was interested in finding out the causes of protracted pastoral conflict in both Pokot and Turkana and the results indicated in the Figure 4.4:

Figure 4.4 : Causes of protracted pastoral conflict



According to the figure, 57% of the respondents noted that pastoral conflict is more commercial while 23% indicated that pastoral conflicts were as a result of cultural reasons. 20% of the respondents noted that cattle raiding were mainly caused by both the cultural reasons and commercial reasons. In recent times pastoral conflict is more influenced by commercial reasons than the cultural reasons. Most of the local leaders don't want the conflicts to end as stealing cattle is their only method of restocking and amassing wealth with unscrupulous business people. During the FGD the respondents indicated that pastoral conflicts incidences between the Pokots and the Turkana occurred for varying commercial reasons .However, to some extent the elders stipulated that tradition still played a role in protracted pastoral conflicts as some of the communities are still tied by their culture.

4.5.3 Nature of protracted pastoral conflicts

The researcher was interested in finding out the nature of protracted pastoral conflicts in both Pokot and Turkana and the results indicated in the Table 4:9:

Table 4.9: Nature of protracted pastoral conflicts

	strongly agree		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Strongly disagree		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Pastoralists conflicts are violent	14	47%	16	53%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Pastoralist conflicts are never ending	0	0.0%	13	43%	0	0.0%	13	43%	4	14%	30	100%
protracted conflicts are linked to scarcity, state failure, climatic conditions and international linkages	4	13%	17	57%	0	0.0%	9	30%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Cattle raiding are destructive	4	13%	21	70%	5	17%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	100%

The findings of this study as shown in the table above indicated pastoralist’s conflicts are violent as indicated by 53% and 47% of the respondents who agreed and strongly agreed with that assertion.

According to study findings on the level of agreement on whether pastoralist conflicts are never ending 43% of the total respondents agreed and disagreed respectively while 14% strongly disagreed that the pastoral conflicts were never ending. Most of the respondents during the FGD asserted that the pastoral conflicts served the interest of the politicians, unscrupulous business men and community elders who were benefiting from the conflicts. While it was possible to stop pastoral conflicts there was no goodwill to stop the same among the Pokot’s and Turkana.

With regards to the assertion that protracted conflicts are linked to scarcity, state failure, climatic conditions and international linkages, Majority of the respondents indicating 57% agreed and 13% strongly agreed with that assertion. However 30% of the respondents disagreed on the issue.

According to study findings on the level of agreement on whether cattle raiding are destructive as 70% and 13% of the respondent agreed and strongly agreed. However, 17% of the respondents were undecided.

4.5.4 Level of Knowledge of the types of weapons used by cattle raiders

The researcher was interested in finding out the level of knowledge of the types of weapons used by cattle raiders in both Pokot and Turkana and the results indicated in the Table 4:10:

Table 4.10: Level of Knowledge of the types of weapons used by cattle raiders

	strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Total
Male	53%(16a)	7%(2a)	7%(2a)	67%(20)
Female	23%(7a)	7%(2a)	3%(1a)	33%(10)
Total	77%(23)	13%(4)	10%(3)	100%(30)

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of knowledge of the types of weapons used by cattle raiders in your area categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

With regards to the level of knowledge of the types of weapons used by cattle raiders, 53% and 7% of the male respondents agreed and strongly agreed respectively that they had knowledge of the weapon used by cattle raiders and gave examples of guns (AK-47), rifles, arrows, spears, axe and pangas. Only 7% declined that they didn't know the types of weapons used by the cattle raiders. However, only 23% and 7% of the women respondents had knowledge of the types of weapons used by cattle raiders.

During the FGD a question ensued why the pastoralist possessed guns and it was established that the Pokot and Turkana's possessed firearms (AK-47) due to lack of enough and reliable security from the government. They therefore possessed guns for community protection from pastoral conflict. In corroboration, Mkutu²¹⁰ in his study asserted that weapon circulation was particularly heavy among pastoralist and were the main cause of protracted conflicts and increased level of banditry, cattle rustling, raiding, and inter-communal conflicts among pastoralists.

²¹⁰ Mkutu, K. (2008). Guns & Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflict & Small Arms. Oxford: James Currey.

