

**NATURAL RESOURCE BASED CONFLICT AMONG PASTORALIST
COMMUNITIES IN KENYA**

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree to any other university.

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Anne R. Gakuria

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Date

Supervisor's Declaration

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a university supervisor.

.....
Prof. Makumi Mwangi

.....
Date

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my husband Wilson Gakuria, my children Makena, Gitonga and Nyambura Gakuria, my son-in-law Richard Bukenya and grandson Brayden Bukenya all who tolerated my long absence during the course of the study. For all the sacrifice you made for me to get educated may the almighty God bless you abundantly.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASALS	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
ECACP	Environmental Change and Acute Conflicts Project
ENCOP	Environment Conflicts Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPS	Global Positioning System
GSU	General Service Unit
KANU	Kenya African National Union
NORAD	Norwegian Rural Aid for Development
NGOs	Non Governmental Organisations
REDSO	Regional Economic Development Services Office
RDF	Rural Development Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WASDA	Wajir South Development Association
WIDER	World International for Development Economic Research

ABSTRACT

The study examines the natural resource based conflict among pastoralist communities in Kenya. The study aims at identifying causes of conflicts among pastoral communities and the effects of conflicts in Kenya. The study developed a theoretical framework which guided the study. The framework highlights conflicts as being caused by some key factors such as competition for resources (a structural cause) which arise when manipulated by various actors like herders and pastoralist, political leaders and among others. The framework also portrays the outcomes of conflicts presenting a direction link between causes of conflicts and the various players.

The data used in the study was based on secondary data sourced from Plan Action and was collected in 2005. The data collected was meant to access the socio – economic impacts of conflicts on pastoral communities. The data captured targeted population living in arid and semi arid areas of Northern Kenya. Adopting the Plan Action research design justifications, the data sampled comprised of 10 districts from the Northern Kenya districts and covered the period between 1994 – 2004. The data was analyzed using statistical software packages. Descriptive statistics are presented graphically using graphs and pie charts.

The study found out that most conflicts in the country are mainly caused as a result of scarcity of natural resources. Persistent drought as a result of climate change increases the strain in the already existing natural scarce resources which leads to conflict as people fight for grazing and farm land rights.

The study also established that factors such as economic and political marginalization, active resistance by pastoralist communities to assimilation, resource depletion and demographic changes, and the growing availability of small arms and light weapons are among the major factors causing conflicts in the country. As a result of conflicts, communities are left with reduced crop and livestock yields, increased casualties as many people are left injured and some killed, residents in the communities are also displaced with their property left destroyed. In addition social services are also affected leading to closure of schools, health centers and other outdoor activities as intensified insecurity looms in the community.

This study recommends a number of policies such as: promoting understanding and appreciation of conflicts, formulate policy on peace building, strengthening service delivery to ASAL areas, promote inter community peace building activities, promote conflict sensitivity and inter sector mainstreaming of conflict management, mopping up of illegal weapons and building policy advocacy and lobbying capacities of local organizations and communities.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Conflicts are widely recognized as an important source of poverty and risk to pastoral communities in the Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASALS) areas. Most of these conflicts are resource based in nature and often between pastoralists and farmers. Pastoralist communities in Kenya are concerned with raising of livestock such as camels, goats, cattle and sheep, moving the herds in search of fresh pasture and water which are scarce. In terms of natural resources¹ pastoralism takes place in marginal areas where cultivation is not possible. The root cause of natural resource based conflict in Kenya is resource scarcity. Pastoralist's communities result into conflict over use and ownership rights of these scarce resources. Pastoralist's violence has been transformed in recent years by a number of factors including; economic and political marginalization, active resistance by pastoralist communities to assimilation, resource depletion and demographic changes, climatic conditions , cattle stealing(raiding/rustling) the growing availability of small arms and light weapons and poorly designed policies.

In Kenya, the negative effects of conflicts have been widely felt especially among pastoralist communities. Adan and Pkalya², assessed the socio-economic impacts of

¹ Natural resources are economically referred to as land or raw materials which occur naturally within environments that exists relatively undistributed by mankind, in a natural form

² . Adan, M. and Pkalya, R. (2005). An Assessment of the Socio-Economic Impacts of Conflict on Pastoral and Semi Pastoral Economies in Kenya and Uganda. Practical Action – Eastern Africa.

conflict on pastoral economies in Kenya and Uganda³. The study reports that a number of livestock have been lost through cattle rustling conflicts, it is estimated that 459,905 livestock valued at over 5 billion Kenya Shillings were stolen in the districts assessed between, 1994-2004. The study found that 3,094 human deaths were reported as a direct consequence of conflict. In addition to human casualties, the assessment established that at least 206,830 people have been displaced by conflicts. In the assessed districts, delivery of social services has greatly been affected by conflicts.

At least 94 schools were closed at one time or the other as conflict heightened. Food production has also taken a heavy beating from conflict. Over the past fourteen years, a cumulative 43,470 acres of land has been left fallow because of conflict, representing 16,655 tons of lost cereal production valued at Kshs 384,861,111. In areas where farming is largely for subsistence, the effects of diminished food production translate into food insecurity. More importantly, conflict forces pastoral communities to flee high potential grazing lands, which are often scenes of clashes over pasture and water. This causes massive losses owing to starvation of livestock. According to livestock production officers in sample districts, production loses to conflict average 10-50 percent of potential capacity.

Social service delivery has also taken a decline. During conflicts, dispensaries are closed and essential medicines run out. In addition the education is also affected whereby the attendance in primary school and enrolment in secondary school are seen to

³ An assessment of the Socio-Economic Impacts of Conflict on Pastoral Economies in Kenya and Uganda in several sampled districts including Trans Nzoia, Moyale, marakwet, Tana river, Wajir, Turkana, Samburu, Marsabit, West Pokot, Mandera and Moroto

be dropping. For instance, in Tana River, Adan and Pkalya⁴ established that between 1994 and 2002 only 36.6% of primary school age children were in school, a situation attributed to insecurity and the resultant poverty in the district. This effect spilled over to secondary school enrolment where a paltry 14.32 % of those eligible were enrolled. Positive link between HIV/AIDs and conflict as well as positive relationship between conflict and violations of women's right are evident.

Governments in the region seldom invest sufficiently in programmes that redress the structural causes of violence in pastoral regions. Focused development interventions, reciprocal security guarantees between conflicting parties, and support for customary conflict resolution mechanisms have rarely occurred due to prevailing stigmas and structural asymmetries. Instead, reactive, intrusive, and coercive disarmament campaigns are the norm. These approaches are often inequitable in the way they target specific groups, leaving disarmed communities vulnerable to predation by neighbouring tribes. Understandably, they provoke violent resistance and failure to comply.

The resulting situation requires urgent attention and management, as the underlying causes of these conflicts have become more complex and multi-dimensional, ranging from socio-economic, cultural to environmental factors. The situation has resulted in high poverty levels, reduced livelihoods of local populations and continues to increase the likelihood of insecurity and instability at the local, national and regional levels. The sad side of these conflicts is that most of the victims are civilians; mainly women and children.

⁴ Adan, M. and Pkalya, R. (2005). An Assessment of the Socio-Economic Impacts of Conflict on Pastoral and Semi Pastoral Economies in Kenya and Uganda. Practical Action – Eastern Africa

These paper aims at providing measures that should be reference points for State planning that will bring a more holistic approach to preventing, containing, and reducing pastoral conflicts in the region. For this reason the paper analyzes the causes and effects of conflicts among pastoral communities in Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Historically, there has always been tension along pastoral corridors over land and grazing rights between nomads and farmers. But recently, some parts of the country have been caught in a complex tangle of severe droughts and dwindling resources. Disputes flare up between farmers and pastoralists and among pastoralist themselves as migrating camel and livestock herders, in search of water and pasture for their animals during the dry season, would sometimes graze on farmers' lands or other livestock herders grazing lands and use their water points. Disputes over lost crops, and access to water and pastoralists' routes are sometimes settled by tribal leaders. However, severe droughts, and increased mechanized farming have worsened the situation. Combined with a lack of institutionalized mechanisms for land and water rights and usage, all these factors lead to widespread seasonal tensions between pastoralists and farmers on the one hand and mainly among pastoralist themselves on the other.

These conflicts in turn have a negative impact as valuable resources are diverted to its management at the expense of provision for basic needs. As regards to household level, the impact of conflicts has resulted to reduced access to food, interrupted education and health care services, deteriorated trade, reduced the number of livestock through raids, led to loss of life and property, degenerated social relationships, led to increased

forced migration of families and livestock, and intensified insecurity leading to reduced outdoor activities.

Through the government's efforts to develop the Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASALS), a lot of resources, such as financial commitments, security deployments, infrastructural improvements and education to the locals, have been attempted by various regimes in Kenya. Conversely the outcomes of these commitments have not been promising and instead conflicts are seen to be on the rise. Therefore there is need to carry out a study on the causes and effects of natural resource based conflicts among pastoralists communities in Kenya. Information on this is limited and studies that have been done in Kenya are few. This study is an attempt to inform policy makers on natural resource use and management among pastoralist communities by providing comprehensive analysis on reducing natural resource based conflicts towards peace building and managing natural resources.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the causes of natural resource based conflict among pastoralist communities living in the sampled districts, and by so doing, contribute to the better understanding of conflict impact and origins in pastoral and agro pastoral areas in Kenya.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study was guided by the following objectives.

1. To establish the underlying issues that have sustained and institutionalized conflicts.

2. Assess the economic impact of the conflicts in the region
3. Establish the number of people killed in these conflicts over the last ten years
4. Determine the impacts of the conflicts on service delivery especially on schooling and health facilities

1.5 Research Hypotheses

In order to address the main aim of the study of investigating the causes and effects of natural resource based conflicts, the following hypothesis will be analysed:

1. Competition for scarce resources is the major cause of conflicts among pastoralist communities in Kenya.
2. Reduced access to food, interrupted education and health care services are among the major negative effects of conflicts among pastoralists communities.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Understanding the causes and effects of the natural resource based conflicts is important for sustaining economic development. To date, the causes and effects of natural environment, people, and the entire country, demand that these dynamics be properly documented. In order to achieve the Vision 2030 goals of transforming the Kenyan Economy into a globally competitive nation with high quality of life necessitates initiating programmes aimed at harmonizing traditional and modern systems for managing resources and conflicts, in addition to other policy measures.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the study

The study had proposed to use primary data, but due to the critical nature of the information to be collected and the time required, it was not possible to undertake the primary data collection. Given that the data used was collected from secondary data, the authenticity of the data collected is not however guaranteed.

1.8 Definition of significant terms

Conflicts: the existence of incongruent interests

Pastoralism: the symbiotic relationship between local ecology, domesticated livestock and people in resource-scarce and highly-variable regions, often at the threshold of human survival.

Property rights: how existing resources are utilized and who should utilize what attributes of the resource

Rights: the right to use a resource, the right to transfer it, the right to exclude others, and even beyond physical resources, the right to express one's own views, the right to get respect

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the pastoral communities in Kenya. The chapter starts by defining the term pastoralism and discusses pastoralists in Kenya and pastoralist as a source of livelihood. A detail background to conflict in pastoral areas is also presented. The chapter further discusses the pattern of conflict within the country in broad terms, for example patterns are determined by rainfall patterns and ecological conditions, clan, occupation orientation among others. In addition, the chapter highlights the various actors and their influence in natural resource conflict. The herders and pastoralists, the business groups, the State, women and children, and refugees are among the actors identified.

2.2 Pastoralist as a Livelihood

According to Nori et al⁵, pastoralism is the finely-horned symbiotic relationship between people, domesticated livestock and local rangelands in fragile and highly-variable ecosystems, often existing at the threshold of human survival. Pastoral groups inhabit arid areas where soil, rainfall and temperature conditions constrain land use options. This means that groups have to move seasonally between regions with their herds in search of grazing opportunities and freshwater sources. To reduce risks and

³⁸ Nori. M., Crawford. A., Switzer. J. (2005). "Mainstreaming Conflict Prevention in Development Co-operation: Tip sheet of the Links between Pastoral Livelihoods and Conflict Prevention". International Institute for Sustainable Development. www.iisd.org/natres/security

maximize the productivity of variable and widely-dispersed resources, such communities depend upon flexibility (through seasonal mobility, temporary rangeland exploitation and herd diversification) and social capital (within and between pastoralists and other groups) to ensure access to resources.

The precise interactions between the natural resource system, resource users and the larger geo-political system define pastoral livelihood strategies, vulnerability and capacity to adapt to change. Given the high reliance of pastoralists upon a limited natural resource base, these processes are critical in that they can 1) increase resource scarcity (as a product of shrinking rangelands and rising demand), and 2) reshape power distribution and resource management mechanisms.

Pastoralists are livestock herders found throughout Africa's arid regions, where they constitute between 12 and 16 per cent of the total population. East Africa has the largest variety and number of pastoral societies. Pastoralists occupy over 70 per cent of the Kenyan land and 50 per cent of Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. In most of these countries, pastoralists are minorities as they lead a different way of life in terms of culture, values and language⁶. Their lifestyles are considered incompatible with those of the majority of the population from where those who govern originate⁷. This partly explains why views and needs of pastoralists are rarely taken into consideration in national planning.

⁶ Omosa K. E., (2005). "The Impact of Water Conflicts on Pastoral Livelihoods: The Case of Wajir District in Kenya." International Institute for Sustainable development."

⁷ Bonfiglioli A. and Watson, (1992). Pastoralists at a Crossroads. Survival and Development issues in African Pastoralism. NOPA. Nairobi

Arid and semi-arid lands are critically important in Kenya, despite the fact that they are considered low in crop production. ASALs cover 80 per cent of Kenya's total area of 592,000 sq km. They sustain approximately 25 per cent of the country's human population and over 50 per cent of the country's livestock. The livestock industry contributes approximately 10 per cent to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The current livestock population in Wajir district is about 260,000 cattle; 280,000 camels; 265,000 sheep; and 130,000 goats, depending on 35 operational boreholes⁸. This means that there are more users of the limited water and, as such, chances of conflicts over access and use are very high. The fact that 80 per cent of Kenya's land area is ASAL, with pastoralism as the most suited land use activity, calls for a study to find out how the limited water resource is shared, resulting conflicts and the effect of the conflicts on people's livelihoods, and, subsequently, suggestions for the most practical way to manage the conflicts.

Pastoralism is a production strategy in which people raise herd animals as a means to earn a livelihood, often in ASALs. Pastoralism relies on the availability of water, pastures and labour to thrive—with water as the determining factor. The inadequate rainfall limits crop-farming activities so that the people are left with pastoralism or nomadic pastoralism as the most feasible and consistent viable livelihood.

Pastoralism builds up to get the most out of the opportunity provided by an excess of water and other resources in good seasons, and accepts losses in low seasons. They

⁸ WASDA Five Year Strategic Plan 2001–2005. Wajir South Development Association

realize this by increasing livestock numbers in good seasons to maximize available resources and carry over enough healthy stock to provide for subsistence during the dry seasons.

Pastoralism is also a highly flexible system. According to Umar⁹, the practice has evolved over time as the most efficient means of exploiting transient water under ecologically marginal conditions, and prevailing technological and economic situations. The pastoral resource-use pattern is characterized by risk-spreading and flexible mechanisms, such as mobility, communal land ownership, large and diverse herd sizes, and herd separation and splitting. The mixture of livestock is a system to manage risk. Small stock like goats and sheep, although more vulnerable to disease when compared with large stock, are cash buffers, for they have a high reproduction rate and they lactate during dry periods.

It is a fact that goats and camels can survive longer dry periods than cattle and sheep. The composition of livestock per family is determined by factors like personal preferences, ecological conditions, family size and available labour. Subsequently pastoral production is mostly subsistence based and aimed at providing a regular supply of food in the form of milk, meat and blood for household members. Pastoralists also trade in livestock, hides and skins, and milk, for other food products or for cash income to purchase grains, pay for education, health care and other services. Production is

⁹ Umar Abdi (ed). (1994). Symposium for the Sustainable Development of North Eastern Kenya. Kenya Pastoralist Forum. Crescent of Hope. Nairobi, Kenya.

usually organized within household units consisting of a male livestock-owner, his wife/wives, children and other dependants.