4.6 Effects of protracted pastoral conflicts

The Pearson correlation matrix illustrates correlation coefficients (degree of association) between effects of pastoral conflicts and pastoralists conflicts being violent and the result illustrated in Table 4.11:

Table 4.11: Effects of protracted pastoral conflicts

		Pastoralists conflicts are violent	Retaliation	Enmity between communities	Ethnicity	Family breakage	Underdevelopment
Pastoralists conflicts are violent	Pearson Correlation	1					
	Sig. (2- tailed)						
	N	30					
Retaliation	Pearson Correlation	.180	1				
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.342					
	N	30	30				
Enmity between communities	Pearson Correlation	.585**	.250	1			
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.001	.183				
	N	30	30	30			
Ethnicity	Pearson Correlation	.287	.183	.509**	1		
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.124	.333	.004			
	N	30	30	30	30		
Family breakage	Pearson Correlation	.156	.151	.281	.402*	1	
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.411	.427	.132	.027		
	N	30	30	30	30	30	
Underdevelopment	Pearson Correlation	-.344	.257	-.380*	-.061	.123	1
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.063	.170	.038	.747	.517	
	N	30	30	30	30	30	30

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The Pearson correlation matrix illustrates strong correlation coefficients between enmity between communities and pastoralists conflicts being violent. Enmity between communities is significantly positively associated with pastoralists' conflicts being violent at confidence levels of 0.05. This is shown by the coefficient of 0.585. This relationship is statistically significant at P value 0.001 is less than 0.05. However, other explanatory variables were found to be insignificant either at

positive or negative levels of relationship including underdevelopment, family breakup, ethnicity and retaliation with a weak negative and positive correlation with pastoral conflicts being violent. The strength is shown by the co-efficient of -0.344 for underdevelopment which is not significant since the *P* Value 0.063 is more than 0.05. Similarly, the correlation result for retaliation has a weak positive correlation of with pastoral conflicts being violent which is not significant at 0.342 which is more than 0.05. Ethnicity is shown by the co-efficient of 0.287 which is not significant since the *P* Value 0.124 is more than 0.05.

Most of the respondents interviewed and who participated in the FGD had either been personally affected or had a close relative who had been a victim, suffered loss of cattle, violence or injury. From the FGD in both Turkana and Pokot pastoral conflicts have resulted in insecurity leaving the inhabitants vulnerable. As a result the food insecurity has been a challenge as well as essential amenities. The situation on the ground is what has necessitated the trade of illegal arms as postulated by some on the elders in the FGD. Traditional social networks that could be used to address the conflicts have collapsed. The death of large numbers of men involved in the conflicts has led to women assuming additional responsibilities on top of their daily workload of providing and protecting the family.

4.7 Assessment of best approaches and methods in management of protracted Conflict

During the FGD most of the respondents asserted that the management of pastoral conflicts between the Pokot's and Turkana's conflict has not been an easy one for a number of reasons including lack of political support, lack of policy and policy guidelines pertaining to conflicts mitigation and contextualized policies by the county government on dealing with pastoral conflict, socioeconomic challenges were also mentioned as a major impediment to conflict mitigation for lasting peace. The expert interviewed asserted that since pastoral conflict had a multi-sectorial aspect there was need for the government to come up with more integrative and proactive approaches in dealing with the impediments surrounding protracted conflicts among the Turkana's and Pokot's. It is also important to have intergovernmental strategies to address the boarder issues leading to protracted conflicts between the two warring communities.

4.7.1 Nature of pastoral conflicts mitigation measures and methods

The researcher was interested in finding out the nature of pastoral conflicts mitigation measures and methods in both Pokot and Turkana and the results indicated in the Table 4:12:

Table 4.12: Nature of pastoral conflicts mitigation measures and methods

	strongly agree		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Strongly disagree		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Conflict mitigation mechanisms have been effective in mitigating pastoral conflicts	3	10%	6	20%	0	0.0%	14	47%	7	23%	30	100%
Pastoralists conflicts are violent	14	47 %	16	53%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Lack policy guidelines on pastoral conflicts is fuelling most of the conflicts in the region	5	17%	17	56%	0	0.0%	8	27%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Police brutality and the use of military has a ripple effect on pastoral conflict	23	77%	7	23%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	100%
Community involvement has been wanting as a strategy of addressing conflicts in Northern Kenya	15	50%	7	23%	4	13%	4	14%	0	0.0%	30	100 %
Weakened security at the borders is leading to proliferation of small arms leading to increasing conflicts	14	47%	7	23%	6	20%	3	10%	0	0.0%	30	100 %

When asked whether conflict mitigation mechanisms have been effective in mitigating pastoral conflicts, 47% and 23% of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that conflict mitigation mechanisms have been effective in mitigating pastoral conflicts . Only 30% of the respondents concurred that conflict mitigation mechanisms were effective in mitigating pastoral conflicts.

When asked whether pastoral conflicts are violent, 53% and 47% of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that pastoral conflicts are violent. During the FGD some of the respondents showed the scars of guns and arrows which they had suffered during the pastoral conflicts.

When asked whether lack policy guidelines on pastoral conflicts is fuelling most of the conflicts in the region, majority of the respondents indicating 17% and 56% of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed with that assertion . Only 27% of the respondents disagreed with that assertion.

Most of the respondents further indicated that police brutality and the use of military had a ripple effect on pastoral conflict as evidenced by 77% and 23% of the respondents who strongly agreed and agreed with that assertion. This means that police brutality and the use of military fueled the conflicts more than stopping them.

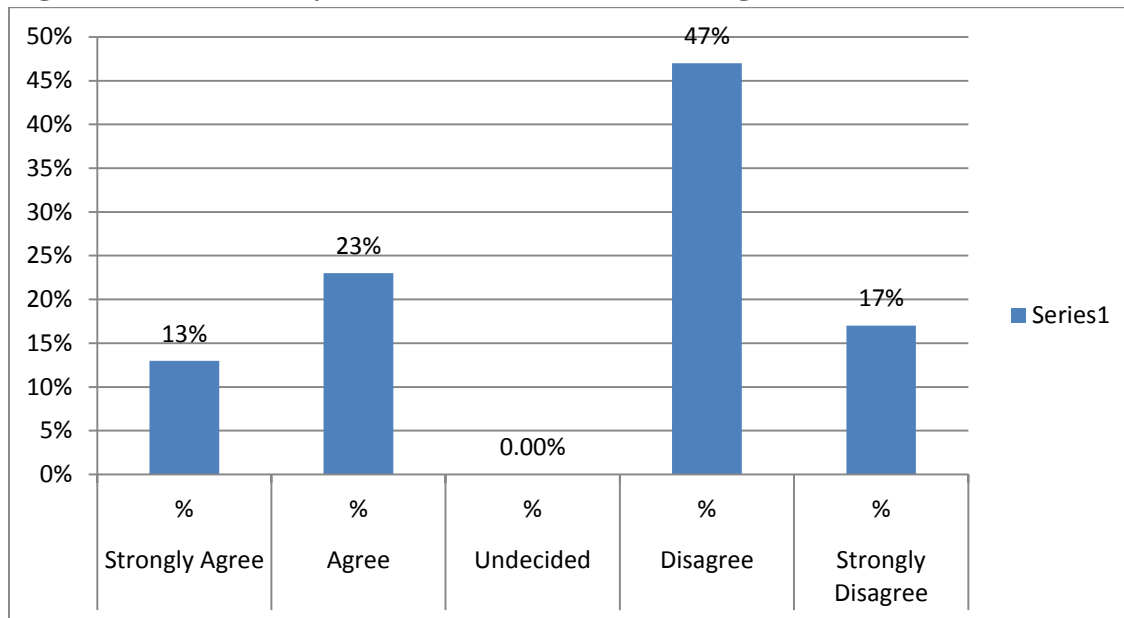
When asked whether community involvement has been wanting as a strategy of addressing conflicts in Northern Kenya, majority of the respondents indicating 50% and 23% of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed with that assertion. While 13% were undecided, 14% of the respondents disagreed with that assertion. The FGD held in both Turkana and Pokot revealed that community involvement would help in promotion of peace and harmony between the warring communities .The elders also suggested a proactive and integrated approach to solving pastoral conflicts which would involve church leaders, Community based organization ,gatekeepers , opinion leaders and the government coming together to dialogue thereby increasing and improving security.

Most of the respondents further indicated that weakened security at the boarders was leading to proliferation of small arms leading to increasing conflicts as evidenced by 47% and 23% of the respondents who strongly agreed and agreed with that assertion. This means that thee was need to strengthen security at the boarders to control proliferation of small arms which were leading to increasing pastoral conflicts.