Research has shown that the number of livestock kept is to satisfy the pastoralists' subsistence needs. A reference family of 6.5 persons would require nine lactating cows for sustenance. Taking into account the low calving rate, the need for male cattle and the necessary presence of young stock in a reproductive herd, an average pastoral family would therefore require a total herd of at least 60 animals. In the dry seasons when lactating cows are fewer and milk yields are lower, a family of five adult equivalents would need as many as 593 animals. Adding on to this minimum number for subsistence is male herds, young immature stock, and old stock for social ceremonial functions, and herds to cover any future normal crisis like drought¹⁰.

Among livestock possession is a central element of one's social, economic and religious life. Without livestock, one is lost, as one will not have social status, power and cannot support a family. Animals form an integral part of social life and ideological values that guarantee the survival of individuals and the continuity of institutions. To pastoralists therefore, livestock are insurance as they provide social links through bride price, inheritance and as ritual objects. Therefore, livestock are a means of subsistence and prestige goods that enable individuals to establish social relations with other members of society. At the same time, the animals enable individuals to establish and achieve mystic, but not irrational linkage with the supernatural. Subsequently, the social

¹⁰ Lane Charles. (1996). Pastures Lost. Barabaig Economy, Resource Tenure, and the Alienation of their Land in Tanzania. Initiatives Publishers. Nairobi.

but non-market transactions using animals enable pastoralists to attain food and social security, social reproduction and reduce risks¹¹. In general livestock being a provider of basic needs, pastoralists have developed a special attachment that outsiders find hard to comprehend.

2.3 Conflict in Pastoral Areas

The border areas of northern Kenya have, over the last three or four decades, been the arena for a variety of ‘low intensity’ conflicts, some of which are linked to wider cross-border and regional conflicts. The roots of these conflicts lie in a combination of political, socio-economic and ecological factors. These include: A long history of economic and social marginalization from central authority; increased competition over resources; reduced access to land, water and other natural resources due to increasing demographic and environmental pressure, and reduced access to credit, markets and extension services.

From the ecology aspects, the arid and semi-arid areas of Kenya are characterized by the steady erosion of the natural resource and social asset base from which households and communities construct their (predominantly pastoral) livelihoods. This is further intensified by seasonal variations or shocks, such as drought. Pastoral livelihood systems have adapted to these ecological patterns through the development of highly resilient production systems: The nature of pastoral livelihoods demands a high degree of mobility guided by the need for access to water and grazing land without deference to State borders.

¹¹ Umar Abdi (ed). (1994). Symposium for the Sustainable Development of North Eastern Kenya. Kenya Pastoralist Forum. Crescent of Hope. Nairobi, Kenya

These systems have been extensively eroded, as a consequence of colonial and post-colonial legal definitions of land ownership and resource use. The increasing emphasis on individual rather than communal property rights has led to increasing restrictions on population movement and grazing rights, the foundations of pastoral economy, which has in turn undermined historic coping strategies and increased the vulnerability of pastoral communities. As a result, communities no longer retain the capabilities, activities and resources required to secure a minimal means of living. In addition to these factors, the proximity of these border regions to wider regional conflict: Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia has made access to small arms relatively easy. In a context of increasing vulnerability at the household level both from insecurity and economic decline, small arms are regarded as household or community assets. This is the case in Turkana and other districts in northern Kenya where communities acquire weapons as a means of protecting, replacing or accumulating assets from both cross-border and internal raiding.

2.4 Pattern of Conflict within the Northern Kenya Districts

The pattern of conflict in Kenya is a very complex one. It offers difficult perspective thereby making classification altogether varied. Broadly, the patterns are determined by; rainfall patterns and ecological conditions, clan settlement pattern and distribution, interaction/contagion with group outside the district and the country, with occupations orientation and finally with the existence of water points. In recent times, Government authority has exerted pressure on the pastoralists in an attempt to reduce

resource conflicts. Interventions mechanism such as sinking boreholes/wells, and controlling movements and banditry have also defined as patterns of conflicts.

The latter has ensured that settled life and development have emerged in certain areas thus reducing conflictual practices of nomadic pastoralism. It also ensured a controlled use of boreholes/wells thereby guarding potentials clashes between the users. In places with high Government visibility like district and divisional headquarters conflicts and insecurity are low compared to far away areas.

2.4.1 Rainfall and Ecological Determined Pattern of Conflict

This pattern is occasioned by rainfall regimes and relief. Abundant rainfall and favorable ecological zone form favorable areas for both settlement and grazing since in such conditions exist water and pasture. Conversely it can be a source of conflict with various groups from unfavorable areas aiming to have access to these resources. The question of control of such favorable zones and their resources generate conflict even among the groups occupying the very zones. A common feature of conflict in pastoralists is that it is intensive in wet areas neighbouring dry ones. Conflict is hence transported from dry zones to focus in wet zones. This form of conflict has been called according to Omondi, “shifted”¹² conflict. 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.

¹² Omondi P. A thesis on wildlife – Human Conflict in Kenya. Monreal McGill University (unpublished) pp.63-64

2.4.2 Clans Determined Pattern of Conflict

According to RANTCO studies of 1999, inter ethnic feuds and clan settlement determine nature of conflict in Kenya. Conflicts tend to be more frequent and protracted where heterogeneous clans exist and is low intensive where homogenous clans are found. Areas where a predominant clan, say Degodia or Ajuran exists, the conflict over resource is minimized unlike in contiguous zones where two or more clans border one another. However even among the heterogeneous groups or homogenous one, conflict over access and control of water and pasture is not uncommon¹³. Some elements in ethnic groups may benefit from control and access more than others, even the groups themselves sometimes have conflictual relationships and intermittent alliances of convenience that last over a variable period of time. Some groups owe allegiance to kins outside the district and to some extent political authorities outside Kenya¹⁴ as noted by Gallaty in 1993. The fluidity in territorial control and political alliance define pattern of conflict in Kenya.

2.4.3 Occupationally Determined Pattern of Conflict

Patterns of conflicts can be delineated by the kind of occupation residents involve in. Areas of nomadic pastoralists have perennial conflict though not necessarily continuous. Nomadic pastoralists cause conflict in others areas as they move in search of pasture. The wide plains often experience conflict as they form points of contact between different nomadic pastoralists. Agro-pastoralists and transhumance pastoralists being semi-nomadic pastoralists who may have exhausted their pastures and wanted

¹³ Jeremy Lind: Seminar Paper Presented To Ned Greeny As A Personal Experience 4/8/2002.

¹⁴ J.G. and Beonto P. Herdsmen, warriors, and traders, Pastoralism in Africa. Oxford San Francisco, Boulder 1991.

further access. To some extent recent attempt by the Government to create a settled life among the pastoralists has created a pattern whereby, people fight to own land individually as opposed to traditional communal ownership system”¹⁵.

“On the other hand, various groups that are engaged in activities such as roadside banditry, cattle raid and territorial control create another pattern of conflict. Bandits, mercenaries and raider create a situation of insecurity which further aggregate conflicts.”¹⁶

2.4.4 Water Points Determined Conflict Pattern

Water points can be dams constructed by the Government, community or a Non-Government Organization (NGO), natural wells or boreholes, springs and rivers both perennial and seasonal. Conflict is of high intensity in such points as people try to gain access and control. In recent times some regimes have been created by both the Government and Community to manage such resources. However such regimes are vulnerable during a time of pestilence or drought where negotiation are least seen as necessity¹⁷. Water points draw pastoralists from very far away territories and always they form a flash point of conflict.

¹⁵ Kraetli S. and Swift J Understanding and Managing Pastoral Conflict in Kenya. UK Institute of Development Studies, 1998.

¹⁶ Goldsmith P. (1997). Cattle Khat and Guns. Trade, Conflict and Security in Northern Kenya Highlands. Paper for USAID Conference

¹⁷ Negotiations are necessary for co-existence of pastoralists. It allows for peaceful passage and access and are normally done by the elders

2.4.5 Drought Determined Conflict Pattern

As already pointed throughout the body of the research, droughts are the triggers of resource conflict in Kenya. A chronology of successive droughts likes in the 1970s, 89s, 90s and recent ones also define a protracted pattern or history of conflict in Kenya Northern Kenya. Intensity of drought offset normal activities of people and results into a struggle or competition for resources. People in heavily stressed areas move to richer ecozones nearby, but such moves could be resisted or uproot the people in such zones to generate further conflict. Oromo from Ethiopia cross border into Kenya to graze when faced with drought in Ethiopia, same to Pokot in Kenya who go to Uganda in tiems of drought. Pastoralists from Kenya also flock areas of Marsabit, Garissa, Isiolo or Moyale in order to escape drought in their areas. A national survey report concluded that, “drought and feuds constitute the primary and growing threat to the pastoralist way of life and survival”¹⁸.

Overall conflict pattern determinant factors that give resource conflict a descriptive feature of being; spatial conflict depending on how widespread rainfall and ecological zones occur, cyclic; depending on how repeated droughts occur and how fragile territorial and political alliance are. The conflict is systemic when pastoralists move out of their area to outer Northern districts or are invaded by other groups from outside the district and the country like did Oromo from Ethiopia. Resource conflict in Kenya is a mirror manifestation of conflicts in Northern Kenya and to an extent form integral part of the greater Horn of Africa conflict system.

¹⁸ Poverty Reduction Survey. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics 2000

2.5 Actors and Their Influence in Kenya Conflict

Resource conflict in Northern Kenya and the Greater Horn conflict is now characterized by multiple numbers of actors and influence from within the Northern Kenya districts region and even internationally.

2.5.1 Herders and Pastoralists

Herders in general are known to be at the central point of Kenya conflict especially the nomadic pastoralists. They are the ones preoccupied with endless search for pasture and water for their livestock. They move along territories and ecozones which are claimed or controlled by other groups thereby generating pressure and conflict over the resources in those areas. As earlier noted, pastoralists are people or groups living in marginalized areas therefore virtually all conflicts in arid and semi-arid lands involve all the people in such areas. Their perception, cultures and attitudes can reduce, lighten and determine the nature of conflict¹⁹. Practices such as communal ownership of pasture, territorial control, need to own more animals etc, can determine the extent of conflict. For example, a Degodia herders, who venture into an Ajuran territory, elicits conflicts that involve both herder and the general population of both group as one either supports the action and the other sees it as a way of invasion that must be resisted. Such types of conflicts are common in pastoralists' areas.

¹⁹ Lewis I.M A Pastoral Democracy. A Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa. London Oxford university Press. 1961. PP 45-47

2.5.2 Age Group System and Organization

Conflict in pastoral areas has two dimensions namely: youth driven conflict and elder driven conflict. Young men are usually the fighters in both cases, but the elders have a determining role in planning, and negotiating out of conflict.

Elders have their own herd and family. They have the immediate role of ensuring good relations in order to widen access to resources, facilitate commercial activities and promote security in general. Sometimes they start violent conflicts in order to gain access to resources or political power. Ibrahim and Jenner studies of 1992 and 1985 clashes in the Northern Kenya districts, found out that it was driven by the elders. Married women also have a role in the conflict; they feed the family and do some trading. They have interest of securing market access, safeguarding their children, and increasing milk production. This means ample grazing land must be acquired or controlled in order to produce more milk.

In the case of young men, ambitions, prestige and recognition drive them into conflict. They are a group waiting to start their own homesteads, need to attract more girls for marriage and be able to have more wealth in form of cattle. They are advantaged by the fact that they are highly mobile and are keen to shake up existing power relationship within the society. As usual, all raids should first be approved by the elders, but occasionally young men, decide in secret and take quick raid without informing the elders of their intentions.

However any large scale daylight attacks that typify escalated conflict and war, require a degree of organization and mobilization and these only can be found within the

powers of elders and war leaders. Elders also control pastoral economy. They own the livestock, control resources and determine marriages. According to Baxter any young man in pastoral community aspires to become an elder in order to transform his status, alter power relations and have access to wealth.

However the internal structure of age-set system is undergoing a process of differentiation as noted by Simonse and Kurimoto in their studies. The status of “elder” is seen not as a biological principle of ageing beings, but as a social construction²⁰. In the past it encompassed age, economic control and political authority. This is now changing fast among the pastoralists. Study among the Turkana by Lamphear for example noted that being a war leader is to gain political authority independently from economic control and age²¹.

More political and economic transformation in pastoral societies has further disaggregated the attributes of the status of an “elder”. Political authority, economic control and age, still characterize the elder role. Such role of an elder can today be played by young men as well if they are wealthy or enjoy political authority like the chiefs and councillors do. To a certain extent conflictual interest in the age groups generate inter-group conflicts or affect the nature of conflicts. However, today there exists a collision between modern State and traditional pastoralist system that has made the use of the latter in conflict resolution system more difficult.

²⁰ Kurimoto E. and Simonse S (eds) Conflict, Age and power in North Africa. Age system in Transition oxford James Currey 1998

²¹ Lamphear J. Aspect of Turkana Leadership. *Journal of African History*. 29 1976 pp.27-39

2.5.3 Business Groups

These are mostly arms dealers and livestock traders. They often 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. In Goldsmith's study, weapon traders also are the ones marketing raided livestock. He also noted that the political transformation in Somalia after 1991 generated a change of 'shifita' banditry towards financed and well connected trade barons who recruits from retired army personnel; and school leavers to form a new class of professional and sophisticated highwaymen".

Together with mercenaries (group of hired fighters), commercial and political raids are increasingly, organized around wage labour. Mercenaries and guns are used by other clans or groups to counter raids or help such groups acquire pasture and grazing territory for them. In recent times nomadic pastoralists are defended or spear headed by hired groups well armed to enable them graze and water livestock in hostile territories.

2.5.4 Political Leaders and Warlords

Political leaders such as Members of Parliament (MPs) and party leaders and councillors can be facilitators of a conflict especially by their acts of commissions and omissions²². They can also directly promote conflict by certain propaganda or while competing for political leadership like in general elections and party elections²³.

Politicians and warlords can sponsor raids as a way of raising fund for political

²² Fratkon E. (1994). Resurgence of Inter pastoralists warfare in Kenya. Conference Paper on Resurgent Ethnic Conflict and Tribalism in Africa. Atlanta USA

²³ Amisi B. K. (1997) Conflict in Riftvalley and Western Kenya. USAID Conference Paper on Conflict Resolution in the area. Horn of Africa June.

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. However the practices had distinctly remained a feature in Somalia more than in Kenya due to central authority's control over politicians in the latter case.

2.5.5 Administrators

The crop of District Commissioners, District Officers and Chiefs who are charged with administering security in the district have been identified to be part and parcel of conflict. They are sometimes involved in raid either as facilitators or promoters with intention of taking a share of the loot at times. Ibrahim and Jenner found that during 1992-94 clashes in Kenya, chiefs had a major role in funding and directing the conflict. The administrators also misuse security forces in certain areas while favoring certain groups hence fueling further conflict. Where crucial resources like water are guarded by security forces they favour certain communities seen as either perpetrator of conflict or not worth the equity in resource utilization.

2.5.6 Civil Society Organizations and Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

Civil society in a local area of conflict is subject to stereotype attitude of those local groups towards one another hence may engage in activities that promote direct conflict. Non Governmental Organizations that operate well in an area will discriminate other users seen to be foreigners. External agencies on the other hand may fuel conflict by providing easily manipulable aid or project such as; giving power to the warlords who are in a position to control aid, providing additional income to disputants, blindly alerting or confirming the existing balance of power between the disputants or finally by creating

advantageous conditions for a refugees and “conflict-destitute” people in relation to the local standards.

Project investments for example in new water points, can jeopardize customary resource tenure system and increase dispute and violence, their attitude towards local organizations and conflict management traditions may hinder conflict resolution. Poor attitude towards Islamic organizations as Goldsmith noted can transform conflict into a fully blown religious conflict. However where relations and attitudes are positive, conflict can greatly be reduced because doors remain open to negotiations, discussions and communication facilitations.