4.7.2 Community involvement and conflict mitigation

The researcher was interested in finding out the community involvement and conflict mitigation in both Pokot and Turkana and the results indicated in the Figure 4.5:

Figure 4.5: Community involvement and conflict mitigation

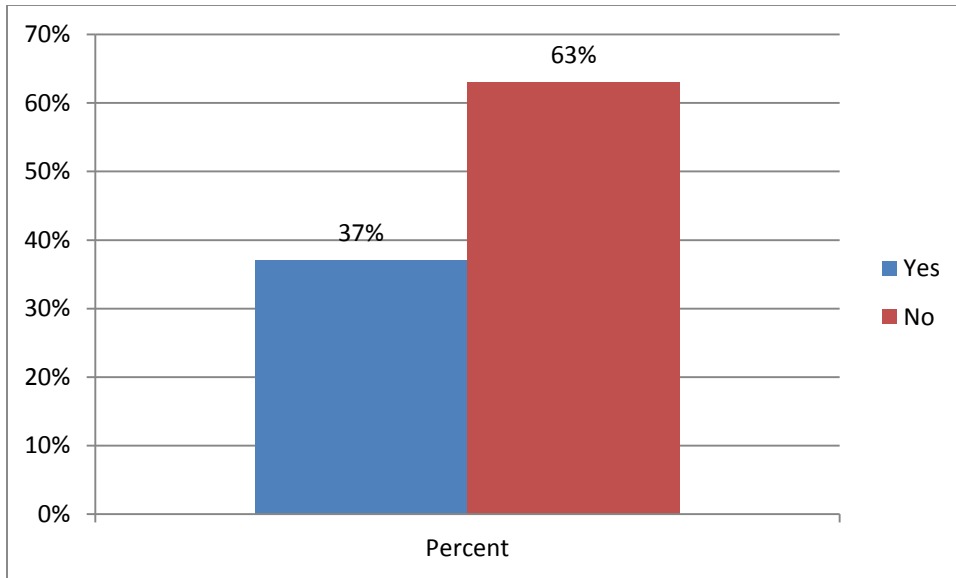


When asked whether there was community involvement in solving conflicts, majority indicating 47% of the respondents disagreed and 17% strongly disagreed that community was involved in solving conflicts. Only 36% of the respondents agreed with that assertion. Most of the elders during the FGD noted that the traditional institutions and systems of solving conflicts were functioning with relative effectiveness and impunity. Historically it was the elders that would negotiate peace agreement and grazing rights between communities. The elders in Turkana and Pokot complained that religion, education, Peace Committees, the government, unscrupulous businessmen and politicians played a role in the collapse of the traditional systems of justice. The women interviewed also indicated that though they were the most hit by the pastoral conflicts yet they were left out in the conflict resolution processes. This assertion was also held by the youth leaders. They thus asserted that there was need for a gender sensitive conflict resolution mechanisms especially as the women, youth and the elderly are increasingly being left out of important decision making processes and they, particularly the youth, are significant stakeholders in the pastoral conflict. It was thus proposed that traditional conflict resolution systems and approaches be supported in cognizant that conflict resolution requires multi-stakeholders involvement for extensive consultations. Opinion leaders and elders in the community should be involved in conflict resolutions.

4.7.3 Whether Government conflict mitigation led approaches have worked

The researcher was interested in finding out whether Government conflict mitigation led approaches have worked in Pokot and Turkana and the results indicated in the Figure 4.6:

Figure 4.6 : Whether Government conflict mitigation led approaches have worked



On whether the government conflict mitigation led approaches had worked to reduce pastoral conflicts, 63% of the respondents declined while 37% of the respondents concurred that that the government approaches were working because of reduction of mortality rate due to conflicts ,reduction of pastoral activities and increased farming activities .However ,most of the respondents still felt that the Government was failing immensely to in enforcement of rules and regulations governing the management of pasture and water which were among the major causative factors for conflicts among the Turkana and Pokot's. Movement into the dry season grazing zones should be strictly regulated. Moreover the government has failed to curtail proliferation of light and heavy arms leading to high presence of the same in the region. The respondents also pointed out that there was lack of local government and national government collaboration in issues pertaining to pastoral conflict .Whereas the local and national government were supposed to complement each other they were still fighting and competing.

The findings also show that the people interviewed in Turkana believed that low or lack of representation of the community in senior government positions had led to the government ignoring the security needs of the community. On the other hand, most of the respondents in Pokot felt that low representation of their community in government had led to the escalation of conflict between the two communities. Drought and famine leads to violent conflict because of the unwillingness of the communities to share the grazing land. Some of the respondents felt that the government had misplaced priorities and was focused on projects that would boast their political mileage and not posterity.

4.8 Conclusion

Chapter four highlights the results of the study findings confirmed that pastoralist conflicts in the study area were common, violent, destructive and never ending. The study findings confirmed that pastoral conflicts have been commercialized overtime and other actors including the politicians usually acts as triggers to the conflict. The pastoral conflicts have forced the inhabitants of both Turkana and Pokot to be deprived of basic services as conflict frustrate the county government effort to build and develop these areas including building schools and health systems among others. Nevertheless, the community had existing mechanisms that could be used to address the pastoral conflicts including community involvement and participation in all conflict mitigation strategies and peace committees.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provided for summary of study results as they were discussed and recommendations given. This section provided a summary of the highlights of the findings on the analysis of protracted nature of pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya. Further, the chapter highlights on the key findings, conclusions, recommendations and further research recommendation.

5.2 Summary of Study

5.2.1 The demographic characteristics of the study

The study participants included the residents both male and female genders with a large majority being male respondents. Further, the participants were aged between 30 years and above 56 years. The age is spread out so that the highest respondents ranged between 36-40 years comprising 36.7 percent. It was also established that a large majority of the respondents indicating 63 percent were married, while others were divorced, widowed and 17 percent single. This was an indication that despite the challenges posed by protracted conflicts among the Pokots and Turkana's pastoralist they had functional family structures that withstood the effects of violent and never ending conflicts in the area though some were wounded and windowed by the conflicts. The study also engaged key informants that included the local administrations area chiefs, teachers, police, experts and households.

5.2.2 Factors leading and sustaining pastoral conflicts

This study finding indicates a big percentage of the Northern Kenya communities are pastoralists and they value cattle which historically was their custom passed on from generation to another. Findings revealed that pastoralist conflicts in the study revolved around cattle possession, replenishing livestock lost during drought and diseases as well as dowry payment. As acknowledged by interviewed respondents, Turkana's experience rampant raids from the Pokot's. The raids are bloody as the Pokot's come armed with guns. This explains the animosity between the Turkana's and Pokot. The study findings further indicate that pastoral conflicts are common since they serve the interest of the politicians and community elders who were benefiting from the conflicts. The correlation analysis indicated that drought and scarcity of resources is significantly

positively associated with pastoral conflicts being never ending at confidence levels of 0.048. Correlation analysis further established that human injustices and pastoral conflicts being never ending had a positive correlation .Correlation analysis further established that tribalism and pastoral conflicts being never ending had a positive correlation of 0.436*which was significant at P Value 0.018 is less than 0.05. This implies that tribalism contributed to protracted pastoral conflicts between the Pokots and Turkana's. From the study findings the factors sustaining conflicts includes unwillingness to share the grazing land, refusal of the community to abide by security measures put by the government also played a part in the protracted conflicts, rampant drought and famine in Pokot and Turkana also contributed to conflicts as the inhabitants engaged in all sorts of activities to survive. Moreover , rivalry over land ownership also contributed to protracted conflicts ; inadequate policing and state security arrangements ;diminishing role of traditional governance systems, ;political incitements by the politicians which encouraged conflict between the Turkana's and Pokot's communities. Political utterances triggered violence and ensured that the violence persisted as a way of showing strength and might over the rival group. Moreover, the enmity was also triggered by the fact that the two tribes supported different political parties and as a result the politician takes advantage of the same to trigger conflicts during the election times, reducing voters' turnout and eventual results after elections. It was clear from the findings that the increasing level of poverty played a part as constant conflict had led to poverty and impoverishment among the community members due to diminishing livestock numbers partly contributed by the unlimited and uncontrolled inflow of small arms from neighboring communities.