2.5.7 Refugees

Large numbers of refugees from neighbouring countries, particularly in drought or conflicts, can contribute to increased insecurity. In Kenya, refugees were one of the causes of the violence in 1992-95, although not the main one. Furthermore, refugee repatriation operations can be used by non-refugees from the host country or from a neighbouring country as a channel for clandestine migration and to gain access to new resources with the help of the international agencies. Marco Bassi²⁴ argues that during the large UNHCR procedure operation for the repatriation of Ethiopian refugees from Kenya in 1992-1993, as the UNHCR procedure for registration in refugee camps was based on an individual’s own Statement of identity, a significant number of Gabbra and Garre pastoralists from Kenya and Somalia were able to join the Ethiopian refugee-returnee flow by exploiting kin ties and linguistic affinity with Oromo groups. The status of Oromo refugee ensured them rights to repatriation into Boran area and long term

²⁴ Bassi M. (1997) Returnees in Moyale District, Southern Ethiopis: New Means for an old inter-Ethnic Game: in: Hogg R., (ed) Pastoralists, ethnicity and the State in Ethiopia, Haan, London

assistance by the United Nations (UN) and other international agencies, which could be used to gain access to resources traditionally controlled by the Boran.

2.5.8 The State and its Determination of Conflict

Conflict in pastoral areas is often associated with their marginal location. Pastoralists are seen as not only geographically marginal, but also as politically and culturally marginal. Their presumed distance from modern institutions and from the controlling action of the State is often accepted as a self-evident explanation for widespread violence.

In parts of north Kenya the State is technically present (for example through the army and the chief system), but is ineffective (for example the soldiers have no adequate ammunition or fuel for their vehicles). This inaction of the State is dangerous in various ways. From a local point of view the State is never innocuous or absent. The inaction of the State is more likely to be perceived as intentional, deliberate discrimination rather than objective weakness. The State's inaction therefore can contribute directly to escalation of conflict.

Furthermore, the presence of an inactive State destroys local initiatives. As the State monopolizes the role of arbiter and administrator of justice, in the case of violent conflict, its functionaries fill the space that may be available for peaceful management of the situation. When their promises are not fulfilled, or when they appear to support one party to the disadvantage of the other, then it is usually too late to seek alternative forms of mediation, and violence is likely to escalate. The authority of the elders, who could provide an alternative forum for justice, is usually associated with the authority of the administration, although not entirely dependent on it. In this way, when the

administration loses face with young men impatient to obtain justice, the authority of the elders is also jeopardized and is no longer perceived as a viable alternative.

Violence is in theory a monopoly of the State, so any kind of violence is by definition a challenge to the State's authority. Open violence, even when it is not directed against the State itself, is always an affirmation of political autonomy from the Government as Kurimoto noted²⁵. In this light, violent and sometimes indiscriminate interventions by the security forces appear very much as primarily directed towards re-establishing the State's unique right to violence, and only secondarily towards conflict resolution.

On the other hand, direct conflict-resolution interventions by the State in the form of military operations for disarmament, like those carried out with heavy weaponry (including fighting helicopters) against Pokot, Turkana and Karamojong in the mid 1980s in Kenya reported by Dietz²⁶, are likely to change the balance of power between different groups, with a consequent rise in violence.

Finally, any analysis of the role of the State in situations of conflict should acknowledge the existence of heterogeneous and often conflictual interest within the State structure itself. Different apparatus of the State, such as District Commissioners, Members of Parliament, chiefs or security committees, may have very different agendas, and local people may have a certain degree of awareness of such differences. The notion of State should therefore be disaggregated into its various components.

²⁵ Kurimoto E. and Simonse S (eds) Conflict, Age and power in North Africa. Age system in Transition oxford James Currey 1998

²⁶ Dietz T. (1993). The State, the Market and the Decline of Pastoralism: challenging some myths, with evidence from West Pokot in Kenya/Uganda in: Markakis J. (ed) conflict and the Decline in pastoralism in the Horn of Africa, Macmillan, London

2.5.9 Women and Children

Increasingly, young boys are directly involved in fighting, at least in a defensive role. The “gestation period” of future fighting manpower (as short as 8-9 years if the availability of modern weapons is high) is included by Belshaw²⁷ among the variables which can affect cumulative differentiation in power between pastoral groups. In many pastoral societies, women sing war songs. These songs ‘normally taunt the men and incite them towards more fighting. As such songs reach elders, youth, or the business elite; they can make or break reputations and are an important source of motivation of conflict.

Although the social position of women in pastoral societies tends to give them only a minor part in formal mediation systems, women may be important in informal contexts. Among Somali for example, a woman’s ties to her lineage of birth are not fully severed with marriage²⁸. As women marry out of their clan, they are key figures in inter-clan linkages and can provide crucial channels for communication between rival clans. This is true also for women who joined their husbands’ social group through abduction. Thus abduction of girls during the raids may have the double effect of calling for retaliation²⁹.

The background and nature of conflict of Kenya can only clearly be understood when factors of determination like climatic conditions, social groupings and

²⁷ Belshaw D. and Malinga M. (1999). The Kalanshnikov economies of the Eastern Sahes: Cumulative or cyclical differentiation between Nomadic Pastoralists? Paper presented at the first workshop of the study group on conflict and security of the development Studies Association. South Bank University March.

²⁸ Lewis I.M A Pastoral Democracy. A Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa. London Oxford university Press. 1961. PP 45-47

²⁹ Mkangi K. (1997). Indigenouse Social Mechanisms of Conflict Resolution in Kenya: A Contextualized paradigm for Examining conflict in Africa. University of Nairobi.

organizations, and the very actors of such conflicts are brought out. It should also be noted that the patterns are also determined by the actors, groups, practices and the environment. With the introduction of modern players like refugees, mercenaries and their tools of trade like automatic weapons and communication equipment, conflict in Northern Kenya arid districts is changing fast and taking new dimensions with devastating consequences. The causes that are to be examined in the next section are closely related to complex relationships between groups in conflict areas with the environment, external actors and the central authority. The analysis of historical perspective, actors', environment and interactions in Northern Kenya districts will also further facilitate the study and understanding of the Greater Horn conflict system.

2.6 Causes of Natural Resource Based Conflict among Pastoralists Communities in Kenya

2.6.1 Structural Causes

According to Mwangi "Conflict is Endemic in all Societies"³⁰ This means that wherever there are people, wherever there is society, there will always be conflict. He says that conflict in society and among people, cannot be eliminated, because it is part of life. Several structural causes have been identified when discussing conflict in Northern Kenya. They border on factors such as competition for resources, cultural values, scarcity of rainfall and poverty.

2.6.1.1 Competition for Scarce Resources

³⁰ Mwangi M. (2001). "Community Based Approaches and Crisis Prevention Peace and Conflict Management in Kenya". (unpublished).

Competition for scarce resources, accounts for greater part of Kenya conflict. The scarce resources in question include water and grazing land. According to pastoralists themselves, development agencies, government officials and people who frequent the area, competition for scarce resources was identified as the single most important factor. These respondents as usual argue that the root cause of many conflicts between various groups within Northern Kenya districts as well as conflicts with groups outside the district are based on access and use of dry season grazing areas.

Pastoralist way of life requires effective management of dry season grazing areas for the pastoral system to function effectively. Pastoralists often cite that the most recent impact that adversely affected their way of life relates to loss of access to key grazing areas because most open land has been alienated for other uses such as ranching, irrigation and personal use³¹.

The imposition of colonial boundaries in the dawn of 19th Century has had an adverse impact on pastoralists in Northern Kenya. The boundaries cut pastoralists from their traditional dry season and drought reserve areas. The colonial impact has been that some people within and outside the Northern Kenya districts started to claim land ownership by fencing and acquiring title deeds unlike in the past when such lands were communally owned and used. It has been noted that Government legislation on land is heavily biased towards sedentary groups and agriculture. Ellis noted that in Northern Kenya large areas of trust land are lost to irrigation schemes, game reserves, wheat

³¹ USAID/REDSO (2002). Assessment Report on Greater Horn of Africa, peace Building Project. Washington USA, Management Systems International 2002 pp.41-42

farming and cultivation and this often leads to open conflict³². Renewal of territorial land claims and counter claims among the different ethnic groups are prevalent in Northern Kenya districts. Pastoralism in recent time has become a practice almost entirely in semi-arid areas such as Northern Kenya districts due to modern Government land use system.

With impact of territorial claim brought by imposition of colonial rule, large numbers of pastoralists are crowded onto more marginal lands due to alienation. Within the semi arid and arid pastoral zones intense competition between pastoral groups for the remaining areas suitable for dry season grazing often arises. The competition is increased when drought is severe and/or long lasting. Areas within and adjacent the Northern Kenya, where agriculture is practiced, competition is often heightened by population pressure. Whereas competition for resources especially in dry season grazing areas has been identified as the root cause of main conflicts in Kenya , this competition, however, is itself a consequence of the combination of the various structural causes of conflict. The competition points out to the problems pastoralists face in their efforts to continue with their system of natural resource management.

2.6.1.2 Traditional Pastoral and Cultural Values

Traditional cultural practices of the pastoralists can be said to be another cause of conflict. They (traditionalists) have competed for pasturelands and water sources for centuries. This practice has manifested itself in cattle raiding although not originally considered a crime. Up to recent times cattle raiding was an acceptable cultural practice

³² Ellis J. Climate (1995). Vulnerability and Complex Ecosystem Dynamics Implications for Development in Living with Uncertainty: New Directions in Pastoral Development in Africa. I, Scoones (ed) International Institute for Environment and Development. London.

and even the raiders were respected. It was meant to portray the stronger community or groups or individuals who conducted successful raids. The raids were also a method of restocking herds after drought or other calamities. They often elicit-defence, revenge and counter actions that make conflict among the district protracted.

Marriage institutions also had a hand in the conflict in pastoral life. Mature youths often go to conduct raids ostensibly to raise a certain number of cattle to present as dowry or bride price. Where bride prices are high among the communities like the Matheliko in Uganda, Borana and Turkana in Kenya, more skillful and dreaded raiders often, according to Sandra Gray³³, emerge. Among certain clans in Kenya a bride price can be 20 – 30 heads of cattle, plus or including a number of assorted camels, goats and donkeys. In the past, it used to be very difficult and required frequent or brutal large scale raids to raise the number of cattle required. However, with acquisition of modern weapons, it has become relatively easier to invade and raid one clan for the livestock. Interestingly other clans have also built their capacities to defend themselves and also raid others making conflict deeply rooted in the Northern Kenya. The demands of bride price clearly encourage young men to steal or to raid other communities. The youths are often encouraged by girls and women who sing and dance war songs thereby encouraging young men to prove their bravery and gain wealth by raiding for livestock³⁴. Tribal prophets or seers and elders at time encourage youth to raid hoping to share in the loots.

³³ Gray, S (2000). The Experience of Violence and Pastoral Identity in Southern Karamojong: *Human Organization* Vol.59 No.4.

³⁴ Ibrahim and Jenner (1997). Wajir Community Based Conflict Management Seminar Paper for the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa

2.6.1.3 Unreliable Climate

Decreasing rainfall and rainfall variability that often defines the climatic pattern of arid and semi arid; Northern Kenya districts are characterized by an erratic and unreliable rainfall normally averaging about 200 mm per year³⁵. The erratic rainfall makes the Northern Kenya vulnerable to drought. The Northern Kenya has had a pattern of drought in every 5 – 10 years per decade since 1960s. Longer term, desiccation has an impact not only on rangeland production but also on species diversity and nutritive quality of forage plants, affecting ultimately the size of the herds that can be sustained. Food stress in most parts of the Northern Kenya result into perennial famine. Generally food insecurity, famine and drought result into conflict as people struggle to cope up.

2.6.1.4 Poverty

Widespread absolute poverty is highly visible in Northern Kenya. The residents have extremely limited access to education, health services and safe water supplies compared to the majority of other districts in non-pastoralist areas of Kenya. Frequent inter-clan wars have reduced the already very limited access to these basic services in the Northern Kenya district. Besides, there has also been poorly developed physical and administrative infrastructures, which would be necessary for resource development. Livestock farming has been the only viable economic activity in the Northern Kenya, yet livestock marketing opportunities are meager. More so, transporting the same to viable markets is restricted by poor roads and hostile banditry along the highways within and outside the Northern Kenya districts. This means that people in the Northern Kenya are left with little or no viable economic alternatives.

³⁵ Wajir District Development Plan 1997-2001

Young men and women are the most affected lots in the Northern Kenya districts because opportunities are limited both in the traditional pastoral sector as well as outside the sector. Large numbers of people have dropped out of pastoralism, primarily because they have lost their livestock to drought, raids or disease. Many of these people hence become destitute and have been so for many years. According to a 1992 – 2015 Development Plan Report, the highest incidence to poverty in the country account for nearly 80% of the population³⁶. The report reveals that pastoral districts provide the most intractable poverty problems in the country. Kraetli and Swift have summed the overall situation of conflict in Kenya by maintaining that it has to be seen against a background of a history of active land alienation, mass displacements, cultural and physical aggression and political marginalization of pastoral population. The people also perceive that conflict in the Northern Kenya districts is transferring itself from a structural to intermediate one or a proximate one that can be aggravated by triggering one. In the course of a field research by Mohammed Saadia, a villager of Wagalla illustrated this scenario by lamenting,

“We lived with drought and other problems for many centuries and were able to cope and recover. We are not able to do so now because our coping mechanisms have been rendered useless by pressures from many directions, populations have increased, there is insecurity everywhere, there are boreholes every few kilometers interfering with grazing patterns and our social support system has been eroded by urbanization and individualism more and more people are becoming poor, migrating to town and swelling the urban destitute³⁷”.

³⁶ Kenya National Poverty Eradication Plan UNSO 1999 – 2015

³⁷ Mohammed. S, (2002). Poverty and development management. Masters of Science, University of Birmingham. Unpublished paper

The structural causes of conflicts in Northern Kenya and other pastoral districts need to be effectively addressed in order to manage conflict in the whole Northern districts of Kenya.

2.6.2 Intermediate Causes of Conflict

These are sometimes called proximate causes. They include things or intervening actions that either authorities or individuals or agencies should undertake to create peace and development opportunities. The causes are deliberate neglect or actions that fail to take into account immediate needs. They, include systematic neglect, politicization of conflict, interference, unsound food recovery policies, media highlights, declining traditional authority and commercialization of raids. Some of the causes here are themselves effects of violent conflicts hence help to understand the cyclic nature of conflict in the Northern Kenya.

2.6.2.1 Systematic Neglect

According to a study done by USAID/REDSO in 2002, it was found that, a strong ant pastoralist bias exists in the dominant society in each of the three countries studied (Kenya, Uganda and Sudan)³⁸. The bias has produced a result of a systematic government neglect of pastoral areas. It also revealed that pastoral systems of nature resource management and pastoral culture are not understood or accepted by the dominant cultures. In Kenya and Northern Kenya district in particular, conflict has been noted as normal but, disputes are perceived to be exacerbated by a government approach to development policies of Kenya, pastoral development has been addressed under the

³⁸ The report on Kenya focused on Turkana and Pokot communities

agricultural sector. This, they say, has resulted in the lack of comprehensive synthesis and analysis of the development agenda in the arid districts of Kenya.

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. Pastoralists have been marginalized in terms of development and access to health, education, shelter and water facilities. The evident perception by people of Government neglect was recorded from a participant during a participatory poverty assessment in Wajir in 2001. He said,

“We have waited for 38 years for the Government to carryout development in our district so that we would receive basic services such as schools, health facilities, water supplies and good roads like other Kenyans, now we are told, the Government has no money and we have to fend for ourselves it is not fair.....We need our share too”.