5.2.3 Assessment of the actors, causes, and nature of protracted pastoral conflict

It was established that pastoralist's conflicts between the Turkana's and Pokot's as it involves the use of small arms. The study findings further revealed that pastoralist conflicts were protracted in nature as the pastoral conflicts served the interest of the politicians, unscrupulous business men and community elders who were benefiting from the conflicts. While it was possible to stop pastoral conflicts there was no goodwill from key people in both communities including the politicians, elders and business men to stop the conflict. It was also established that protracted conflicts are linked to scarcity, state failure, climatic conditions and international linkages. The pastoralist conflicts were partly based on competition for resources (water and pasture) unlike in the past where cattle rustling were a preserve for heroism and replenishment of livestock. The

respondent's asserted that the pastoral conflicts ranged from border claims, diminishing natural resources that have led to fierce competition and violence between the Pokot and Turkana. These conflicts are characterized by tensions and clashes associated with banditry attacks and brutality mostly unpredictable and undertaken at night. Most of the respondents further indicated that cattle raiding were destructive in nature and this was contributed by the weaponry used by cattle rustlers including guns and arrows. As a result the cattle raids left a trail of destruction including loss of life, burnt houses and destruction of food crops affecting the overall livelihood of households that was largely dependent on cattle herding.

5.2.4 Assessment of best approaches and methods in management of protracted Conflict

The findings indicated that the management of pastoral conflicts between the Pokot's and Turkana's conflict had not been an easy one for a number of reasons including lack of political support, lack of policy and policy guidelines pertaining to conflicts mitigation and contextualized policies by the county government on dealing with pastoral conflict, socioeconomic challenges were also mentioned as a major impediment to conflict mitigation for lasting peace. The study findings also revealed that the current conflict mitigation mechanisms were not effective in mitigating pastoral conflicts even though pastoral conflicts were violent leaving the community with scars of guns and arrows which they had suffered during the pastoral conflicts. The respondents also asserted that there was lack policy guidelines on pastoral conflicts and that police brutality and the use of military had a ripple effect on pastoral conflict and they had not aided in enhancing security at the borders leading to easy proliferation of small arms .The study findings established that the community had existing mechanisms that could be used to address the pastoral conflicts including community involvement and participation in all conflict mitigation strategies and peace committees. Pastoral conflict had a multi-sectorial aspect indicating the need for the government to come up with more integrative and proactive approaches in dealing with the impediments surrounding protracted conflicts among the Turkana's and Pokot's. It is also important to have intergovernmental strategies to address the border issues leading to protracted conflicts between the two warring communities.

5.3. Conclusion

This study showcases the protracted nature of pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya. The disastrous character of protracted conflicts preceded by raiding and rustling activities among pastoralist communities disturb the social economic status of the pastoral communities and hinders any developmental milestones by the government and the county governments. Pastoral conflicts have been commercialized overtime and other actors including the politicians and unscrupulous business men usually act as triggers to the conflict. The pastoral conflicts have forced the inhabitants of both Turkana and Pokot to be deprived of basic services as conflict frustrate the county government effort to build and develop these areas including building schools and health systems among others. Due to high dependency on cattle's the pastoral conflicts are still common and destructive. This dependency on cattle is a great impediment to peace among the Turkana's and Pokot's especially when the cattle are stolen, being the only source of income, results to high poverty levels among households. The pastoral conflicts affect pastoral community and more often leads to loss of lives and destruction of property and farm produce. Moreover, education process is equally affected by the rampant attacks and insecurity affecting children's completion of schooling in the region. Yet the community coping mechanisms and response to these protracted pastoralist conflict remains ineffective and bear small fruits. Rampant incidents of cattle rustling facilitated by unscrupulous business men and elders in the community for replenishment of livestock lost during drought and diseases are bloody as these communities possess armed weapons. The ease of access to modern small arms has also made cattle raiding, banditry and predation very rampant among the Turkana's and Pokot's. As a result it has become very difficult to address the issues of cattle rustling leading to never ending conflicts between Pokot and Turkana's as they incite their communities against each other for selfish gains and misadvise them against surrendering their guns and other weaponry of war. There is a great need for various stakeholders to urgently intervene and avert the effects of protracted pastoralist conflicts and avert factors leading and sustaining pastoral conflicts. Community involvement and participation is also important in conflict resolution and especially in their involvement in all conflict mitigation strategies and peace committees.

5.4. Recommendations

Based on the study findings the study makes the following recommendations including;

- The county governments in Northern Kenya should prioritize peace and security agenda and undertake appropriate measures and actions to manage and resolve pastoralist conflicts and insecurity in the area. This may include developing memorandum of association on issues easily leading to conflicts including how to share water and land issues.
- The study recommends for contextualized county policies on conflict resolution and Northern Kenya conflict resolution framework emphasizing the protracted nature of conflicts and their causative factors among the pastoralists.
- The local administration and community elders should advocate and educate the people on culture of peace, and tolerance. The community leaders should take on the guidance role and impart good morals, report and provide information on attacks, stop and discard harmful customs including cattle rustling.
- The government should also proactively and collaboratively spearhead conflict resolution meetings, peace campaigns among neighboring communities. This should be preceded by deployment of more security personnel to enhance security and promote the socio-economic and political well-being of the society.
- Stringent measures should be put by the government on the perpetrators of protracted conflicts including early arrests and prosecution.
- The government should prioritize development to reduce levels of underdevelopment. This includes development of key infrastructure for basic services, road networks, schools and health facilities. Attention should be paid to improve transport and communication, roads network and in the interior for accessibility. More development effort should be focused in enhancing accessibility to the basic services.
- The government should also seek to educate the pastoral communities on the need for diversification including farming. This will in the long term help stop pastoral conflicts mostly fueled by poverty. It should also be made mandatory for the pastoral communists to educate their children as the level of illiteracy is still high among the pastoralists.

- Conflict mitigation also calls for multi-stakeholders collaboration .This study thus recommends the involvement of community leaders in peace meetings and seeking for lasting peace in the Northern Kenya.
- Stringent measures should also be put to curb proliferation of small arms among the pastoral communities.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: SEMI -STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Introduction

This questionnaire is made to collect information to help in conducting a study on protracted pastoralist conflicts in Northern Kenya. You have been selected together with others to voluntarily participate in the study. Data filled in this interview guide will be confidential and will only be used for the intended purpose. Your cooperation on this is highly appreciated.

Thank you in advance.

SECTION 1: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF THE INTERVIEWED

1. Gender:
 - a. Male ()
 - b. Female ()
2. What is your age bracket?
 - a. 30-35years ()
 - b. 36-40years ()
 - c. 41-50years ()
 - d. 51-55years ()
 - e. 56 and above
3. Designation
 - a. Ward representative ()
 - b. Villager elder ()
 - c. Village headmen ()
 - d. Women elder ()
 - e. Youth leader ()
 - f. Businessman ()
 - g. Trader ()
 - h. Moran ()
4. For how long have you been a representative or led the people of this area?

- a. 1-5 years ()
- b. 6-10years ()
- c. 11 and above years ()

5. What is your experience with pastoralist conflicts in this area?

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.....

.....

6. Kindly tick the appropriate form of conflict in your area appropriately and the extent you face that form of conflict. Use the scale of 1. Very Great extent; 2. Great extent; 3. Neutral 4. Small 5. Very small extent.

Type of conflict	1	2	3	4	5
Conflict over Land and water					
Conflict over boundaries					
Perceived Increased of military in the area					
Livestock raids or commercialized raids					
Road thuggery and banditry					

7. In your opinion what are the challenges experienced in the area as a result of protracted pastoralist conflicts?

.....

.....

8. Kindly tick your level of agreement on the factors sustaining conflict in your area as provided in the table below. Use the scale of: 1= **Strongly Agree** 2=**Agree**, 3=**Undecided**, 4=**Disagree**, 5=**Strongly Disagree**

	1	2	3	4	5
The Unwillingness to share grazing land					
Refusal of the community to abide by security measures put by the government					
Rampant drought and famine in the area leading to inhabitants engaging in all sorts of activities to survive					
Rivalry over land ownership					
Inadequate policing and state security arrangements					
Diminishing role of traditional governance systems					
Political incitements					
Diminishing livestock numbers					
Increasing levels of poverty					
Unlimited and uncontrolled inflow of small arms from neighboring communities/countries					

9. What are the effects of pastoralist conflicts in this area?

.....