The Government has directed its development policies towards the higher agricultural areas of the country due to factors such as; the political clout of the ethnic groups in these areas and economic argument that the returns on investments are much greater and surer than in pastoral areas. Lack of appropriate and effective land tenure policies and laws in pastoral areas have meant that pastoralists land rights have not been respected or protected. Parliamentarians from the pastoral areas have been trying unsuccessfully to articulate pastoral issues although little attention is being achieved. But generally, raising of pastoral issues being raised by parliamentarians and prominent individuals the seriousness of pastoralism is declining with time. This has been due to

the fact that such individuals are also critical and dismissive of pastoral cultural values and portray conflict in pastoral areas as a question of laws and order.

The Government tried to address development issues in the pastoral areas especially in the mid 1980s but this did not go far. The Sessional Paper of 1986 advocated for the promotion of development and invested in high potential of the arid districts in order to achieve greater and faster investment.

However due to hard economic conditions created by economic liberalization and donor conditions, Government and other agencies deliberately withdraw from supporting development efforts in pastoral areas. Other agencies cited to have withdrawn were Norwegian Rural Aid for Development (NORAD) and KIFINCO along with a government funded project called Rural Development Fund (RDF). This means development in pastoral areas stagnated and instead some skilled people and wealthy businessmen from other non pastoral areas moved in to enjoy available business opportunities and cheap labour. Other land speculators invaded areas that were used for grazing during dry seasons and claimed ownership thereby setting in motion exploitative policies in pastoral areas. Due to growing marginalization and poverty, a deep sense of alienation and detachment from government is highly manifest in Northern Kenya district, meaning that conflict remains highly potent.

2.6.2.2 Politicization of Conflict and Regional Instability

Northern Kenya district lies at the margin of the Greater Horn of Africa conflict system. The Northern Kenya hence has been adversely affected by several decades of instability in the region. Civil war in Ethiopia, collapse of Government in Somalia and

the inter clan wars in the neighbouring Northern Kenya s have also contributed to instability in the area. The instability in the region brought destabilizing effect where insecurity due to proliferation of modern weapons and mercenaries combined to generate a State of business³⁹. Enormous increase in modern weapons, increased conflict and very well armed groups raiding others for livestock and political mileage.

The absence of effective Government control also gives a boom to other groups keen on exploiting such a vacuum to make fortune and create a territory. Besides, there are people in authority like Members of Parliament, Councilors and chiefs who twist conflict situations in their favour. A sitting member of Parliament from a certain clan say, Merrille, will use his position to defend his clan and brand others as either rebellious or bad. The leaders also intervene to protect their kinsmen to restore law and order. In effect other clans view the ones with elected leaders as subjugating them or as darlings of authority at the expense of others. The result here is that tension and animosity exists between clans.

There are many instances where leaders politicize security issues thereby rendering Government action impossible. Instances like Wagalla massacre are often cited with grave effects by leaders in situations where such reminders create negative attitude towards authorities and make revenge by the offended clan to remain the only

³⁹ Lewis F.M.A (1961). A Study of Pastoralism and Politics Among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa London New York Toronto Oxford Univ press.

viable alternative. Many instances of conflict occur as a result of politicization by leaders⁴⁰.

2.6.2.3 Modern Weapons

Northern Kenya District is a wash with modern weapons which are used by raiders, pastoralists and mercenaries in protecting their interests. Modern fire arms enter the Northern Kenya s from Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and other neighbouring tribes. As a result of their effectiveness, each pastoral group competes for acquisition of these weapons which are sold by armed traders and refugees. The proliferation of weapons has become an increasingly important income generating activity for some pastoralists and businessmen in Northern Kenya who specialize in selling both guns and ammunition. The pastoralists have often argued that they acquired these weapons for self defense against other raiders and enemies. They also blame the situation on the Government saying it has failed to effectively protect them and their property. However, such arguments by the people as noted by Sandra Gray are ironical: instead, they have used the modern weapons to preserve their way of life as pastoralists by fending off Government and other encroachments.

Proliferation of weapons heightened shift banditry which in the recent past has been experiencing transformation. According to Goldsmith, trade barons recruited from retired army personnel and school leavers to create a new class of professionals and sophisticated highway men. Commercial and political raids are also conducted by

⁴⁰ Amisi B.K. (1997). Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya. Seminar Paper presented to the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Great Horn of Africa.

mercenaries using sophisticated weapons. Hired fighters with experience in armed conflict in neighbouring countries, or youngsters, urban unemployed school leavers or occasional wage labourers form this band of mercenaries or hired warriors used by different groups and individuals to attain their goals. Modern weapons account for high number of deaths in conflicts involving pastoral groups. They are also responsible for changing conflict patterns and systems depending on where resources and territories are contested.

The Government has often come under a stinging criticism for its ways of handling conflicts in pastoral districts as well as lack of an appropriate and effective policy to deal with violent conflict in Northern Kenya district and other adjacent ones. In cases where Government intervened in the past, a permanent scar, fear, curse and dejection linger in people's minds. Where such interventions in the past was done like in Wagalla in 1984 and other similar instances since 1960, authorities are remembered for using high and heavy handedness meted by Armed forces, General Service Unit (GSU) Administration Police and in some instances vigilantes (local militia) on the people. They also leave painful memories and often accused of rape, injuries (maiming) and displacement. The experience on the use of military personnel generates a suspicion atmosphere and instead in some instance, the residents in pastoral areas sympathize with bandits. Ibrahim and Jenner in their research in the area remarked:

“In Wajir district the military used to get involved in every conflict and often their harassment of the local population, including habitual rape, made those people sympathize with the bandits”.

Apart from the military, the government security coordinator, the Provincial administration whose agents are provincial, district commissioners, district officers and

chiefs were also blamed for ineptitude, complicity and instigation. During the 1992-94 clashes in Northern Kenya, chiefs had a major role in fending and directing the conflict.

Due to mixed and ineffective policy by the Government to address conflict, there were several allegations that the Government lacked political will to significantly deal with violent conflict. Specifically, allegations questioned why the Government cannot stop commercial raiding, proliferation of weapons and arresting of the well known warlords and arms traffickers. It is not often rare to hear people question how a Government with the monopoly of means of eliminating violence and at its disposals has helicopters, tanks and communication equipment can not track the raiders and bandits.

Respondents often wonder how a few invading raiders can traverse a large territory covering hundreds of kilometers with thousands of cattle, camels and donkeys cannot be spotted by helicopters in the air and be confronted or rounded. They also ask how it could be that criminal gangs of up to 1,000 men strong could organize and operate without coming to the attention of authorities. However, for conflict to be effectively managed in the district, Government and local residents should collaborate in order to achieve a success.

2.6.2.4 Relief Provision versus Development

The Kenya Government through programs like ASALS, RDF and Relief Rehabilitation agencies has provided considerable humanitarian assistance to people in the Northern Kenya over the past decades; communities have been organized into relief provision communities to co-ordinate relief activities. Some churches, Islamic NGOs and international donors have shown marked presence in the Northern Kenya . However,

long term relief has been provided without the resultant development of income generation opportunities for the recipients. Not all assistance has been well thought through. The relief effort in Northern Kenya has kept large numbers of people alive but there has not been the development of livelihoods for the great majority of residents. The residents therefore, have been left with little opportunity of self provisioning or getting ahead in life⁴¹. This becomes one of the reasons why banditry has flourished in the regime.

Civil society organizations, NGOs and other agencies operating in the district have been responsible for conflicts in the Northern Kenya through their activities. The instances where possibility of conflict scenario occur are noted when, such agencies give power and prestige to the warlords who are in a position to control aid, provide an additional source of income to the disputants, blindly alter or confirm the existing balance of power between disputants and finally create advantageous status for refugees and conflict destitute in relation to local standards. In cases where project sites are not carefully negotiated, they may jeopardize customary resource tenure system and result into disputes and violence. Where western donors ignore local religions (Islamic NGOs) and Community Based Organizations (CBOs), they face resistance from the locals. The agencies attempt to manipulate the locals towards certain lines which are not consistent with the people's expectations.

⁴¹ Baxter P.T.W and Hogg R. (1990) Property, Poverty and People changing Rights in Property and Problems of Pastoral Development. University of Manchester pp 20-26.

2.6.2.5 Interference by Political Leaders in Development Activities

This has an impact of significantly hampering social-economic development, and it has reduced willingness of donors and NGOs to invest resources in particular areas. Members of Parliament in the ruling parties are often accused of trying to interfere with projects funded by Government and donors, such interference are often cited as the reasons why a few NGOs exist in the district or why some NGOs avoid the area leaving it to be without many development agencies which could have assisted alongside Government efforts.

2.6.2.6 Weakening of Traditional authority Structures.

In pastoral life, raids for more livestock or revenge used to be authorized by the elders and got blessings from the “seers” (diviners or prophets). At times raids were even investigated by such individuals. Raiding nowadays occurs even without the formal sanction of elders. Gulliver in his research found out that: “often young men decide in secret and take action quickly without informing the elders of their intentions”⁴².

The authorities of the elders were maintained by an age – system organization which also defined a division of labour. *Adia* “paying group” system using *xeer* tradition laws used to solve conflict in Somali society⁴³. Today the collision between the modern State and traditional pastoralist system has made the use of traditional Somali conflict resolution system more difficult. The modern laws are entirely different from the ones of

⁴² Gulliver P.H. “The Age – Set Organization of the Jie Tribe”. *Journal by Little P.D.* The Royal Anthropological Institute LXXXIII(2) 1953 pp 147-168

⁴³ Little P.D. (1990) Cross – Border Cattle Trade and Food Security in the Kenya Somalia Borderland. University of Kentucky pp.120

“*xeers*” system. Simonse and Kurimoto have also pointed out “confrontational sceneries between antagonistic social actors and juniors, men and women, territorial units within an ethnic group, and ethnic groups”⁴⁴. Lamphear found during his study of Somali society that in modern times the social role of elders is not anymore a prerogative of age but can be played by young men as well, if they are wealthy or enjoy political authority such as chiefs or councilors⁴⁵.

Modernity has greatly altered power relation in pastoral areas and with biting economic pressure, youths can sanction raids to cater for their interests or resist the powers of elders regarding surrendering of raided livestock or by simply failing to honour traditional conflict resolution system. The conflicting interests and altering power relations make conflict potentials hugely multiplied. When dealing with conflict management in Somali society, power relation and its shift must be understood.

2.6.2.7 Role of the Media

Media has recently flourished in the country with more liberation of the air waves and prints. This means that no part of the country is far away from media scrutiny and coverage. Inaccurate and brazen reporting by the media can create a situation of animosity or serve to escalate conflict. However of great importance here is the image the media is painting on certain clans, groups or leaders where such entities are presented as war-like. Inflammatory, rebellious or bandits actions by the authorities that follow are tailored to cope with problems as presented. Media can also influence revenge, tongue

⁴⁴ Simonse S. and Kurimoto(eds)(1974). Conflict, Age and Power in Northern East Africa. Oxford University

⁴⁵ Lamphear J. (1976) Aspects of Turkana Leadership During the Era of Primary Resistances. *Journal of African History* pp.29-39

lashing or the authorities for either being an accomplice, inept or insensitive. In 1998 the media presentation of Wagalla massacre presented the Kenya Government as weak and lethargic in the face of Oromo invasion from Ethiopia. People often advocate for revenge or self defense because authorities cannot defend them. However where pastoralists involve in clashes with agriculturalists, pastoralists' are portrayed as war-like and perennial criminals. Media often campaign for disarming pastoralists notwithstanding eminent dangers lurking in the neighbouring territories.

In general writers give biased reporting against pastoralists hence they are greatly misunderstood. Conflict management in pastoral areas needs to be greatly understood and accurately documented. Leaders from pastoral communities also need to get involved in image improving campaigns that will popularize pastoralists interests and involvements.

2.6.2.8 Commercial Raiding

Commercial raiding is a recent phenomenon that has greatly altered conflict nature in pastoral districts. The organizers of this deadly business are; powerful wealthy individuals that include livestock traders, arms dealers who often sponsor livestock raids. Young men organized as raiders, mercenaries and bandits are often supplied with weapons even on credit in order to go and conduct raids. Some refugees and former soldiers especially from rebel groups and collapsed Somalia Government are involved in commercial raiding of livestock. According to respondents, stolen livestock are herded to predetermined destinations. These livestock are transported without Government movement permits or quarantine procedures. The same respondents, while accepting that

such commercial raids exist, are however, very reluctant to talk about it in detail. This scenario points out to the fact that there are strong powers behind it.

The practice increased suspicion, revenge adventures and tension among the pastoralists. According to Goldsmith, political transformation in Somalia has led to the increase of the practice. He traced a place in Lamu called Mukunumbi as the market where livestock stolen are sold with the sponsorship of trade barons. Such far away markets are meant to defeat the practice of traditional livestock recovery and compensation by the offending clans. Jeremy Lind found out among the pastoralists in Turkana that “commercial raid is a more important factor contributing to violence than ecological pressure”⁴⁶. It is also the cause of reduction in the per capita numbers of cattle among the pastoralists. The youths and people whose livestock were raided are left with no means of livelihood and are unable to integrate effectively in the social set up of the pastoralists. The chances of acquiring wealth to enable bride price get greatly reduced and a condition of hopelessness begins to appear.

With the commercialization of cattle raids, the value of cows is no longer simply cultural but it is tied directly and concretely to market forces. The absence of social sanction to govern and limit raids means violent raiding increases revenge killings, proliferate raids and cycles of violence grow more and more serious calling for an urgent attention to pastoral areas.

⁴⁶. Jerem Lind – Personal Communications to Need Greeley on 4.8.2002

2.6.3 Immediate Triggers of Conflict

The trigger causes are the most immediate incidences that lead to violence. They are mostly a reaction to certain specific events that have impacts in people's perception and require immediate response such as violent incidences, theft raids, Government operations and inflammatory public speeches.

2.6.3.1 Specific Violent incidences

A violent incident in a certain area can trigger hostilities between groups. The 1998 massacre at Wagalla led to accusations and counter accusations among certain groups. People in Northern Kenya district protected and sympathized with Oromo raiders from Ethiopia. Accusing fingers were pointed at the Gabbra clan which has linguistics affinity with Oromo groups⁴⁷. Other incidents like isolated case of murder of an individual over land, pasture or business or political campaigns can easily breach a peaceful co-existence or years and lead to a protracted violence.

2.6.3.2 Livestock Theft

A series of livestock theft elicit retaliatory response by the affected groups. The group frequently raided would argue that they have waited long enough for Government intervention or elders to organize reconciliation and all have failed to act promptly hence "enough was enough". Sometimes elders are pushed by the youths to sanction retaliatory raids if formal Government promises are producing no results. The scenario of this kind often defines protracted conflict between groups within Northern Kenya districts and other surrounding districts. Incidences where modern weapons are used for raids often leave trail of deaths and loss of great numbers of cattle, calling for immediate revenge.

⁴⁷ Garreh clans in Ethiopia and Gabbra clans in Kenya are known to share linguistic affinity with Oromo groups in Ethiopia, Marco Bassi report

Mercenaries, hired raiders and vigilantes are quickly set in motion to deal with the situation and where contacts are made between different armed groups; conflict is immediately violent and fatal.

2.6.3.3 Raid of One Group on Another

As often happens between different clans, raid by one group upon another result into another conflict. The groups can be perennial enemies previously friendly groups or on commercial raids and their action can lead to violent conflict. Cases often are cited by respondents where certain clan block access to resources or passage as a way of punishing the other clan for a previous act. Unfortunately, the blocked group may use equal force to gain access or passage thereby triggering immediate violent conflict.

2.6.3.4 Government Military Operations

When a raid of adverse impact takes place, Government often sends security forces to punish the offenders by arresting, flushing them out or disarming them. The operations in most cases turn brutal and affect a large number of people. Northern Kenya district has seen a number of such incidences from colonial times to modern Government's responses. The punished group often gets bitter and the same to the other groups who get hard pressed to produce criminals or stolen animals or simply compensate the offended clans. Security forces are often blamed for deaths, defilements, rapes, destructions and alienations. Where such blames have been apportioned by the leaders, conflict between the Government and the people emerge; at the same time clans themselves engage in further conflict as a way of exposing their anger to one another.

Graver incidences are witnessed where security operations are conducted to flush out criminals, recover guns and disarming one community. Rapid acquisition of arms

after such raids heightened conflicts even during the exercise armed people escape to other areas thereby fuelling conflict in such areas. Disarmed groups also suffer the consequence by being left vulnerable to the neighbours or engage in conflict to achieve parity with neighbours. Leaders are often divided over such exercises which portray them as means by the Government to lift leverage of certain groups against others. Disarmament of the pastoralists has never achieved its intended goals instead it leaves them in a terrible blame game.

2.6.3.5 Inflammatory Public Speeches and Inflammatory Media

A charged conflict situation is often delicate and requires reason, restraints and conciliatory gestures. However this is not always the case in conflict – prone areas. Any inflammatory speeches by politicians can trigger violent conflict. Such speeches are more potent when they focus on real or assumed offences of another group such as previous raids and or violent attacks on women and children. Leaders also can facilitate conflict by not intervening or by propaganda or by speeches made during competition for electoral positions. In fact there are a lot of coefficient relationships between violence in Northern Kenya and election.

The clashes of Northern Kenya 1992-94 were promoted by leaders and were part of top KANU leadership propaganda to discredit the advent of multiparty politics. Politicians fan conflict when they capitalize on highly sensitive issues like land, grazing fields, watering points, banditry by certain groups or generally demonization of marginalized groups and portraying them as perpetually violent prone groups. This makes conflict more protracted. Leaders also take advantage of those shortcomings to incite their followers and kinsmen in order to rally them for their personal gains. Most

Government policies intended for pastoral areas get stiff opposition as result of such parochial political interferences. However, growing media liberalization is now presenting accurate information on the activities going on in isolated North-Eastern pastoral districts.

The conflict in North and North-Eastern areas Kenya is embedded in the society and is further promoted by cultural practices, commercial ventures, authority ineptitude and proliferation of modern weapons and small arms.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

Different approaches might be used for determining the conflict potential of a water scarcity issue. De Soysa⁴⁸ examines whether civil conflict is related to the scarcity of natural resources, by utilizing a precise measure of the availability of natural capital among a large sample of countries. Homer-Dixon⁴⁹ links environmental scarcity and conflict to the debilitating effects of resource scarcity on the production of societal “ingenuity,” which is in turn required to overcome poverty-related debility. De Soysa⁵⁰ tests the direct effects of the availability of resources on conflict and possible indirect effects through the “ingenuity gap” evidenced by economic growth and human and institutional development.

⁴⁸ De Soysa, I. (2000). Natural Resources and Civil War: Shrinking Pie or Honey Pot? Oslo, PRIO. (Mimeo).

⁴⁹ Homer-Dixon, T. (1999). Environment, Scarcity, and Violence. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

⁵⁰ De Soysa, I. (2000). Natural Resources and Civil War: Shrinking Pie or Honey Pot? Oslo, PRIO. (Mimeo).

Tamas⁵¹ notes that from scarcity perspective the link between environmental pressure and conflict is sometimes mediated in part by the ability of societies to achieve economic growth and adapt to changing economic conditions and pressures. Tamas indicates that Economists who suggest that resource abundance lowers the incentive to innovate contrast this view with strong arguments that it can lead to economic stagnation. Since an economy's success is determined by its ability to move out of subsistence production and into manufacturing, resource abundance apparently produces little pressure on governments and economic agents to make the right investments in dynamic sectors, leading to lower economic performance through what is commonly referred to as "Dutch disease."

WIDER study carried out in 1998 found that resource abundance can be blamed for distorting overall policy on the environment, leading to less investment, lower accumulation of human capital, persistent income inequality, an unsustainable path of resource usage, lower levels of social capital, and "factional" political patterns that erode institutional capital. In fact, what these findings suggest is that resource abundance is a cause of what Homer-Dixon terms "social friction." The issue of environmental pressure as a source of conflict revolves largely around resource degradation and scarcity. Since internal armed conflicts are mainly found among the poorest countries in the international system, the issues of environmental degradation, scarcity of resources, and poverty are thought to be parts of a process that has trapped poor countries in a vicious cycle⁵².

⁵¹ Tamas, P. (2003). *Water Resources Scarcity and Conflict: Review of Applicable Indicators and Systems of Reference*. UNESCO – HP, 21.

⁵² Soysa, I. (2000). *Natural Resources and Civil War: Shrinking Pie or Honey Pot?* Oslo, PRIO. (Mimeo).

According to Tamas⁵³ newer approaches to population pressure, scarcity, and conflict do not see conflict as an inevitable result of scarcity. Tamas show that other factors come to play mediating environmental degradation, scarcity, and conflict. These intervening variables include cultural conceptions of the environment; the nature and degree of social cleavages; the availability of social capital; the nature of institutions; and the skills and ideological propensities of leadership and groups. However, as Kahl has lamented; “analysts have thus far failed to identify” which of these myriad intervening variables are associated with conditions that lead to environmental degradation. Homer-Dixon’s⁵⁴ efforts to link environmental scarcity and conflict through the inability of resource-poor countries to adapt to economic conditions and pressures offer, however there is need for a clearly testable hypothesis linking resource scarcity to conflict.

The neo-Malthusian argument suggests that resource scarcity acts as a barrier against innovation and thus as an obstacle to the creation of societal conditions conducive to prosperity and peace. It provides a comprehensive review of the “State of the art” in the environment and conflict literature, and suggests that, the complex relationship between environmental pressures and conflict notwithstanding, “models must be built gradually, with limited modules being put to the test first.” The Environmental Change and Acute Conflicts Project (ECACP) has argued forcefully that environmental degradation, which has led to scarcities in natural resources, is fuelling civil conflicts within the poorest States in the international system. The “Toronto Group” and the Swiss

⁵³ Tamas, P. (2003). *Water Resources Scarcity and Conflict: Review of Applicable Indicators and Systems of Reference*. UNESCO – HP, 21

⁵⁴ Homer-Dixon, T. (1999). *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence*. Princeton, Princeton University Press

Peace Foundation's program on environmental conflicts (ENCOP) have spearheaded a vast research program on "eco-violence."

According to the scarcity and conflict perspective, conflict is generated by the scarcity of natural resources in two primary ways. The first mechanism is that resource scarcity drives elite to "capture" resources, marginalizing powerless groups in the process⁵⁵. The second way in which scarcity supposedly causes conflict is through its debilitating effect on economic and social innovation – what Homer-Dixon terms the "ingenuity gap". The link between environmental pressure and conflict then is mediated in part by the ability of societies to achieve such collective goals as economic growth and innovation, thereby adapting to changing economic conditions and societal pressures generated by resource scarcity. To deal with scarcity, a society needs ingenuity – but the very scarcities that make social ingenuity necessary act as constraints on innovation.

Systematic large studies of the effects of environmental degradation and scarcity on conflict are extremely sparse (see Esty et al.⁵⁶ and Hauge and Ellingsen⁵⁷) in perhaps the most ambitious test of the effects of environmental variables on conflict, find moderate support for the position that the acute degradation of forest resources, soil, and the per capita availability of fresh water predict the incidence of internal armed conflict.

⁵⁵ Tamas, P. (2003). Water Resources Scarcity and Conflict: Review of Applicable Indicators and Systems of Reference. UNESCO – HP, 21

⁵⁶ Esty, D.C. et al. (1998). "The State Failure Project: Early Warning Research for US Foreign Policy Planning". In: J.L. Davies and T.R. Gurr, Preventive Measures: Building Risk Assessment and Crisis Early Warning Systems, ch 3. Boulder, Colo., and Totowa, N.J., Rowman & Littlefield

⁵⁷ Hauge, Wenche, & Tanja Ellingsen. (1998). "Beyond environmental scarcity: Causal pathways to conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 35(3), 299–317

They conclude, however, that economic and social variables tend to have a much larger effect on conflict and overshadow the effects of the environmental variables⁵⁸.

Hauge and Ellingsen⁵⁹ use the annual change in forest cover and the change in the quality of soil to measure “supply-induced scarcity.” Under such conditions, it is difficult to judge whether capricious policies create grievance and conflict, or whether environmental degradation and scarcity cause conflict, or whether indeed it is dysfunctional policies and processes that result in degradation, scarcity, and also conflict. Previous reviewers of Homer-Dixon⁶⁰ has also pointed out recently that Homer-Dixon undermines his case by building political factors into his definition of environmental scarcity. More robust conclusions concerning the effects of environmental trends on violent conflict, [are made] possible only by clearly disentangling the physical sources of such conflict from its political, economic, and social determinants.

Moreover, arguments that are based on scarcity as a source of conflict have based their cases on the dependent variable, leading to issues of selection bias⁶¹. Collier et al.⁶² has argued that the discourse within conflict zones is heavily dominated by stories of grievance. The discourse of perceived scarcity, whether of physical resources or political

⁵⁸ De Soysa, I. (2000). Natural Resources and Civil War: Shrinking Pie or Honey Pot? Oslo, PRIO. (Mimeo)

⁵⁹ Hauge, Wenche, & Tanja Ellingsen. (1998). “Beyond environmental scarcity: Causal pathways to conflict.” *Journal of Peace Research* 35(3), 299–317

⁶⁰ Homer-Dixon, T. (1999). Environment, Scarcity, and Violence. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

⁶¹ De Soysa, I. (2000). Natural Resources and Civil War: Shrinking Pie or Honey Pot? Oslo, PRIO. (Mimeo).

⁶² Collier, P.; Hoeffler, A.; and Soderbom, M. 1999. “On the Duration of Civil War”. *World Bank Working Paper*, February.

and social resources, is a huge part of the language of conflict. In such situations, even the keenest researcher is liable to miss underlying “causes” and overemphasize the by-products of the conflict.

The work of Collier and associates (Collier et al⁶³; Collier et al⁶⁴) represents some of the first systematic studies of conflict from a microeconomic perspective that integrates natural resources as a factor in conflict. They find strong empirical support for the proposition that natural resources motivate rapacious behavior, thereby causing civil war. Tamas⁶⁵ explains that this proposition is based on the premise that the availability of natural resources (especially if they are exported as primary commodities) spawns violent conflict because the resources can be looted by rebel groups, and are thus an incentive to civil war. Mineral resources especially are easily captured. In short, resources are seen to act as a “honey pot” that provides incentives for profit-seeking groups to engage in violent actions. In order to get beyond the discourse of conflict, Collier et al⁶⁶ gauges which of the proxies of greed and grievance predict conflict best. He finds that the economic variables that proxy greed-motivated rebellion outperform the proxies for grievance-motivated rebellion.

⁶³ Collier, P.; Elbadawi, I.; and Sambanis, N. (2000). How Much War Will We See? Estimating the Likelihood and Amount of War in 161 Countries, 1960–98. Washington D.C., World Bank.(Unpublished manuscript).

⁶⁴ Collier, P.; Hoeffler, A.; and Soderbom, M. 1999. “On the Duration of Civil War?”. *World Bank Working Paper*, February.

⁶⁵ Tamas, P. (2003). *Water Resources Scarcity and Conflict: Review of Applicable Indicators and Systems of Reference*. UNESCO – HP, 21.

⁶⁶ Collier, P.; Elbadawi, I.; and Sambanis, N. (2000). How Much War Will We See? Estimating the Likelihood and Amount of War in 161 Countries, 1960–98. Washington D.C., World Bank.(Unpublished manuscript).

A country more than one-fourth dependent on primary commodity exports emerges as four times more likely to be engaged in a conflict than one that is not. However, even a slight increase in the level of education can decrease the risk of conflict⁶⁷. As Collier puts it: “a country with large natural resources, many young men and little education is very much more at risk of conflict than one with opposite characteristics” (Collier et al⁶⁸). Tamas’ observes that natural resource “abundance” leads to conflict through a “honey pot” effect.

Homer-Dixon has little to say about human capital, which is the latent supply of ingenuity available to a society, but suggest that resource scarcity prevents the generation of ingenuity, and so of endogenous technical change. Scarcity perpetuates the ingenuity gap⁶⁹. The argument is that (where other important factors are constant), it is because of resource scarcity that poor countries are prevented from achieving endogenous technical change. Sachs and Warner⁷⁰ provide strong empirical evidence in support of the counter-argument that suggests that resource abundance leads to lower economic growth. They argue that endogenous technical change does not occur in resource-rich countries because they become dependent on natural resources and fail to innovate. However, this occurs not because of scarcity, as Homer-Dixon would have it, but because the availability of a

⁶⁷ Tamas, P. (2003). *Water Resources Scarcity and Conflict: Review of Applicable Indicators and Systems of Reference*. UNESCO – HP, 21.

⁶⁸ Collier, P.; Elbadawi, I.; and Sambanis, N. (2000). How Much War Will We See? Estimating the Likelihood and Amount of War in 161 Countries, 1960–98. Washington D.C., World Bank.(Unpublished manuscript).

⁶⁹ Homer-Dixon, T. (1999). Environment, Scarcity, and Violence. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

⁷⁰ Sasch, J.D. and Warner, A.M. (1995). Natural Resource Abundance and Economic Growth. NBER Working paper No. 5398, December.

resource affects the incentives for allocating capital, labor, and innovative energies to other sectors, such as manufacturing.

The recent findings of the WIDER study show clearly the differing impacts of resource abundance on lower performance in terms of growth and socioeconomic development. As Auty points out, there has been little consensus on measures of natural capital abundance. But various measures, such as the share of primary goods exported, the intensity of manufacturing, land availability, and the extent of the available natural resource rent, have generally tended to support the proposition that resource-rich countries are prone to growth collapses. Structural change in a resource-rich country causes the tradable sector to shrink vis-à-vis the non trading sector (which includes protected manufacturing) in a manner that is not sustainable⁷¹. This adverse trend in the production structure is associated with policies to wall off the economy and create discretionary rents behind protective barriers and results in the cumulative misallocation of resources. The build-up of productive capital and skills is slower than in a successful resource-deficient economy.

Tamas⁷² points out that the inherently slower and less egalitarian growth trajectory of the resource-rich countries is intensified and the end result is usually a growth collapse. The collapse causes all forms of capital, including institutional, social, and natural forms, to run down. Part of the explanation for the superior performance of the

⁷¹ . De Soysa, I. (2000). Natural Resources and Civil War: Shrinking Pie or Honey Pot? Oslo, PRIO. (Mimeo).

⁷² Tamas, P. (2003). Water Resources Scarcity and Conflict: Review of Applicable Indicators and Systems of Reference. UNESCO – HP, 21.

resource-deficient countries is that their spartan endowment of natural capital acts as a constraint on government failure by placing a premium on the need to nurture scarce resources and to achieve an efficient allocation of capital.

De Soysa⁷³ tested the opposing positions of those who argue that natural resource abundance provides incentive for conflict and those who argue that scarcity drives conflict. His work tested the indirect effects of renewable resource scarcity on conflict by gauging its influence on economic growth and human and institutional development. He finds that the abundance of subsoil assets has a direct, positive effect on intra-State armed conflict, regardless of where these resources are located, which suggests that the “honey pot” of abundant resources is a major determinant of civil conflict. A high level of natural capital among poor countries, measured for his purposes as abundance of land, pasture, agricultural and timber assets, and non timber forest assets (renewables), is also more likely to produce lower economic and social progress, which supports the proposition that abundance has significant indirect effects on conflict.

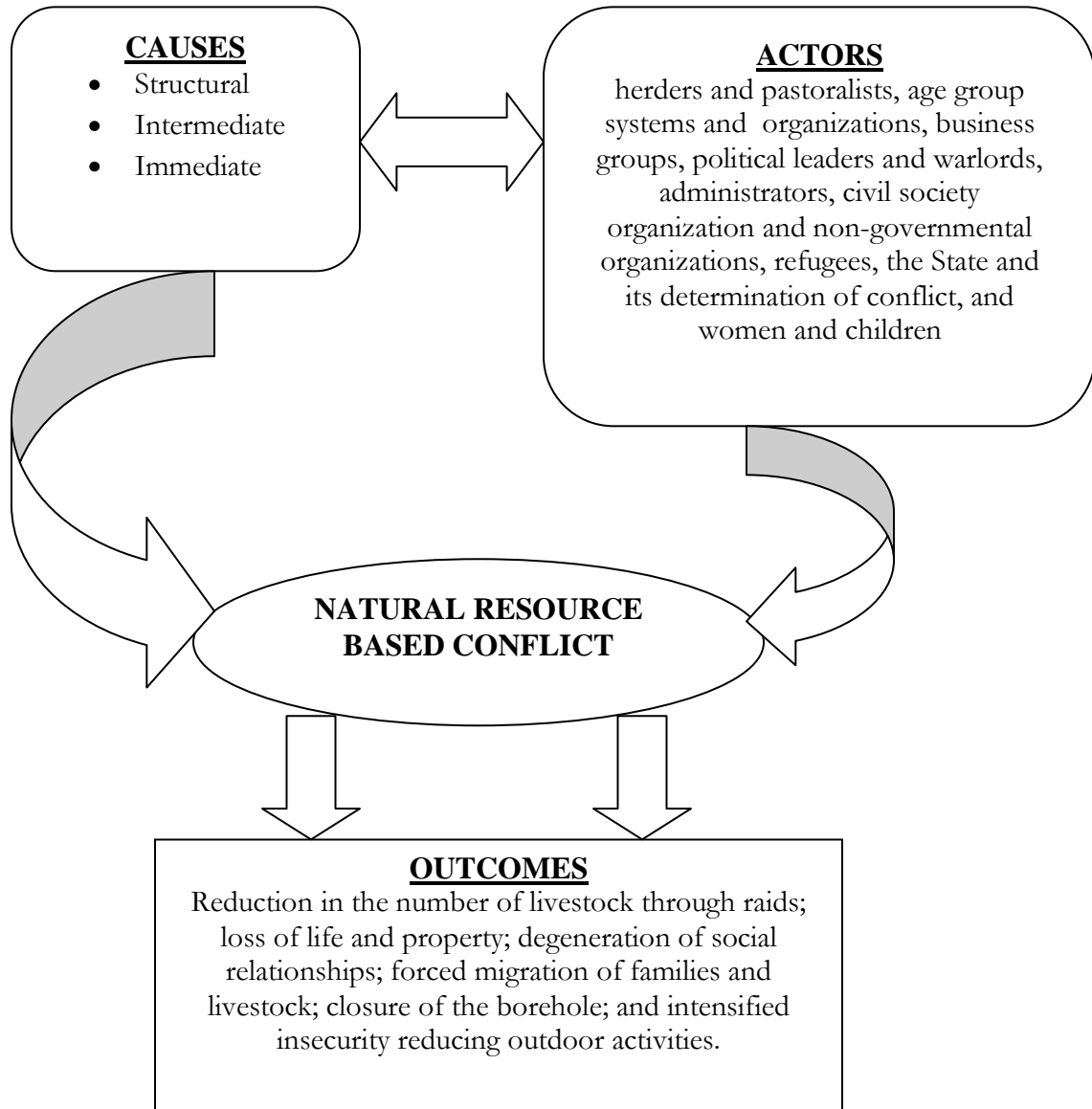
2.8 Conceptual Framework

Conflicts are caused by various factors such as structural, intermediate, and immediate factors or either is influenced by various actors. The actors include; herders and pastoralists, age group systems and organizations, business groups, political leaders and warlords, administrators, civil society organization and non-governmental organizations, refugees, the State and reduction in the number of livestock through raids; loss of life and property; degeneration of social relationships; forced migration of

⁷³ De Soysa, I. (2000). Natural Resources and Civil War: Shrinking Pie or Honey Pot? Oslo, PRIO. (Mimeo).

families and livestock; closure of the boreholes; and intensified insecurity reducing outdoor activities. Figure 2.1 shows the conceptual framework.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework



2.9 Gaps in Literature Review

This chapter has highlighted the theories and studies done in explaining natural resource based conflicts. Natural resource conflicts arise because of either resource scarcity or resource abundance. Various studies such as De Soysa⁷⁴ have explained natural resource based conflicts using the natural resource scarcity theories. There are also other natural resource based conflicts which results from abundance of natural resources, studies such as Tamas⁷⁵ describes the natural resourced based conflicts using the natural resource abundance theories. This study will be based on the natural resource scarcity theory, where conflict is generated from scarcity of natural resources. For instance, conflicts arise when there is pressure over the limited resources such as water and grazing lands. In this study, conflicts among pastoralists occur when they fight over the limited water and pastures for their livestock.

Apart from natural resource scarcity, Hauge and Ellingsen⁷⁶ are among the few authors who have discussed other causes of conflict including environmental degradation. This study therefore builds to the literature by looking at other causes of conflicts. First the study classifies conflicts into structural, intermediate, and immediate causes.

Structural causes includes; competition for scarce resources, traditional pastoral and

⁷⁴ De Soysa, I. (2000). *Natural Resources and Civil War: Shrinking Pie or Honey Pot?* Oslo, PRIO. (Mimeo).

⁷⁵ Tamas, P. (2003). *Water Resources Scarcity and Conflict: Review of Applicable Indicators and Systems of Reference*. UNESCO – HP, 21

⁷⁶ Hauge, Wenche, & Tanja Ellingsen. (1998). “Beyond environmental scarcity: Causal pathways to conflict.” *Journal of Peace Research* 35(3), 299–317

cultural values, unreliable climate and poverty. Intermediate causes of conflict incorporates systematic neglect, politicization of conflict and regional instability, modern weapons, relief provision versus development, interference by political leaders in development activities, role of the media, and commercial raiding. Finally the immediate triggers of conflict comprises of specific violent incidence, livestock theft, raid of one group on another, government military operations and inflammatory public speeches and inflammatory media.

Studies on natural resources and their relationship to economic development are scarce. It's not clear whether it is good for a country to have scarce natural resources or abundant natural resource. Tamas⁷⁷ explains the negative effects as a result of natural resource based conflicts as was seen in Congo and Sudan because of abundant natural resources, while De Soysa⁷⁸ highlights the negative effects of natural resource based conflicts as portrayed in the country as a result of scarcity of natural resources. This study builds on this area by identifying and briefly explaining the effects of natural resource based conflicts among pastoralist in Kenya.

Previous policies that are aimed to resolve conflicts in Kenya have been backed up with poor and inadequate empirical literature foundation due to small number of study on this subject. This study will assist policy makers in designing policies that promote

⁷⁷ Tamas, P. (2003). *Water Resources Scarcity and Conflict: Review of Applicable Indicators and Systems of Reference*. UNESCO – HP, 21.

⁷⁸ . De Soysa, I. (2000). Natural Resources and Civil War: Shrinking Pie or Honey Pot? Oslo, PRIO. (Mimeo).

conflict sensitivity and inter-sectoral mainstreaming of conflict management that will reduce poverty and hunger as stipulated in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Vision 2030⁷⁹.

⁷⁹ Republic of Kenya, (2006). Vision 2030: Kenya National Economic and Social Council (NESC), Nairobi: Government Printer

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed description of research design, study area, target population, data collection and data analysis procedures.

3.2 Research Design

This was an archival research. Archival research uses publicly available records and documents as a source of data. Archival methods can allow one to study people from earlier times in history as well as to study behavior and attitudes across long time spans. Archival research has empirical advantages, for example, it allows the investigation of questions that would be difficult or impossible to study in any other way. Comparative studies of how people or societies have changed over periods of historical time are not possible without archival research. Even studies of life span development are often limited without archival data. In this case, it would describe and explain the prevailing circumstances and conditions related to natural resource based conflict among pastoralist communities in Kenya.

3.3 Study Area

Mandera is one of the four districts that make up the North-Eastern Province of Kenya. It covers 26, 474 square kilometres and shares international boundaries with Ethiopia to the North and Somalia to the West. Administratively, it is comprised of 17 divisions consisting of 89 locations.

Population in the district in 2002 was 281,955, and was estimated to be growing at 3.96 % per annum. Settlement in the district is sparse, averaging 35 persons per square kilometre save for central division where densities reach 436 persons per square kilometre. Settlement patterns in the district are largely determined by pasture and the availability of water.

The main livelihood strategy is livestock keeping, mainly cattle, goats and camels, though there are significant numbers of poultry and donkeys. Maize, sorghum, cowpeas, groundnuts and fruits are also grown in the district, though to an extent limited by availability of water.

Wajir district lies in the expansive, conflict-prone North Eastern province. The district covers an area of about 56,690 square kilometres. It borders Somalia to the North East and Ethiopia to the north. It also borders Moyale, Marsabit, Garissa, Mandera and Isiolo districts of Kenya. Administratively, Wajir district is divided into 13 divisions, 74 locations and 104 sub locations. The 1999 Kenya National Housing and Population Census put Wajir's population at 319,000 people, predominantly from the Somali ethnic group. In turn, the Somali people are largely from the two dominant clans in the district; Ajuran and Degodia with lesser numbers from Ogaden, Garre, Murulle and other small clans.

Due to the climatic conditions of the district, the majority of residents, at least 70%, are nomadic pastoralists herding a mixture of cows, camels and goats. Conflicts in Wajir district are pegged on livestock sustenance resources i.e. water and pasture between the clans and with people from neighbouring districts

Moyale is one of the 13 districts that make up Eastern Province. It is situated at the extreme North of the province adjacent to Mandera district. The district was created through an executive order in July 1995 when it was carved out of Marsabit district. The district borders Ethiopia to the north, Marsabit district to the south and Wajir districts to the east. It covers an area of 9,749 square kilometres.

Administratively, the district is divided into four divisions namely Central, Golbo, Obbu and Uran. There are 16 locations and 35 sub locations. The district population is estimated at 54,000 people as of the 1999 national population census with an estimated annual growth of 2.26%. The people of Moyale district, predominantly of Cushitic origin include Borana, Burji, Somali, Sakuye, Gabbra and Konso ethnic groups. Residents practice nomadic pastoralism as the principal livelihood strategy. Some subsistence farming is practiced in the highlands.

There are two major soil types in the district; the higher parts of the district on the Ethiopian escarpment consist of rich black cotton soils ideal for crops like maize, millet, fruits and vegetables. The lowland areas have rocky and stony lava, which supports scattered shrubs and bushes and is suitable for livestock rearing especially cattle, sheep, goats and camels.

Conflict in the district revolves mainly on land tenure claims for grazing and crop farming. Proximity to Ethiopia coupled with the people's nomadic pastoralism lifestyle has infused in an element of cross-border conflicts

Marsabit district lies in the Eastern Province of Kenya. It borders Ethiopia and Moyale district to the north, Turkana district to the west, Samburu district to the south, and Wajir and Isiolo districts to the east. The district has an area of about 69,430 square kilometres, making it the second largest district in Kenya after Turkana.

According to the 1999 national census, Marsabit district has a population of 123,736 people. The district is divided into 5 administrative divisions, 25 locations and 51 sub locations. It is home to ethnic groups like the Boran, Gabra, Rendille, Samburu, Ariaal, Turkana, Burji and Dassanetch (also known as Merille). Gabra, Rendille, and Borana are Cushitic groups while the Samburu and Turkana are of Nilotic stock. Rendille and Gabra share cultural practices and clan histories. Rendille and Samburu are also linked by history of cooperation and intermarriage, springing off the Ariaal ethnic group who combine elements of both Rendille and Samburu culture (Fratkin 1991; Spencer, 1973). Large parts of the district is an extensive plain lying between 300m and 900m above sea level, sloping gently towards the Southeast. To the west and north, the plains are bordered by hills and mountain ranges such as Mt. Kulal (2355m) Hurri Hills (1685m) and Mt. Marsabit (1865m). Extremely dry conditions limit the use of over 90% of the districts area to livestock keeping, mostly organized in the form of nomadic pastoralism. Crop farming and livestock keeping are concentrated within the highlands. Periodic droughts, such as the severe ones experienced in 1969- 1973, 1980, 1984 and 1998-2002 have decimated thousands of livestock.

Tana River district is one of the seven districts that make up the coast province, covering about 49% of the Province, and occupying a total area of 38,782 km. sq with an estimated

population of 181,000. The Pokomo (Bantu farmers), Orma and Wardey who are pastoralists of Cushitic descent are the dominant groups in the district. The district borders Kitui district to the west, Garissa and Ijara to the east, and Isiolo to the north. The district derives its name from the largest river in Kenya, which traverses the northern and eastern part of the district and drains into the Indian Ocean through Kipini, a delta approximately 40 km wide. River Tana is an important ecological feature in the district from which pastoralists and farming communities in the district derive their livelihoods.

Samburu District is located in the Rift Valley province with neighbours being drawn from the Eastern and Rift Valley provinces. To the north-west is Turkana District while to the south-west is Baringo district. Marsabit district is to the northeast, Isiolo to the East and Laikipia district to the south. It covers a total area of approximately 20826 kilometres square of which 3,250 are gazetted forests⁵. The district has six administrative divisions, namely Wamba, Waso, Nyiro, Baragoi, Kirisia and Lorroki. These divisions are subdivided into thirty locations and ninety-two sub-locations.

The key topographical features include the Suguta valley located to the extreme west of the district. Fault escarpments are on its sides and the floor of which are covered by red clay boulders and gravel fans. The east of the Valley is dominated by high plateaus built by repeated floods of lava from the rift valley. The highest point of this plateau is the Kirisia hill, which rises to 2000m above sea level.

Marakwet district is one of the newest districts in the North Rift region of the Rift Valley Province. The district came into existence through an executive order of 4th August

19947. It was carved from the then Keiyo – Marakwet district. The district borders Uasin-Gishu and Trans-Nzoia districts to the west, Keiyo to the south, West Pokot to the north and Baringo district to the east. The district covers an area of 1,588 square kilometres and it is divided into seven administrative divisions namely Kapcherop, Chebiemit, Kapsowar, Kabiego, Tirap, Tunyo and Tot. There are 29 locations and 89 sub locations in the district.

According to the 1999 national housing and population census, Marakwet is home to 140,629 people mainly of the Marakwet ethnic group, a sub-group of the larger Kalenjin community that also includes the Pokot, Kipsigis, Nandi, Keiyo, Sabaot and Tugen among others.

Trans-Nzoia is one of the 18 districts of Rift Valley province. It is situated in the North Western part of the province. The district is bordered by Uganda to the West, Bungoma and Kakamega districts to the south, West Pokot to the North, Marakwet to the East and Uasin Gishu district to the South East. The district comprises seven administrative divisions, which are further split into twenty-seven locations and fifty-four sub locations, all covering an area of 2,467 square kilometres, which represents 0.42% of the whole republic and 1.4% of Rift Valley Province.

The 1999 population census puts the district population at 575,662 people, with one of the highest population densities in the province (231 persons per square kilometre). The district is cosmopolitan with virtually every Kenyan ethnic group being found there.

West Pokot is one of the 18 districts of Rift Valley Province. It is situated along Kenya's western boundary with Uganda and borders Trans-Nzoia & Marakwet districts to the South, Baringo & Turkana to the East and North respectively. Administratively, the district is divided into ten divisions (Alale, Kasei, Kacheliba, Kongelai, Chepareria, Kapenguria, Lelan, Sigor, Chesegon and Tapach) that are further divided into 58 locations and 197 sub locations, covering an area of about 9100 square kilometres.

West Pokot district has a great variety of physical features. In the Southeastern section of the district are the Cherangani Hills with altitudes of over 3,000 metres above sea level. On the Northern and North Eastern, parts of the district are the dry plains of Turkana with altitudes of less than 900 metres above sea level. The highest altitude areas constitute the larger portion of high potential areas. Within these, agriculture and livestock production are the major economic activities.

Turkana district occupies the entire portion of the North-Western Kenya in the North Rift region, Rift Valley province. With a total area of about 77,000 square kilometres, the district is the largest in Kenya, bigger than Coast, Nairobi and Nyanza provinces combined. The district borders the States of Ethiopia to the northeast, Sudan to the northwest and Uganda to the west. It borders Kenyan districts of West Pokot and Baringo to the southeast and Marsabit to the east. The district is administratively divided into 17 divisions, 56 locations and 156 sub locations. The 1999 population census put the district total population at 450,860 persons. Permanent settlements are found along Turkwel and Kerio rivers, where irrigated crop farming is practiced.

The district stretches from the surrounding escarpment as a vast sandy plain far below, where isolated mountain blocks, and dust devils rise in high columns for most of the day relieve the flat scenery (Gulliver 1953). The topographical features of the district include low-lying plains, mountain ranges, Lake Turkana and river drainage patterns. The altitudes of the mountains range between 1500 to 1800m above sea level in the east reaching the peak at Loima. The ranges support important economic activities such as livestock keeping and honey production.

Moroto district was originally part of the then larger Karamoja¹¹ district of Uganda. The district is situated in the Northeastern part of Uganda. Kotido and Nakapirpirit districts are the other two districts that were part of the larger Karamoja district before it was split up. The Karamoojong people, consisting of sub-groups such as the Matheniko, the Bokora, the Tepeth and the Pian, mostly populate Moroto district. The district is bordered on its east by Kenya (specifically Turkana and West Pokot districts), on the south by Mbale and Kapchorwa districts, on the west by Soroti, Kumi, and Lira districts, and on the north by Kotido district.

Administratively, the district is divided into two counties, Matheniko and Bokora, which are further divided into eleven sub counties. The region, covering an area of approximately 27,200 square kilometres¹² is mostly a semi-arid plain bounded on the east by Kenya's Rift Valley escarpment, on the north by Sudan, on the south by the area around Mount Elgon, and on the west by the areas of the Teso, Langi and Acholi people.

3.4 Target Population

The targeted population is that portion of total population from which the researched draws a sample. The target populations are the population of people living in arid and semi arid areas lands.

3.5 Sources of Data

There are two sources of data which a researcher can use; Primary sources is where information is gathered directly by the researcher and secondary source is where the information is sourced from other previous researchers. This study concentrated on secondary data such as from books, published journals, working papers and other unpublished works.

3.6 Data Collection

The data used is from Practical Action, 2005. The data was collected to assess the socio-economic impacts of conflict on pastoral and semi pastoral economies in Kenya and Uganda. The data was sampled from 10 districts⁸⁰. The study also uses data for the ten years preceding it (1994-2004), a period that has been marked by escalation in incidences and viciousness of violence.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis referred was collected; deductions and inferences were then made. It involved uncovering underlying structures, extracting important variables, detecting any anomalies and testing any underlying assumptions. The data was coded and entered in a computer after which analysis was done.

⁸⁰ Trans Nzoia, Moyale, Marakwet, Tana River, Wajir, Turkana, Samburu, Marsabit, West Pokot, Mandera in Kenya and Moroto in Uganda (see Adan and Pkalya, 2005 on the details for the justification of the research design)

The data collected was analyzed using descriptive statistics in order to determine frequencies and percentages. These frequencies and percentages are presented graphically using pie-charts and graphs. Quantitative data was grouped into similar categories for analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF EFFECTS OF NATURAL RESOURCES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the effects of natural resource based conflicts among pastoral communities in Kenya. The effects of conflicts on crop production, livestock production, conflict casualties and displacements and on social services (mainly education) are explained. Chapter four analyzed the effects of natural resource based conflicts among pastoral communities in Kenya. The effects of conflicts discussed in the chapter are; on crop production, livestock production, conflict casualties and displacements and on social services (mainly education)

4.2 Effect of Conflicts on Pastoralists' Livelihoods

Conflict come out as one way in which human society adjusts in the face of scarce resources. Conflicts are complicated issues that get interwoven with other social, economic, environmental and political activities within a society. If not managed well, conflict can have a negative impact on the environment and on the assets and capabilities people require for their survival. Being that delicate, conflict management takes time and resources.

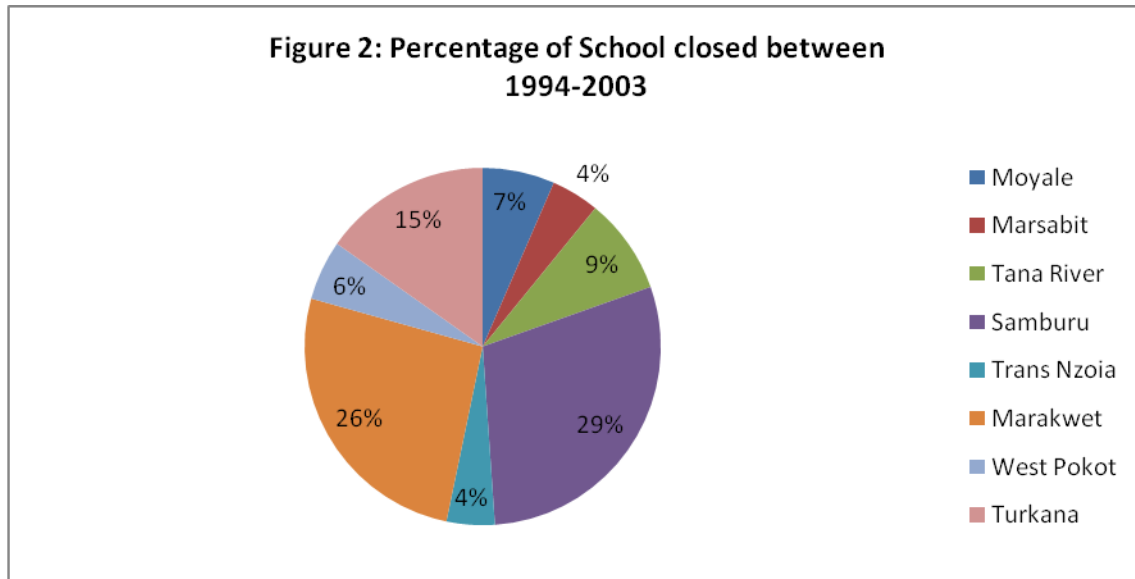
4.2.1 Education Services

Conflicts affect physical access to schools and to other learning institutions. Students and teachers are unable to go to school due to insecurity resulting from conflicts. In most cases, schools get closed. Teachers who come from outside the district prefer to return to their home areas whenever there are conflicts. Older students, through requests from parents, or based on social cultural and family obligations, abandon school

so as to join others in “fighting the enemy.” Children are forced to drop out of school when families decide to migrate to other areas in search of physical security. Once again, disruption of school leads to low levels of education, confining more and more people to pastoralism as the only source of a livelihood. Large number of people relying on pastoralism implies large herds of livestock kept. The herds require water, especially during dry seasons. Lack of access to water leads to competition and conflicts.

Education in the North Eastern province is low compared to other provinces. Education suffers in presence of conflict. It is only until 2003, when the rate of conflicts is seen to have reduced, most districts had resulted to closure of school since 1994 and much way earlier since hardly any learning could take place as the community experience high tension in the area as a result of conflicts. Samburu was the most hit with 29 percent closure of schools, Marakwet had 26 percent, and Turkana had 15 percent. The districts which had the least closure are Marsabit and Moyale with each having 4 percent and West Pokot with percent. This could be probably to the unreported number of school closed as shown in figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Percentage of Schools Closed Between 1994 - 2003



4.2.2 Health Care

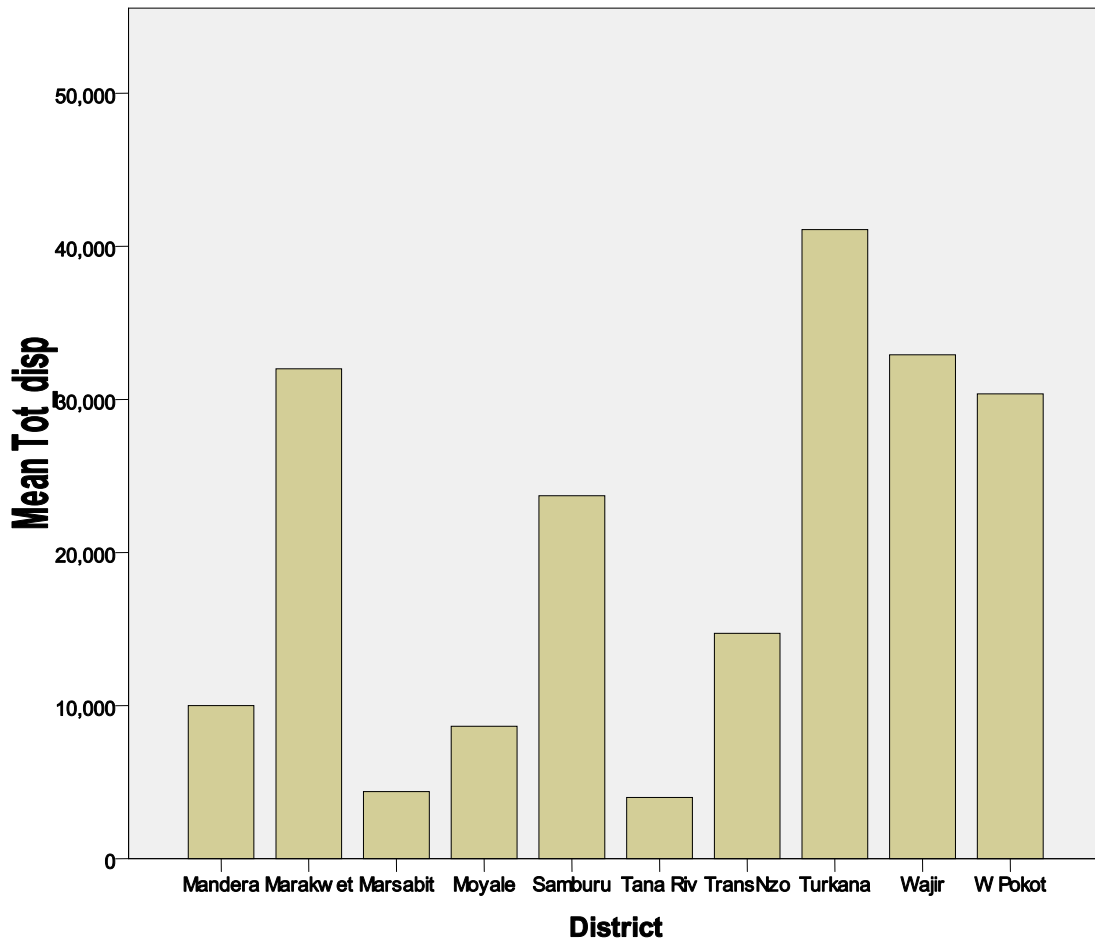
Pasture and water-based conflicts interfere with people's access to health care services and facilities. Would-be providers like non-governmental organizations, religious institutions and the private sector are kept away by insecurity. At the same time, people lack income to pay for services due to lack of access to income-generating activities.

4.2.3 Casualties

Death and injuries as result of fighting for water and pasture are a cost to households, for they interfere with the flow and allocation of resources for subsistence, and have high chances of initiating new conflicts in the form of revenge. Casualties arise also result from conflicts. When conflicts arise many people are usually left dead and some seriously injured. Figure 4.2 illustrates the total number of conflict casualties and displacement in various districts from 1994 – 2005. Turkana (77), Mandera (152) and

Nothern Kenya (222) are among the districts with the least conflict casualties while Samburu (870) and Trans Nzoia(728) are among the districts with the highest conflict casualties.

Figure 4.2: Total Number of Conflict Casualties and Displacements in Various Districts

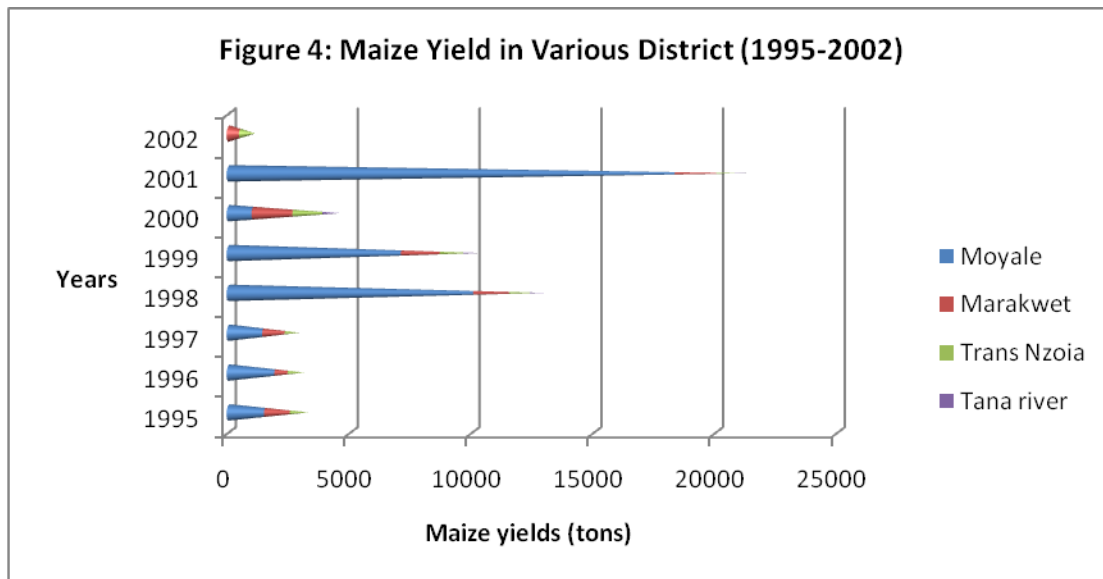


4.2.4 Crop Production

Insecurity and fear affect levels of food production at the household level due to a reduction in the quality and quantity of livestock. The livestock get stolen and there are no stable markets to rely on. Reduction in quality and quantity leads to hunger and increased poverty. Physical insecurity bars people from moving to market places to buy and sell foodstuff and participate in other income generating commodities. Insecurity sparks a whole new cycle of poverty, limited water, pasture and conflicts. Among other factors such as rainfall that affect crop production, conflict is one of the other critical factors. When conflicts arise, displacements and other incidents of casualties occur limiting the farmer from undertaking meaningful production of crops.

In Kenya maize is the major crop produced by farmers. Despite the good rains experienced in the country in 1996- 1997, and 2000- 2001, Most districts in the North Eastern province had lower maize production. The lower yields may have been attributed to the tribal conflicts that took place then. Tana River districts is one of the most affected by conflicts followed by Trans Nzoia, Marakwet and lastly Moyale. In relations to maize production, Moyale had the highest tonnes of Maize since 1995 to 2001 rising from 1486 tonnes to 18,300 tonnes as a result of growing peace within the district. Tana River district had the least maize yields as a result of frequent conflicts over the years. Figure 4.3, shows the relationship between crop production and conflict.

Figure 4.3: Maize Yield in Various Districts (1995 - 2002)

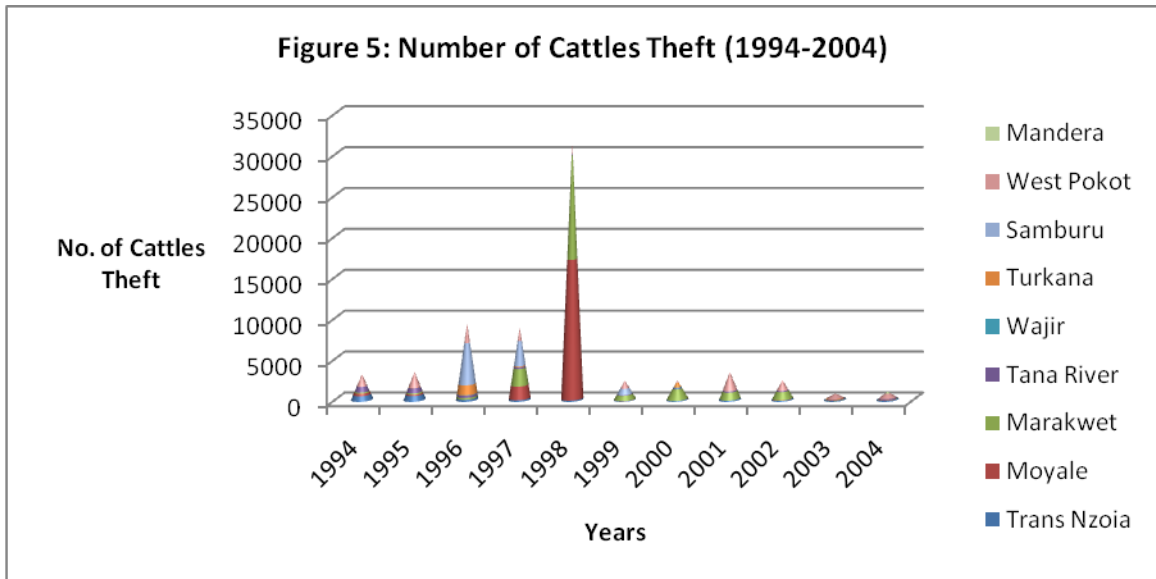


4.2.5 Livestock Production

Loss of life as a result of conflicts impede negatively on pastoralist communities. Income that would have been generated from participating in the sale of livestock products is lost. Households face higher prices of products, because of high demand and also because of the less participation from traders due to insecurity.

Cattle rustling/thefts/raiding is the most visible impact of conflict on livestock. Figure 4.4 shows the number of cattle's theft from 1994-2004 among various districts. 1998 marks the highest number of raids followed by 1997 and 1996 due to increased conflicts. The lowest number of raised were experience in 2003 and 2004 due to reduced conflicts. Moyale had the highest number of cattle theft (19,155), followed by Marakwet (18,874), and West Pokot (14,125). Wajir and Mandera districts had the least number of cattle theft. This could also be as a result of unreported cases within the district.

Figure 4.4: Number of Cattles Stolen 1994 - 2004)



CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

Chapter five therefore concludes by giving an overview of the past, present and reflection on future natural resource based conflicts among pastorals communities.

5.2 Discussion of Findings

5.2.1 Conflict in Historical Perspective

Since historical times (as early as 1942) conflicts has been rising, since then, escalation of conflict, as such, is therefore nothing new to pastoral groups. Due to the introduction of firearm, raiding has been increasing, with consequent increase in the number of casualties and looted livestock, destruction of the settlements and abandonment of entire areas.

Ultimately, it is difficult or impossible to draw a historical divide between “old” and “new” or perhaps endogenous and exogenous cycles of conflict. The emergence of trade ivory, slaves and riffles were the major commodities exchanged during the early colonial period. With acquisition of arms among the communities in northern Kenya led to increased raiding activities as communities try to counter raid each other leading to loss of life and property.

Recent extensive archival research on the historical roots of the links between commoditization and conflict, shows that a sudden and unprecedented impoverishment of the pastoralist communities following large-scale government raids at the start of the colonial era, led them to raid their neighbours in order to replenish their stock, and in so doing prompted a powerful cycle of escalation of raids. To the extent that current

increases in conflicts are related to poverty, they appear to be deeply rooted into colonial history, in the struggle between pastoralists and the State and in the creation of chronic forms of poverty in conjunction with the process of commoditization.

5.2.2 Pastoralists' Perception of Escalation of Conflict

In Anthropological studies of conflict in East African pastoral societies underline that usually such groups distinguish between different kinds of warfare and have specific words for referring to situations in which “normal” warfare is undergoing a process of escalation. Whilst normal raiding does not exclude cooperation at other levels, such increased levels of violence usually do. Escalation occurs when the rules of reciprocal raiding are violated: when great numbers of livestock are looted, casualties rise sharply, killing appears deliberate and cruel, and raids become too frequent. Such escalation causes disruption to the pastoral routine, because the young men stop tending the cattle in order to go to war, and because cattle are forced to graze in restricted areas due to the danger of hostilities.

When raid gets started there is no guarantee that the excited raiders will not commit excesses, which may escalate into large-scale retaliation. Ultimately, escalation is prompted by one group's perception that the raiding practices of the other group have become “excessive. Such increased raiding may result in a campaign which involves organized recruitment and strategic decision-making process. Inter-tribal co-operation ceases and daily social life and economic routines are disrupted. In addition, conflict escalation can be interrupted only when both parties feel that the balance of power has been re-established, that is when the peace process is not seen as a sign of weakness of one of the parties. However, excessive behaviour in raiding does not necessarily lead to

the escalation of hostilities into full-scale warfare. Between the two moments there is usually room for dialogue. As long as the injured party receives compensation and is assured that the incident was an exception, scaling violence up into to a retaliation campaign will not take place.

5.2.3 Escalation of Conflicts: Old and New Perceptions

Early ethnographies of cattle herding peoples in northern Kenya give little space to the analysis of conflict. The scarce and scattered information available often describes warfare, and particularly raids, as fights without quarter in which no one was spared except the young boys and girls who were abducted. On the other hand, at a more general level of analysis, sometimes even within the same works, one may find mention of rules or conventions meant to moderate the destructive effects of raiding). Moreover, recent descriptions of raids by pastoral people often emphasize the increased violence compared with “the old days”, particularly with reference to killing women and children. Ultimately, there are too few detailed accounts to identify a general rule of conduct: warfare changes between ethnic groups, although long term reciprocal relationships may have produced geographic “confrontational arenas” with shared norms concerning the limits of acceptable violence.

Several classic ethnographies suggest raiding used to be accompanied by great violence. In regard to this, killing an enemy had a symbolic value in itself and it was central to raiding as a means for a warrior to fully enter manhood. Captive boys and girls were immediately and fully integrated into the raiders’ group.

5.2.4 Conflicts Actors and Influences, Patterns, Causes and Outcomes

Conflict has grown rapidly in Kenya in the least three decades, and pastoral areas are among the most vulnerable. Conflict is now widespread in the arid and semi-arid zones, and often overlaps with extreme food insecurity. Many local civil society organizations have programmes to manage conflict, and international NGOs, intergovernmental organizations and donors are increasingly preoccupied with understanding conflict and experimenting with solutions.

The study has done stocktaking of the present analysis of conflict. The pattern of conflict in Kenya has a complex perspective thereby making classification altogether varied. In this regard, the patterns are determined by; rainfall patterns and ecological conditions, clan settlement pattern and distribution, interaction/contagion with group outside the district and the country, with occupations orientation and finally with the existence of water points. To date government intervention mechanisms such as sinking boreholes/wells, and controlling movements and banditry have also identified as patterns of conflicts.

In addition, Resource conflict in Northern Kenya and the Greater Horn conflict is now characterized by multiple numbers of actors and influence from within the Northern Kenya districts region and even internationally. Some of these actors include the herders and pastoralists, age group systems and organizations, business groups, political leaders and warlords, administrators, civil society organization and non-governmental organizations, refugees, the State and its determination of conflict, and women and children

Using the theoretical framework, causes of conflicts have been identified and categorized into three groups. These are; structural, intermediate and immediate causes. In this framework structural causes are to be understood as the root causes or long term causes, intermediate causes are the fairly recent or mild events which require some other intervening acts in order to have an overall impact. Lastly immediate causes are the trigger causes that lead to conflict escalation.

Some structural causes have been identified when discussing conflict in Northern Kenya. They border on factors such as competition for resources, traditional pastoral and cultural values, scarcity of rainfall and poverty. The intermediate cause of conflict (proximate causes) is caused as a result of deliberate neglect or actions that fail to take into account immediate needs by various actors. They, include systematic neglect, politicization of conflict, interference, unsound food recovery policies, media highlights, declining traditional authority and commercialization of raids. Some of the causes here are themselves effects of violent conflicts hence help to understand the cyclic nature of conflict in the Northern Kenya. The immediate trigger causes are mainly immediate incidences that results to violence. They are mostly associated with reactions to certain specific events that have impacts in people's perception and require immediate response such as violent incidences, theft raids, Government operations and inflammatory public speeches. Immediate triggers factors include; specific violent incidences, livestock theft, raid of one group on another, government military operations, inflammatory public speeches and inflammatory media.

The impact of conflicts at the household level is felt in terms of reduced access to food; interruptions in education; health care services; and trade. Reduction in the number of livestock through raids; loss of life and property; lack of water and pasture; degeneration of social relationships; forced migration of families and livestock; negative psychological and social impact of death; closure of the borehole; and intensified insecurity leading to reduced outdoor activities; among others—these are serious implications to a people already experiencing figures below the national average in basics like health, education and nutrition. There is an urgent need for a stocktaking of our present analysis of conflict, and the lessons we can draw from experience so far of conflict mediation and management.

5.3 Conclusion

The study aimed at identifying cause of conflicts among pastoralist communities in Kenya and also highlighting the effects of conflicts in the country. The study found out that most conflicts in Kenya are explained by the resource scarcity theory where natural resources are found to be scarce and thus rise of conflicts as communities struggle for the limited resources mainly water and pasture among pastoral communities. The data used is from secondary data, Practical Action 2005. The analysis focused on North Eastern districts in Kenya.

The study identifies that factors such as economic and political marginalization, active resistance by pastoralist communities to assimilation, resource depletion and demographic changes, and the growing availability of small arms and light weapons are among the major factors causing conflicts in the country. As a result of conflicts,

communities experience reduced crop and livestock yields, increased casualties as many people are left injured and some killed, residents in the communities are also displaced with their property left destroyed. In addition social services are also affected leading to closure of schools, health centers and other outdoor activities as intensified insecurity looms in the community.

5.4 Recommendations

In order to address the conflicts among pastoralist communities in Kenya, a number of policies have been recommended: promoting understanding and appreciation of conflicts, formulate policy on peace building, strengthening service delivery to ASAL areas, promote inter community peace building activities, promote conflict sensitivity and inter sector mainstreaming of conflict management, mopping up of illegal weapons and building policy advocacy and lobbying capacities of local organizations and communities.

5.4.1 Formulate Policy on Peace Building

The government should formulate and implement policies on conflict management and peace building. Such policies could provide frameworks for understanding some of these conflicts, how to manage them, institutionalize and legalize the role of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, check the proliferation of illicit arms, address the issue of displaced persons as well as strengthen the community policing. With this policy in place, it will provide guidelines for conflict management in the respective communities as well as entrench conflict management into existing and future national plans. The

Policy will also promote linkages between local communities and national instruments/actors on conflict management.

5.4.2 Strengthen Service Delivery to ASAL Areas

The poor State of service delivery to ASAL areas is central to the conflicts that destroy them. Raising the education, delivering other services such as health and infrastructure, provision of security services through increase deployments of security forces, and improving communication services such as Global Positioning System (GPS) in addition to radio calls are important in their indirect role of reducing conflicts.

5.4.3 Promote Inter Community Peace Building Activities

Peace building activities include sports and dance festivals which form the basis of inter community friendship that brings together communities in a non-hostile setting. Eventually, these activities should conclude in inter community negotiations over contentious issues. These negotiations and traditional authority structures should be incorporated into peace committees, where other stakeholders such as government and civil society actors can moderate and facilitate proceedings and ensure they comply with the law.

5.4.4 Promoting Conflict Sensitivity and Inter Sector Mainstreaming of Conflict Management

There is need for mainstreaming conflict and conflict mitigation into the planning and implementation process of all actors in ASAL areas. Subsequently, there should be established local structures at district levels, preferably under the District Development Committee, to review the plans of each actor and suggest ways of ensuring the maximum conflict mitigation impact is derived. This structure should also encourage the collection

of data on the impact of conflict on their specific operations as a basis for mobilizing additional resources to stimulate development and thereby forestall conflict.

5.4.5 Mop out Illegal Weapons

The government should secure all illegal arms as a way of reducing hostilities and take up their legal duty of providing security for pastoral communities. The government needs to be committed to this duty and gain trust and confidence from the pastoralist for them to surrender arms as one of the government programs to disarm the neighborhoods.

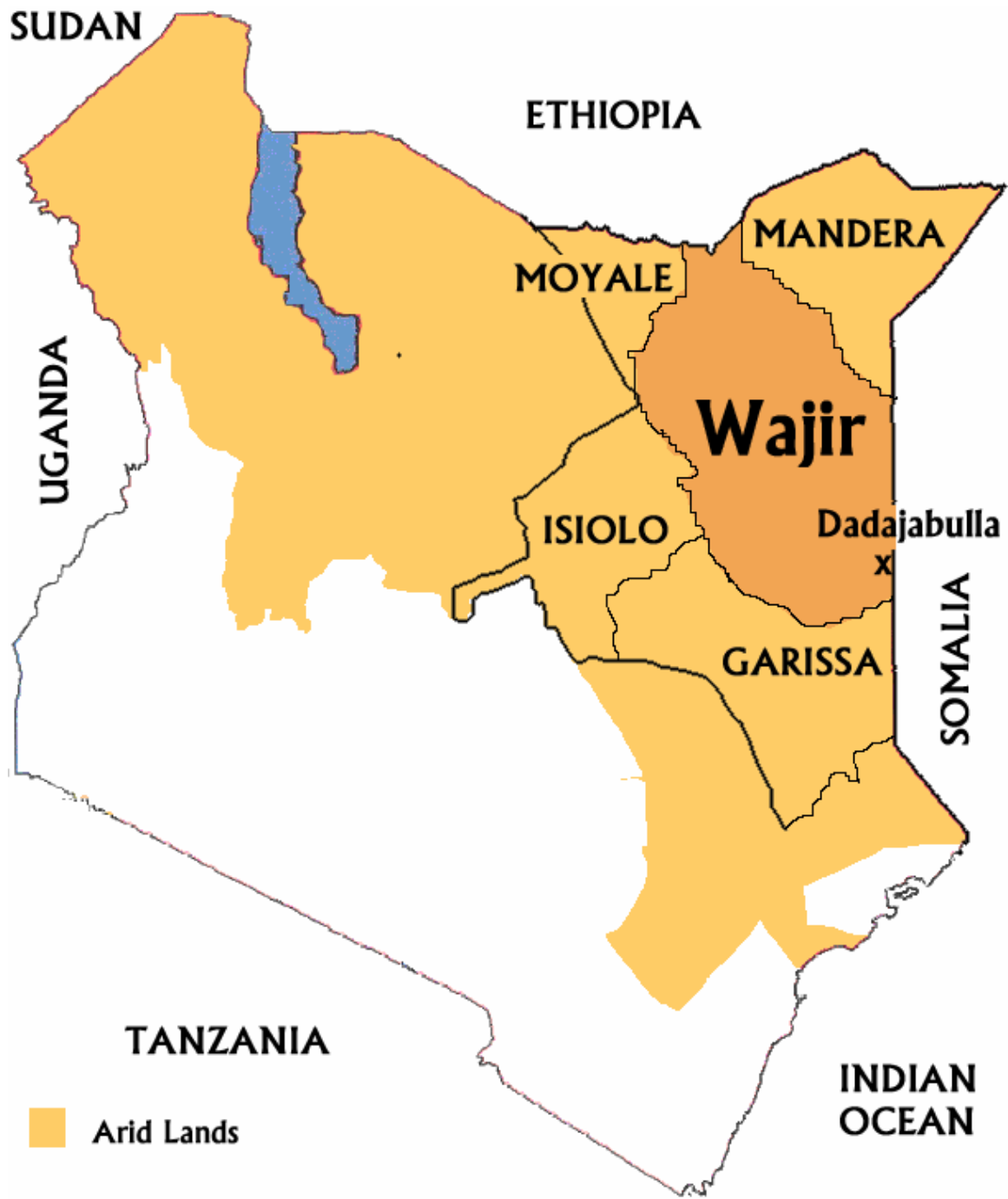
5.4.6 Building Policy Advocacy and Lobbying Capabilities of Local Organizations and Communities.

Various stakeholders including the rural and pastoral communities, their indigenous organization, and other non-State actors should lobby and demand the governments provide and guarantee these people security as enshrined in the national constitution.

4.5 Further Research

There is need to broaden this study on natural resources based conflict by carrying out a survey on all the ASAL areas in the country.

Map of Kenya indicating location of Northern Kenya Districts



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