10. What is the nature of pastoralist conflicts in Northern Kenya? Use the scale of: 1=

Strongly Agree 2=Agree, 3=Undecided, 4=Disagree, 5=Strongly Disagree

	5	4	3	2	1
State your agreement/disagreements with the fact that pastoralist conflicts are violent					
State your agreement/disagreements with the fact that pastoralist conflicts are never ending					
Sate your agreement/disagreement with the fact that protracted conflicts are linked to scarcity, state failure, climatic conditions and international linkages.					
Do you agree that cattle raiding are destructive?					

11. State whether you agree or disagree with the following statements. Tick either Yes or No.

	Yes	No
Do you agree that pastoral conflicts are common?		
Do you agree that there are suspected dangerous armed gangs criminals or bandits around?		
Do you know the types of weapons used by cattle raiders in this area?		
Do you agree that there is community participation / involvement in solving conflicts?		
Do you agree that most raids are for commercial purposes?		
Do you agree that most raids are for cultural purposes?		
Do you agree that most raids are for cultural and commercial purposes?		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>		

12. What is the nature of pastoralist conflicts mitigation measures in Northern Kenya? Use the scale of: 1= **Strongly Agree** 2=**Agree**, 3=**Undecided**, 4=**Disagree**, 5=**Strongly Disagree**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict mitigation mechanisms have been effective in mitigating pastoral conflicts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of policy guidelines on pastoral conflicts is fuelling most of the conflicts in the region
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police brutality and the use of military has a ripple effect on pastoral conflict
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community involvement has been wanting as a strategy of addressing conflicts in Northern Kenya
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weakened security at the borders is leading to proliferation of small arms thereby increasing conflicts in Northern Kenya

13. What measures will you recommend and who is best placed to implement?

.....

.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

Appendix II: INTERVIEW GUIDE (EXPERTS)

This interview guide is made to collect information to help in conducting a study on protracted pastoralist conflicts in Northern Kenya. You have been selected together with others to voluntarily participate in the study. Data filled in this interview guide will be confidential and will only be used for the intended purpose. Your cooperation on this is highly appreciated.

- 1. What is the level of community participation / involvement in solving community security challenges?

.....
.....
.....

- 2. Specifically, what are the roles of the following groups in solving community security challenges?

- a. Members of county assembly.....
- b. Women leaders
- c. Elders
- d. The youth leaders.....
- e. Religious leaders
- f. Other groups

- 3. What are some of the conflict management systems that your community has used over time to manage conflicts arising over natural resources like water?

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.....

- 4. What other factors would you say have been the main cause of conflicts in pastoral areas over time?

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.....

- 5. Do you work with other actors in case of conflicts?

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.....

6. Who are the actors that have supported you in the past?

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.....

7. How are the people affected by protracted conflicts in this area?

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.....

8. Explain how the government of Kenya is responding to the pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya region?

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.....

9. Do you think the conflict mitigation mechanisms have been effective in mitigating pastoral conflicts? If not, what are the challenges?

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.....
.....

10. What measures will you recommend and who is best placed to implement?

.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

Appendix III: INTERVIEW GUIDE (Community Leaders and Gatekeepers)

This interview guide is made to collect information to help in conducting a study on protracted pastoralist conflicts in Northern Kenya. You have been selected together with others to voluntarily participate in the study. Data filled in this interview guide will be confidential and will only be used for the intended purpose. Your cooperation on this is highly appreciated.

1. What is your age?
2. What tribe are you from in Northern Kenya?
3. What is your marital status?
4. What is your educational status?
5. List any local actors who are involved in the conflicts in our region
 - a) How are they involved?
 - b) What motivates these actors to take part in supporting the conflict to continue?
.....
.....
6. Have you ever lost livestock through rustling?
7. Were you able to get it back?
8. What are the major factors leading to conflicts in your region?
.....
.....
.....
9. What kind of firearms is used during the conflicts?
.....
.....
.....
10. How have conflicts affected your way of life e.g. education, health services, income generation, food security, physical security, etc.
.....
.....
.....

11. What are the things which can be done to avoid conflicts due to both internal and external factors?

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.....

12. Explain how the government of Kenya is responding to the conflict?

.....
.....
.....

13. Do you think these interventions have worked to reduce the conflict?

a) Why do you think so?

.....
.....
.....

b) Suggest ways in which these interventions can be achieved

.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION