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Assessment of Intergrated Development Plans for Samburu and Turkana Counties to Identify Gaps in Relation to Violent Conflicts Among Pastoralists in the Border Areas

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 KONRAD
ADENAUER
STIFTUNG

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**Assessment of Intergrated Development
Plans for Samburu and Turkana Counties
to Identify Gaps in Relation to Violent
Conflicts Among Pastoralists in the Border
Areas**



PREFACE

The need for this research work was borne out of the recognition of inter-communal and inter-clan conflicts as major concerns among the pastoral communities within the northern counties of Kenya. Specific focus was on the possible roles played by local politics and politicians as facilitators of inter-communal and inter-clan conflicts among the Baringo, Turkana, Samburu and West Pokot counties' residents, especially those living at the cross-borders. The research further explored the existence and contribution of political economy and multi-dimensional predisposing factors to inter-community conflicts. The research reviewed the county integrated development plans (CIDP 2018-2022) for Samburu and Turkana counties as primary documents. Further analysis and case studies were obtained from the Baringo and West Pokot CIDP 2018-2022. Stories and experiences from stakeholder, including the local communities, in the 4 counties were recorded, and their recommendations on how to improve the CIDP 2018-2022 were captured. The findings of this work form an important output for equipping local pastoralists with the capacity to make sustainable contributions in the management of drought episodes and prevention of famine. Further, implementation of the recommendations contained in this report will help promote and strengthen participatory political environment and subsequently sound public policy frameworks in the target counties in respect to improving food security and abberiting conflict along the borderlines of the 4 counties.

This report has 77 pages including cover page. The report has 5 main chapters. Chapter 1 generally introduces the project and the need for this assignment. Chapter 2 gives an overview of inter- and intra-clan/ communal conflicts at different geographical scales. Chapter 3 describes the proceses used to undertake this assessment. Chapter 4 highlights and discusses the main research findings. Chapter 5 gives conclusions and ideas for adoption by the stakeholders in conflict management, recommendations.

Care has been taken to ensure that the data/ information presented in this report is factual and responsibility and apologies are extended for any errors of fact that might be inadvertently included as part of this report. Due to the sensitivity of the research topic, the wishes of some of the respondents to remain anonymous have been respected.

Dr. Jan Cernicky

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This Assessment Report was made possible by generous support from several parties. To begin with, the research team is grateful to Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) for sponsoring and making this research work possible. We would also like to offer our sincere gratitude to the many key stakeholders in the four counties of Baringo, Samburu, Turkana and West Pokot for agreeing to participate in the study and offering their opinions despite the sensitivity of the topic. In particular, the team is indebted to the county staff and administration lead by key personnel drawn from Special Programs (Director), National Drought Management Authority, County Administration (Ward Representatives), Political Leaders (Members of County Assembly), Security Personnel (National Police Service) and Peace and Security Directors for their participation in the process.

Our appreciation is also extended to county development partners (Local, Regional and National NGOs) for their contribution to the process. We would like to thank the community members from the Turkana and Samburu lead by their respective Chiefs and Community Elders for their participation in this research process. The research team is particularly grateful to the areas chiefs and assistant chiefs for agreeing to mobilize and host stakeholders for our focus group discussions (FGD). This report would not have been made possible without their contribution. We are further grateful to the research enumerators who enabled the data collection process.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) is implementing a food security project in Kenya to help change the mind-set of County Governments and local communities especially in Baringo, West Pokot, Samburu and Turkana to equip them with the capacity to make sustainable contributions in the management of drought episodes and prevention of famine. Socio-political empowerment of local communities especially the pastoralist in the border regions of Samburu and Turkana is one of the key interventions of this project. KAS is working with the state and non-state actors to promote and strengthen participatory political environment and subsequently sound public policy frameworks in the target counties in respect to improving food security.

The County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP), as a county's implementation blue print, is crucial in ensuring that matters socio-economic and political developments are well addressed. As provided by subsidiary legislations and the constitution of Kenya, 2010; public opinion ought to be taken into consideration during the development and implementation of a CIDP. However, this process may not be conclusive in most of the pastoralist zones of the target counties due a variety of factors.

In light of the above, undertaking assessment of the CIDP 2018 – 2022 of the four counties (Samburu, Baringo, West Pokot and Turkana) was needed to shade more light on gaps in relation to pastoralists, specifically, livestock herders, the causes and routes of conflicts and possible solutions. The assessment report summarizes what is relevant to nomadic and agro-pastoralists and the suggested ways which can be included in the planning and implementation phases.

The above context consequently formed the basis for engaging Belisan Advisory Limited (the Consultant) to primarily undertake a review of CIDP 2018 – 2022 of the four counties and a fieldwork in the counties of Samburu and Turkana and develop a report that identifies and addresses the gaps in the CIDPs. The study period and reporting lasted between June 19, 2019 and July 31, 2019.

Objectives

The overall objective of the task was to undertake an assessment of CIDP of Samburu and Turkana, with secondary references to the Baringo and West Pokot counties so as to identify gaps in relation to cross border conflicts among pastoral communities and how to seal them. Recommendations and detailed analysis were to be done for Samburu and Turkana counties. To adequately respond to the broad objective, the Consultant came up with five (5) specific objectives to guide the study. They included to:

1. Assess the potential contribution of local politics and politicians to conflicts among the pastoralists in Samburu, Baringo, West Pokot and Turkana Counties
2. Analyse the socio-economic, cultural and other issues affecting the pastoral communities along the shared border counties of Samburu, Baringo, West Pokot and Turkana that may be funning conflicts
3. Examine the extent to which the current Samburu, Baringo, West Pokot and Turkana CIDPs (2018 – 2022) address the cross-border conflicts as part of their disaster risk reduction plans (DRR)
4. Establish the level of community and county actor's awareness on DRRP (conflicts) as addressed in the Samburu, Baringo, West Pokot and Turkana CIDP (2018 – 2022) and their level of involvement.
5. Establish the mechanisms that can be employed by the borderline communities and local politicians for sustainable conflicts resolution.

Study area

This assessment was targeted towards the warring communities in the cross-boundary zones of Turkana, Baringo, Samburu and West Pokot counties. Specifically, the study targeted conflict ravaged borders of Turkana and Samburu counties inhabited by the three communities (Pokot, Turkana and Samburu). The unit of focus were the ward boundaries. Samburu county had 6 potential sampling areas, while Turkana had a total of 8 potential areas. Lobokat, Katilu (Turkana South sub-county) and Lorengippi (Loima sub-

county) wards were selected in Turkana county. In Samburu county, Loosuk and Poro (Samburu West sub-county) and Nachola (Samburu South sub-county) wards were sampled from.

Data collection and management

A stratified snowballing technique was utilized to ensure that only community members affected by conflicts were interviewed. A total of 49 and 58 respondents in Samburu and Turkana, respectively were interviewed through a formal semi-structured questionnaire. The FGD participants were drawn across the stakeholders deemed to have direct roles in championing for peace and security at the ward levels. Similar trend was used to identify the KII in Turkana, Baringo, Samburu and West Pokot counties at both ward and county headquarter levels. In writing this report, the consultant used both primary and secondary data. Numerical data was analysed using descriptive statistics and cross-tabulation in Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Measures of central tendency (mean) and dispersion (range) were computed to summarize.

Results

Contribution of local politics to conflict: When the ICR were asked whether they believed the local politics or politicians had a role in the communal conflict, almost 90% of them acknowledged the contribution of local politics to communal conflicts. The specific roles given that politicians play to fan conflicts include: incitement at political rallies, provision of arms, compromising elders and giving handouts to the youths. Reasons connecting politicians to communal conflicts included need to retain voting masses, economic/resource interest, for sheer supremacy and corruption. Majority of respondents felt the best role politicians can play is to offer goodwill and set conducive environment for peace building initiatives. Appealing to local politicians to stop inter-ethnic/clan incitements was also cited as a major factor that could contribute to local peace.

Socio-economic and cultural issues related to conflict: One of the findings the study sought was to establish how respondents had been affected during conflicts. In Turkana, the majority of the respondents (about 90%) stated that they had lost a relative during one of the communal conflicts. Loss of livestock and other forms of livelihoods were cited as the other significant impacts by the Turkana respondents. In Samburu, the respondents indicated loss of livestock as the main impact suffered during conflicts. Respondents were asked if they had personally received any form of assistance during times of conflict. Positives responses were low. The different forms of help vary per county. In Turkana medical treatment and food aid were mentioned as the main form of help received. In Samburu, food aid and restocking were the main forms of help the victims received.

Causes of conflict: Competition over resources (water and pasture) was the major driver to conflicts in all the wards of study. This was followed closely by livestock raid (rustling). About 10% of the respondents cited local politics as another driver to conflicts in their areas. Retaliatory attacks were only mentioned in Turkana county. Other causes cited are youth rebellion, and bad influence from traditional 'seers' and kraal leaders.

Extent to which CIDP2 addresses conflict: The CIDP2 (2018-2022) of the four counties (Baringo, West Pokot, Turkana and Samburu) recognize rampant insecurity, under the peace and security pillar, amongst the social economic challenges facing the community members and residents. The 4 counties also listed the key priorities under CIDP1 (2013-2017) to include: Health, Education, Infrastructure, Drought Emergencies Mitigation and Food Security as the core areas of focus for the counties. A review of the plans indicates varying degree of achievements in all the above sectors. The major focus in the CIDP1 was drought management, which was recognised as a major trigger of the rest of the disasters. Inter and intra communal or clan conflicts has not been comprehensively addressed in either CIDP1 and CIDP2.

All the CIDP2 (for Baringo, West Pokot, Turkana and Samburu) mentioned special linkages to Constitution of Kenya 2010, County Government Act 2012, Public Finance Management Act 2012 and Vision 2030 (which is a long-term Government Economic Blue Print) and mainstreaming of the CIDP2 to SDG to drive the county agenda and strategies. Of interest is the West Pokot and Baringo CIDP2 which are additionally linked to Sindai Framework of Action for Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) and Ending Drought Emergency Framework (EDEF). The above two frameworks, though key in DRR, have not been cited in the Samburu

and Turkana CIDP2.

Participation and awareness in CIDP2: The two county governments (Turkana and Samburu) cite adequate participation and consultation in reviewing 2013-2017 (CIDP1) and drafting 2018-2022 (CIDP2) in line with the public participation guidelines stipulated in the Constitution. The situation on the ground paint a picture contrary to what the county CIDPs report. Almost all of the individual respondents consulted (92%) indicated their lack of knowledge in the existence of the CIDP2, leave alone participating in its drafting. With the exception of the local administration (chief and assistant chiefs) the 92% additionally cited lack of engagement in the development/ reviewing of the CIDP2 at ward level.

Conclusions

Weak evaluation of impacts peace initiatives: Monitoring and evaluation frameworks of projects relating to conflict management is weak or lacking. M&E is only mentioned as one of the components under the Implementation Framework in the CIDP2, but not well elaborated including its tools and plans.

Illiteracy hinders effective public participation: There is a direct correlation between the majority of the ICR interviewed who are illiterate (50.15% Turkana and 63% Samburu) and their lack of knowledge in the existence of and the details in the CIDP2.

Impacts of violent conflicts is universal: The four counties (Baringo, Samburu, Turkana and West Pokot) all recognize inter-clan and inter-communal conflict as a major impediment to socio-cultural, economic and political progress of their citizens and communities.

Different politicians play different roles: The significance of a politician or political office does not follow the ranking or the established hierarchical order. Within a county, there could be areas where the most influential politician would be the ward MCA. In such case, the assumption that higher political offices are key in smooth project implementation would be wrong.

There are legislative gaps in conflict management: County-based legislative initiatives depend on efforts from the national government. Any weak link, or inaction from the national government affects the overall conflict management progress in the counties. For example, the Conflict Management Bill is still in draft form at National level, which also affects its drafting and implementation at county levels.

Role of local media is crucial in all stages: Media is a key component in information dissemination. On the contrary, the local media is rarely involved in key aspects of drafting and refining legislative documents like CIDP2. The closest they get involved is through invitation as 'guests' to cover events. Going forward, media should be considered as a key component on information dissemination on CIDP2 in local languages palatable to the local community.

Recommendations

Softer interventions: Research finding pointed to material interventions as the most common ways governments and development partners respond to victims of conflict. There is need to explore non-commodity approaches like setting up, and training locals to operationalize them, psychological and counselling centres to deal with victims of violent conflicts.

Elevate communal/ clan conflicts to full disaster level: Interpretation as to what is a Disaster has been largely restricted to the conventional forms of natural disasters: flood, disease, drought etc, but not communal conflicts. It is very important that advocating for the respective counties to elevate inter- and intra-communal/ clan conflicts to full disaster level should be prioritized.

Advocate for adoption of past accords: There are a number of peace accords and agreement that have been signed and adopted by different communities and leaders in Samburu and neighbouring counties, or Turkana and neighbouring counties. Most of these accords have not been followed to the latter. There is need for community leaders and development partners to support and facilitate the operationalization such accords and agreements.

Building capacity of local actors: A positive step that has been recognized is the establishment of village

administrators by the county governments. These local administrators supplement the local chiefs and assistant chiefs in the peace process. Capacity building the administrators to be able to establish early warning hubs that can feed into the directorate of peace database on conflict management.

Partnerships with local media: Local media plays an important role in peace building. There are peace promotional processes that have been used by local FM stations like studio discussion on peace-based initiatives, thereby setting trend for community on ideas that can be explored by community members for sustainable harmony. A development partner may sponsor a pilot project or programmes that focus on peace, through paying for airtime,. But for a sustainable contribution of the local media, the strategy would be to building the capacity of especially local media on the need to prioritise programs about peace and food security in their planning

Forge partnership: There are already development partners in Samburu and Turkana implementing conflict management projects. Besides, the respective county governments, through the peace directorate, is also involved in the process. It would be beneficial if new development partners forged a working partnership with the existing networks.

Borrow from working models: One of the positive stories that has been documented is the success of cross-border chiefs forum for Kenya (Turkana West) and Uganda participants in peace articulation. This is a forum exclusively for chiefs where they share information on cohesion and peace building. The forum also acts as a platform for delivery of early warning systems with regards to disasters (conflicts).

Produce citizen friendly versions: To increase access to information and effective public participation in the county processes, including making decisions on conflict management, it is recommended that important information as such CIDP2 should be translated and packaged in simple languages which is readily consumable by the local communities to make gain on the levels of awareness on the document.

Improve social audits of conflict management programmes: Its worth noting that M&E informs county budgeting and investment needs on projects implementation by the four counties. There is a strong need for a proper and elaborate M&E framework for all county projects (especially those that deal with conflict management) to establish their effectiveness and impacts to either inform continuous investment (if it's impactful) or termination if not effective.

Have peace initiatives or projects with longer cycles: Peace building should be continuous, not as a project of definite years. Most projects initiated by development partners in the pastoral areas follow on a predictable cycle of 2-3-years period. This has been noted to be ineffective. It is therefore recommendable that an intervention targeting peace building, or other support projects need to be longer.

Political goodwill: For sustainability of good neighbourliness, all leaders regardless of their rank should preach and practice peace in all their undertakings. Spiritual leaders should also be encouraged to preach the importance of peace for prosperity. The local politicians can also pursue formal agreement between their counties with national government on modalities of gun surrender.

Avenues to push for conflict management ideas: Since the CIDP2 for the two counties are already finalized, this study recommends that the best avenue where new conflict management ideas can be recommended for adoption by the counties would be through the proposed county bills and policies.

Simultaneously involve partners from both side: A general trend in most projects is that they are 'one-sided', targeting only one community or clan at a time. Our recommendation is that at any one time a piece initiative or project is being implemented, the development partners should get participants from both sides of the warring clans/ communities to participate in the same project instead of having one project replicated in different communities. Again, members from neighbouring counties should be in the project steering committee.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

APAD	Agency for Pastoral Development
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CDMC	County Disaster Management Committees
CECM	County Executive Committee Member
CIDP	Country Integrated Development Plan
CIDP1	County Intergrated Development Plan (CIDP) for 2013-2018
CIDP2	County Intergrated Development Plan (CIDP) for 2018-2022
CRECO	Constitution and Reform Education Consortium
CSG	County Steering Group
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
EDEF	Ending Drought Emergency Framework
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FBO	Faith Based Organizations
FDC	Field Data Collection
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FM	Frequency Modulation
ICR	Individual Community Responses
ITDG	Intermediate Technology Development Group
KAS	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
KPHC	Kenya Population and Housing Census
KII	Key Informants Interview
KRCS	Kenya Red Cross Society
KPR	Kenya Police Reservists
MCA	Member of County Assembly
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MP	Member of Parliarment

NDMA	National Drought Management Authority
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
NIC	National Intelligent Committee
NPR	National Police Reservists
ODK	Open Data Kit
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SCDMC	Sub-County Disaster Management Committee
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SPLM/A	Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Movement/Army
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
ToR	Terms of Reference
WDMC	Ward Disaster Management Committee
WFP	World Food Programme
°C	Degrees Celcius

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) is implementing a food security project in Kenya to help change the mind-set of County Governments and local communities especially in Baringo, West Pokot, Samburu and Turkana to equip them with the capacity to make sustainable contributions in the management of drought episodes and prevention of famine. Socio-political empowerment of local communities especially the pastoralist in the border regions of Samburu and Turkana is one of the key interventions of this project. KAS is working with the state and non-state actors to promote and strengthen participatory political environment and subsequently sound public policy frameworks in the target counties in respect to improving food security.

There is documented evidence to show that violent conflicts involving pastoralists have become widespread and increasingly severe in the North-Rift and northeastern regions of Kenya. The factors contributing to such conflicts are diverse. Conflicts involving pastoralists associated with resource competition, cattle rustling and wide availability of small arms are widespread and of increasing concern {Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG): <https://practicalaction.org/conflict-in-northern-kenya>}.

The County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP), as a county's implementation blue print, is crucial in ensuring that matters socio-economic and political developments are well addressed. Due to the cross-sectoral harmony and alignment in CIDP, these roadmap documents mirror the aspirations of citizenry within a foreseeable future. As provided by subsidiary legislations and the constitution of Kenya, 2010; public opinion ought to be taken into consideration during the development and implementation of a CIDP. However, this process may not be conclusive in most of the pastoralist zones of the target counties due a variety of factors.

The CIDP of Baringo, Samburu, Turkana and West Pokot counties clearly cite inter-clan conflicts along their borders as one of the factors that have constantly derailed development and service provision hence creating a vicious circle of food insecurity. The areas along the borders are particularly most affected compared to others. To date, perennial cycles of pastoral clashes have been reported in different parts of the above counties. Due to the potential of conflicts to cause ripple effects across geographies, these ethnic conflagrations have repeatedly affected regional trade, transport and harmony in many areas within the region beyond the mentioned hotspots. While implementing the county CIDP, it is imperative to take care of this challenge of conflict among herders so that they can sustain their livelihoods hence food secured.

1.2 The assignment and duration

In light of the above, undertaking assessment of the 2018 -2022 CIDPs of the two counties (Samburu and Turkana) was needed to shade more light on gaps in relation to pastoralists, specifically, livestock herders, the causes and routes of conflicts and possible solutions. The assessment report would summarize what is relevant to herders/pastoralists (nomadic and agro pastoralists) and the suggested ways which can be included in the planning and implementation phases.

The above context consequently formed the basis for engaging Belisan Advisory Limited (the Consultant) to primarily undertake the above-mentioned tasks in the counties of Samburu and Turkana and develop a report that identifies and addresses the gaps in the CIDPs.

The study period and reporting lasted between June 19, 2019 and July 31, 2019.

1.3 Project objectives

1.3.1 Broad objective

The overall objective of the task was to undertake an assessment of CIDP of Samburu and Turkana, with secondary references to the Baringo and West Pokot counties so as to identify gaps in relation to cross border conflicts among pastoral communities and how to seal them. Recommendations and detailed analysis were to be done for Samburu and Turkana counties.

1.3.1 Specific objectives

To adequately respond to the broad objective, the Consultant came up with five (5) specific objectives to guide the study. These 5 objectives were derived from the 5 research questions that were contained in the ToR. They included to:

1. Assess the potential contribution of local politics and politicians to conflicts among the pastoralists in Samburu, Baringo, West Pokot and Turkana Counties
2. Analyse the socio-economic, cultural and other issues affecting the pastoral communities along the shared border counties of Samburu, Baringo, West Pokot and Turkana that may be funning conflicts
3. Examine the extent to which the current Samburu, Baringo, West Pokot and Turkana CIDPs (2018 - 2022) address the cross-border conflicts as part of their disaster risk reduction plans (DRRP).
4. Establish the level of community and county actor's awareness on DRRP (conflicts) as addressed in the Samburu, Baringo, West Pokot and Turkana CIDP (2018 - 2022) and their level of involvement.
5. Establish the mechanisms that can be employed by the borderline communities and local politicians for sustainable conflicts resolution.

1.4 Study hypothesis and research questions

This study hypothesised that, *'local politics is not associated with inter-community conflicts'*. To answer this hypothesis, we designed a number of hypothesis guided research questions as detailed below:

- To what extent do local politics and politicians contribute to inter-clan or inter-community conflicts?
- What specific actions and roles do local politicians play that contribute to inter-clan or inter-community conflicts?
- How has the frequency and trend of conflicts among herders played out since inception of devolution?
- What specific roles can politicians play in the pursuit of sustainable peace in the region, especially with regard to adoption and implementation of the counties' CIDP 2018-2022?
- Who among the political officeholders (MCA, MP, Woman Representative, Senator, Governor, New Aspirants) can be most influential in addressing the inter-clan or community-conflicts?

1.5 Significance and output

As outlined in the ToR, the work was intended to help strengthen the capacities of local stakeholders and the targeted community groups in the two counties as well as produce a policy brief that can be used to share possible alternatives to the problem.

1.6 Limitations and assumptions

1.6.1 Study limitations

The Consultant understood that this assignment carried with it certain risks and/or limitations. It therefore meant that careful planning and considerations had to be taken into account before embarking on the execution of the assignment. The following table highlights some of the risks encountered and actions the study team took to avaiod or minimise them:

Table 1-1: Limitations faced by study team

Identified risk / limitations	Contingency measures adopted
<p>High rate of insecurity in the study areas:</p> <p>The two counties targeted for study share some of the most volatile borders. This posed a challenge because the study was also meant to target the crossborder communities in areas where there has been inter/intra community conflicts.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Consulting the local stakeholders on the ground for a brief on the situation on the ground before travel. ❖ Using local enumerators to access respondents deep in the villages to reduce exposure.
<p>Sensitivity of the research topic:</p> <p>Insecurity and conflict are sensitive issues. The team encountered respondents, especially among the ordinary citizens who were reluctant to be interviewed upon learning the topic. The fear was that by so speaking about conflicts, they would be seen as inciters by other members.</p> <p>Among the KIIs, there were also a lot of requests for anonymity and sometimes politely declining to give a straight opinion or answers to certain research question.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Guaranteeing the interviewees their right to remain anonymous ❖ Further probing, or reframing sensitive question. ❖ Explaining to the respondents that the study does not have any 'political' objectives
<p>Language barrier:</p> <p>This study targeted, in part, the local community members (pastoralists) who have been victims of conflicts. Some of them do not speak the Kenyan national languages of Kiswahili or English</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Use of local residents as enumerators with ability to translate local language to English and Kiswahili. ❖ Training enumerators and jointly subjecting the tools to a pretest so that the enumerators could understand and master it well.
<p>Poor road network and mobility:</p> <p>Besides being insecure some rural areas especially those zones close to the borders, had poor road network that were impassable in some sections.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Inviting and holding the FGD in a central place accessible to all. ❖ Facilitating enumerators' movement through alternative transport means (<i>boda boda</i> – motorcycle rides)

1.6.1 Study assumptions

This study was undertaken with certain assumptions:

- **Sampling integrity:** Only 6 Wards (3 in Turkana and 3 in Samburu County) were sampled out of the various cross-border areas between Samburu and Turkana. The study assumes that the findings from these areas is a true reflection of the state of the crossborder conflicts in the two counties, and that the lessons learnt from the sampled villages during the study also reflects the situation in Baringo, Samburu, Turkana and West Pokot counties.
- **Interview responses:** The Consultant noted during fieldwork that the inter-clan or inter-communal conflict was a very sensitive topic and that most respondents felt shy in discussing it with the the research team. Nonetheless, the Consultant treats the responses obtained from different respondents as factual, objective and given without undue influence.

1.7 Scope and deliverables of study

1.7.1 Assignment scope

This assignment, according to the details in the terms of reference (ToR), had four (4) major phases for delivery. They included:

- Literature review, with special focus on comprehensive review of CIDP of Samburu and Turkana counties; with regards to plans on conflict management. Secondary reference was also made to the Baringo and West Pokot counties CIDP. Related documents from public and private sector organizations were also reviewed.

- Detailed field delivery {data collections through direct interviews, focus group discussions (FGD) and key informant interviews (KII)}
- Presentation of the preliminary findings to diverse stakeholders in workshops organized by the Client for incorporation of their inputs and acceptance of the findings.
- Submission of draft and final reports to the client.

1.6.1 Assignment deliverables

The specific deliverables that were highlighted by the Client included the reporting requirements and events that the Consultants needed to fulfil. They included the following items:

Table 1-2: Status of study deliverables

Deliverable	Comments on the deliverables
Inception report	This was Deliverable 1. It was submitted and adopted by the client
A consultative meeting on data collection tools	Data tools were developed, shared and adopted by the client. Samples attached as annex 6.1 in this report.
Draft report	This was Deliverable 2. It was submitted to client for comments. Feedback and suggestions were incorporate into the final report.
Stakeholders' validation workshop and report	KAS to mobilize and facilitate stakeholders to participate. Meeting venue and specific list of participants shall be determined by the client.
Final report	This document fulfils this requirement. To be submitted to client in both electronic version and 2 signed hard copies.

2. TRENDS AND DRIVERS OF CONFLICTS

2.1 County borderline conflicts

Communal conflict is a major cause of problems affecting human security as it leads to loss of lives, livelihoods and displacement of people. These kinds of conflict involve two or more actors; be it villages, ethnic groups, self-defense groups or militias who are at strife over a set of scarce resources. Escalation of these conflicts can result in nationwide conflict leading to destabilization of countries. Violent conflicts have had very negative and severe impacts on the communities that are involved in these conflicts.

Loss of human life, property, displacements of large segments of the communities, disruption of socio-economic activities and livelihoods, increased hatred between communities, environmental degradation and threat to water catchments areas, increased economic hardships as a result of loss of livelihoods, high levels of starvation and malnutrition among the displaced groups and unprecedented dependency syndrome on relief food are the main negative impacts of the increasing and severe inter-ethnic armed conflicts (Brosché and Elfversson, 2012).

From the sustainable development goals (SDG) platform, Goal number 16 talks of promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, providing access to justice for all, and building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels. Target 16.1 aims to significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere; and indicator 16.1.2 seeks to reduce conflict related deaths per 100,000 populations by age, sex and cause. The major causes of communal conflicts have been identified as either one or a combination of the following factors (<https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg16>):

- Competition for resources, mainly land resource access and control
- Cross border tension, mainly boundary disputes
- Climate change and resultant environmental degradation
- Inadequate state response to conflict
- Traditional conflict management
- Availability of small arms and light weapons (SALW)
- Human-wildlife conflict
- Cultural practises
- Political incitement / differences / intolerance
- Retaliation / counter attacks
- Population growth
- Resettlement

2.1.1 Outlook of conflicts in the region

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), conflict has been exacerbated by powerful politicians taking advantage of a state of insecurity to incite people to raid cattle or fight for extractive resources. Another example from the formative years of early 2000s is Darfur in Sudan where the government used rival groups to cause conflict over land and cattle. Nigeria also experienced conflict in the form of farmer-herder conflicts between the Muslim Fulani herdsmen and the Christian Yoruba peasant farmers due to competition for resources.

Land or lack of adequate land for farming and herding vis a vis high population growth has been a major cause of inter community conflict especially in South Western Nigeria. Further the conflicts are sustained by the proliferation of small arms that are easily available, cheap and are easy to carry. There is some empirical evidence that cultural differences, compared to economic (class) or political (political party) differences, contribute significantly to inter-communal violent conflicts in sub Saharan Africa

On a Regional perspective, a good example of an area characterized by communal conflict is Sudan and specifically in the Darfur region which was termed as the most violent subnational region in Africa in 2014. In Darfur, the majority of these battles and fatalities involve the Maaliya and Rizaygat ethnic militias. In recent years, inter-communal conflict has become increasingly prevalent, compounding the security situation in Darfur especially (Agence France Presse, 2014). While inter-communal conflict made up only approximately 5% of all conflict in Darfur in 2014, these battles resulted in approximately 22% of fatalities – pointing to how deadly this type of conflict can be.

Amnesty International traces much of the inter-communal conflict in Sudan back to Sudan's failing economy (Amnesty International, 2014), as much of this conflict between pastoralist and farming communities is seen as clashes over access to land (Reuters, 2014) as well as cattle (ACLEDA, 2014). Oil also fuels this conflict, especially in oil-rich West Kordofan (Radio Tamazuj, 2014).

South Sudan is also affected by intercommunal conflict between the Dinka, Nuer and Murle mainly caused by effects of climate change for instance rising temperatures, and recurrent drought, economic marginalization and prolonged civil war. Unpredictable and changing weather patterns has led to strife over water sources and pastures and also cattle raids carried out by young men to improve their livelihoods. Recurrent conflicts have also impeded local trade and agro-pastoral production, initiating a vicious cycle of impoverishment and further violence in certain parts of South Sudan.

Conflicts in South Sudan are linked to wider political dynamics. During the civil war opposing the Government of Sudan and the South Sudanese SPLM/A (Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army) as well as the period following South Sudan's independence in 2011, local resource conflicts have frequently been exploited and exacerbated as a way to foster support for different military and political leaders. These conflicts have been associated with counter-insurgency strategies utilized by the Government of Sudan and with different factional disputes within the SPLM/A during the civil war but also with more recent rivalries within the South Sudanese government.

2.1.2 National perspective on conflicts

The main areas of conflict in Kenya are Garissa, Mandera, Wajir and Isiolo Counties, Trans Nzoia County; Nyakach in Kisumu County; and Kipini in Tana River County. There have been a growing number of attacks on civilians over the years, such as the Mpeketoni attacks; the Kisauni and Likoni attacks in Mombasa, Lamu County; and attacks in Mandera County, which have all been linked to increasing terrorist activity.

Northern Kenya has a long history of ethnic conflict, violence and marginalization, but new conflict drivers and dynamics related to devolution, terrorism and resource extraction are now exacerbating these local tensions and raising challenges for traditional peacebuilding structures. In Garissa, inter clan conflict have existed for a long time due to drought which leads to reduced pastures therefore there is competition for the scarce resource together with water.

The conflicts in the pastoralist drylands of Kenya are highly complex and multi-layered (Gibbons, 2014). Conflicts and violence have tended to take the form of cattle rustling, ethnic violence, displacements, massacres and revenge attacks (Sharamo, 2014; Okumu, 2013). There is a long tradition of cattle raiding for prestige and bride prices, as well as competition over scarce and diminishing water and pasture resources (Okumu, 2013). However, 'commercial' cattle raiding that involve excessive violence also occurs.

The Constitution and Reform Education Consortium (CRECO) carried out a baseline report which mapped conflict in the 47 counties in Kenya (Kituku, 2012). It found that Kenya generally had higher incidences of violence in the majority of its counties, which were the result of 'ethnic intolerance, border conflicts, political party zoning, competition over land and other resources, proliferation of small arms, weak security and poverty' (Owuor, 2012).

Unresolved grievances and a lack of local community engagement of the coastal areas has fuelled frequent conflicts and a high loss of life, including the burning of a school and a police station. The Coast province has a long history of calling for secession from Kenya based on distinct ethno-regional identities and claims of socio-economic marginalization of the region, although thus far calls for secession have been largely non-violent (Dowd and Raleigh, 2013; Mwakimako and Willis, 2014). These claims of socio-economic marginalization are of particular concern where they overlap with religious narratives used

by religious militants in the volatile region. The violence in the Coast is characterized by 'relatively high volatility, reflected in sporadic spikes in violence, followed by relative lulls.

Access to resources, opportunities for livelihoods, as well as opportunities to participate adequately in dialogue on issues affecting local people often results in conflict. The Turkana people residing near the *Ilemi Triangle* have seen their share of death and tragedy due to skirmishes with the Cushite Dassanech tribe (mainly residing in Ethiopia) over grazing rights dating back to pre-colonial days.

2.1.3 Inter-communal conflicts within study area

Northern Kenya counties of Samburu, Turkana, West Pokot and Baringo are characterized by two dominant land cover types. That is rangeland and gazetted forest and by such, it follows that the land uses include nomadic pastoralism, wildlife conservation, urban development and crop farming to a lesser extent. Nomadic pastoralism is practiced as a major economic activity and by that, there are challenges which lead to conflicts. For instance, disease outbreaks, inadequate grazing resources, frequent droughts and insecurity. The above more often than not lead to inter-clan conflicts which derail important processes like land adjudication of group ranches.

Resource based conflict experienced also result from climate variability where land is unable to support livelihoods that it did in earlier years and this problem is magnified by the high population growth rate vis a vis the available resources.

Violent conflicts have been reported on a recurrent base in between clans and communities residing in Baringo, Samburu, Turkana and West Pokot where this study was focused. A glaring example is Kapendo attacks in Turkana county between the warring communities of Pokot and Turkana which occurred on 25th October 2014 (33 community members and three government security officers were reported to have lost their lives). Other critical areas where conflicts are rampant include places like Baragoi, Suguta Marmar, Kainuk, Lokori amongst many.

To avert such catastrophies, most of the aforementioned counties have enacted the County Disaster Management Acts which are products of the county intergrated development plans for the years 2018-2022 (CIPD2) to deal with both the causes, effects and management of the disasters.

2.1.3.1 Turkana county conflicts

Cattle raids and resource-based conflicts are the main types and manifestations of conflict in Turkana county. The county's proximity to Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda and hostile neighboring counties in Kenya makes it one of the most affected by insecurity incidences. Violent intercommunal conflict over water, pasture and livestock resources affects Turkana's borders.

Cross-border conflict between the Pokot and Turkana is severe and an almost daily occurrence taking the forms of raiding and road banditry, besieging and burning villages (which are uncommon forms of inter-communal conflict) and killings amounting to an average of 12 persons per month in the first quarter of 2015 (Mkutu et al., 2015). Particular incidences include the killings of 21 police officers by bandits in Kapedo in November 2014, and a revenge attack by the Turkana on the Pokot in May 2015 in which an estimated 92 people died. One count revealed that over a 3 and half month period from January 2015, in southeast and south Turkana (including Loima sub-county) there were at least 30 security incidences, including raids, ambushes and banditry, in which at least 37 people died and over 11,000 animals (mostly sheep and goats) were raided. Only around a quarter of the animals were recovered. In February 2015, following a raid in Kapedo in which 2 people were killed, it was noted that despite a security presence in the area to enforce disarmament, police did not respond.

2.1.3.2 Causes of conflicts in Turkana county

An organization, Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG, 2016) of Eastern Africa carried out a study on conflict in Turkana and came up with the following as the cause of communal conflicts. This was based on the number of respondents in the study: (90%) cited wealth as the major cause of conflict. People go for raids so as to acquire more livestock and enrich themselves. Other causes cited include: heroism (86%), dowry (80%), revenge attacks (78%), poverty (76%), possession of illegal arms (74%). The arms are acquired from the black market originating from Sudan, Uganda, Ethiopia and to a lesser extent from the Kenya government. The guns are expensive to a cost of Kenya Shillings 60,000 or an equivalent of 6 bulls but the people still buy them. Other causes are competition for natural resources with neighbors especially the Pokot (70%) and drought (64%). It is important to note here that poverty and wealth are two different points. Those who raid to enrich themselves (wealth) do so to add on to the

livestock that they already have whereas those who are poor have nothing to add to, they steal because they do not have anything.

2.1.3.3 Trends of conflicts in Turkana county

The oil industry: the discovery of economically viable oil deposits in Turkana County has led to a rise in conflict among the community. Even with relocation and compensation, the people are concerned of their natural resources and accessibility to water sources like boreholes, inaccessibility to grazing land, and concerns about environmental impacts of oil drilling. In addition, the distribution of employment opportunities has caused the rise of interclan conflicts because other section of the community feel they have been disadvantaged. The oil industry has slowly led to the change of lifestyle from a cattle economy to a cash economy and therefore change from livestock keeping to working in the oil camps.

This is gradually changing the youth from concentrating on pastoral livelihoods and cattle raiding to focussing on new opportunities that come with this industry. Job opportunities in the industry have fuelled inter-clan conflict within Turkana, particularly when local politicians or elites become involved in securing opportunities for their own. Oil and gas are said to be factors in the aggression, while political incitement is taking place and is likely to increase as the elections approach. The presence of Kakuma refugee camp in northern Turkana, and the plans for a second camp nearby in Kalobeyei is relevant as another source of potential insecurity and competition for land within Turkana.

2.1.3.4 Players in conflicts in Turkana county

Traditionally, the Turkana do not raid amongst their people but rather, the neighboring communities. Most of the raids are conducted by the youthful morans for heroism in consultation with politicians, elders and 'seers'. The community recognizes the 'successful youth' who are actively engaged in raids as their source of pride. They are accorded heroic welcome after the raids, tattooed and their clan given a new name that brings pride.

2.1.3.5 Causes of conflicts in Samburu county

Conflict between the Samburu and is believed to be about resources such as land, water, and pasture and, to some extent, political boundary. The pastoralist conflict in Baragoi manifested through killings and cattle raids. Given Samburu has relatively high numbers and diversity of wildlife, human-wildlife conflicts are significant than in Turkana county. The human-wildlife conflicts have also resulted in increased tensions among herders and ranchers as pastoralists move to protected ranches affecting the ecological balance of pristine protected areas.

Revenge and counter-revenge attacks by the people whose cows have been stolen and relatives killed respond has also lead to an exacerbation of the conflict. It was also noted that crossing district borders (15%) causes conflicts. For instance, conflict arose between Turkana and Samburu/ Rendille when the Rendille crossed "SoitoOlkokoyo" plains. Increasing scarcity of resources, primarily of arable land and water might intensify inter-communal conflicts. For example, *Eltungai Conservancy* has been a cause of long-standing ethnic fights between the Samburu and Pokot for a long time with both parties claiming ownership to the area as it has expansive pastures for feeding the animals.

2.1.3.6 Trends in conflicts in Samburu county

It has been observed that ironically the conflict between the Samburu and Turkana are heightened during the rainy season and not the dry season. This imply that competition over environmental resources, while assumed to be the main cause of conflict, is not the major cause of conflict during this period. Other causes like political incitement may be speculated. In Baragoi, such divisions are evident such that the town is divided into two, one side being claimed by Turkana and the other side the Samburu.

2.1.3.7 Players in conflicts in Samburu county

The principal actors and or aggressors of conflict in Samburu are Turkanas from Turkana and Baragoi and the Samburus themselves. Pokot from Baringo and Rendille are the other actors. In nearly all the above cases of conflict, the youth from these communities are directly involved. It is believed that the conflict process is accelerated by the actions of political leaders and Laibons (soothsayers). Resources (grazing land and water) account for a sizeable share in fueling conflict. Additionally, politicians incite the communities against the 'enemies' during electioneering period.

2.1.4 Local actors in the inter-communal conflict management

There are a number of state and non-state actor who have been involved in peace initiatives in the two pastoral counties of Turkana and Samburu. The roles played by the actors sometimes overlap as shown in the table below:

Table 2-1: Major actors in the conflict management in Samburu and Turkana

No.	Actor(s)	Roles played
1	National government agencies like National Drought Management Authority (NDMA); Ministry of Interior and Coordination; Kenya Redcross	Providing early warning systems for climatic change impacts; provides security personnel, carries out research on areas that need security intervention and maintaining of peace; provide emergency responses during disasters; provide counselling to victims.
2	Non-governmental Organizations (NGO) like Faith Based Organizations (FBO); Community Based Organizations (CBOs); International Development Partners	Provide relief food during times of conflict; taking care of vulnerable children, widows; organize peace and reconciliation meetings; quelling inter-communal conflicts; providing loans; economic empowerment of women through trainings, table banking, marketing for products; rangeland conservation. Some of the FBOs include Caritas Lodwar/Samburu and Mercy Corps Lodwar, Northern Rangeland Trust (NRT) Samburu, TUPADO and APAD Lodwar, World Food Programme (WFP), Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), Practical Action and GIZ.
3	Key Resource Persons	Like village administrators, religious leaders like pastors, bishops, imams, traditional African religious leaders. They are useful in community mobilization. These are the main actors involved in fostering peace because even before civilization, the elders were governing the African communities. They play an important role in peace keeping because they understand the ways of the community and which methods would and would not work. Involved in organizing peace building and reconciliation meetings between conflicting meetings.
4	County government actors like county peace committees, directorate of peace	Made up of the community elders and youth, women representatives of the conflicting groups

3. STUDY METHODOLOGY

3.1 Study area

This assessment was targeted towards the warring communities in the crossboundary zones of Turkana, Baringo, Samburu and West Pokot counties. Specifically, the study targeted the conflict ravaged borders of Turkana and Samburu counties inhabited by the three communities (Pokot, Turkana and Samburu).

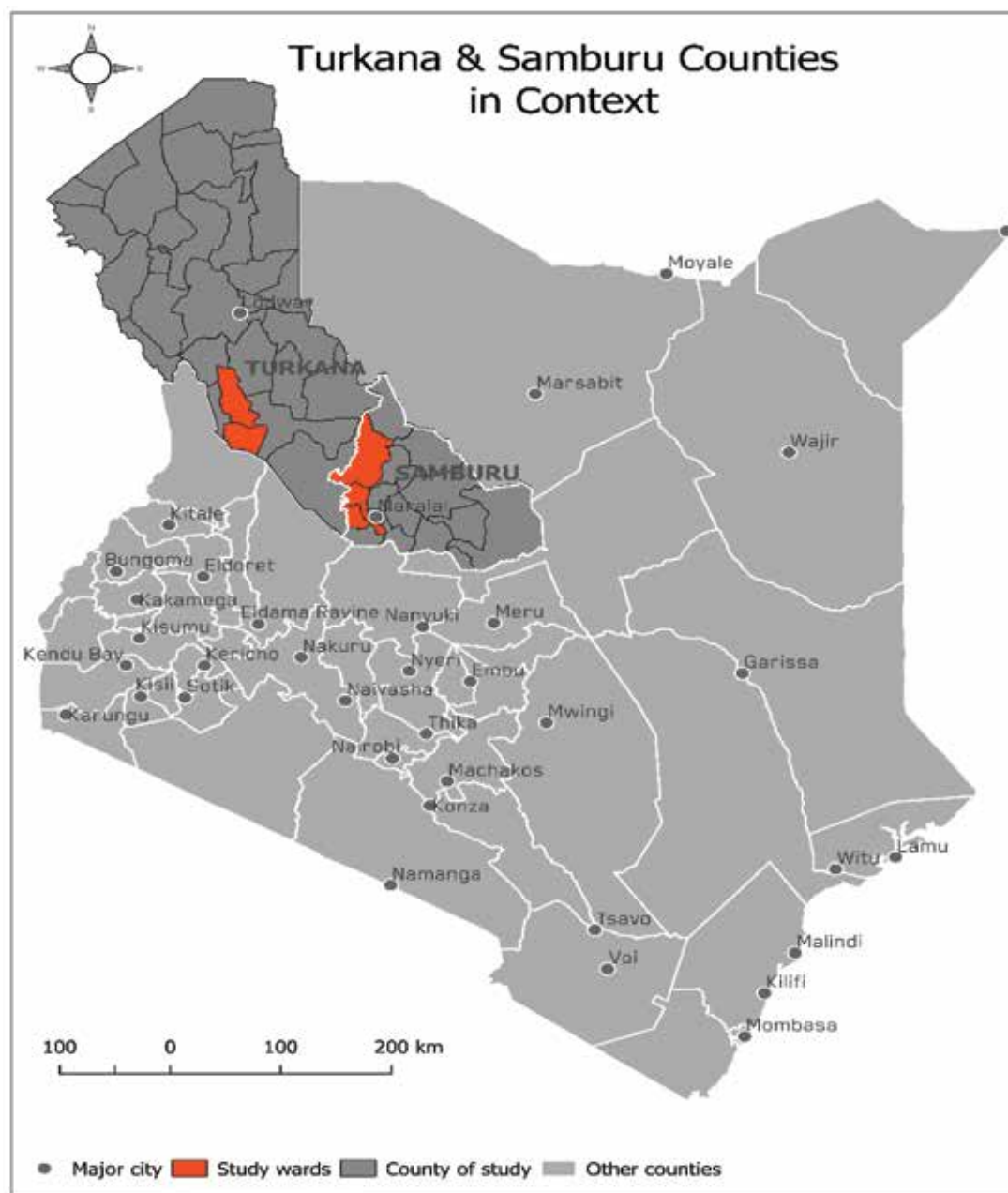


Figure 3-1: General map of Turkana and Samburu counties (Source: Author's)

3.1.1 Turkana county

Turkana county covers an area of 77,000 km² with a population of 855,399 (Kenya Population and Housing Census (KPHC) 2009) and 139,067 households. The county borders Ethiopia and South Sudan to the north, Uganda to the west. The bordering counties are West Pokot to the south, Samburu and Baringo to the southeast, Marsabit to the east. Lodwar town is the County headquarters which hosts most of the administrative offices.

The county is administratively divided into 6 sub-counties, 30 wards, 17 divisions, 56 locations that are further sub-divided into 156 sub-locations. According to the KPHC, 2009 results, the county population was 855,399 (52 % males and 48%). The population was projected to increase to 1,036,589 in 2012 and 1,427,808 in 2017.

Livestock plays an important economic and socio – cultural role among the Turkana community. The livestock sub-sector contributes to the food and cash needs of the pastoralist and provide employment to 90% of the population of 855,399 (2009 population census). It is also used as a medium for social exchange in the payments of bride price, fines, and gifts.

The county is generally arid and semi-arid and characterized by warm and hot climate. The temperatures range always fluctuates between 20°C and 41°C with a mean of 30.5°C. The rainfall pattern and distribution is erratic and unreliable both with time and space. There are two rainfall seasons. The long rains (*akiporo*) which usually occur between April and July and the short rains between October and November and ranges between 52mm and 480mm annually with a mean of 200mm.

3.1.2 Samburu county

Samburu County covers an area of 21,022km² with a population of about 224,000 (KPHC, 2009). The county shares borders with four other counties; Marsabit to the north and northeast, Isiolo to the east, Turkana to the west and northwest, and Laikipia and Baringo to the southwest. Maralal Town is the county headquarters which hosts most of the administrative offices.

Administratively, Samburu county is divided into three (3) sub-counties, 15 wards ,7 divisions 39 locations and 108 sub locations / villages. Livestock also plays an important economic and socio – cultural role among the Samburu community. The county is home to 223,947 people (male - 50.01% and female - 49.99%) according to the KPHC, 2009 census.

The county is generally arid and semi-arid and characterized by warm and hot climate. The temperatures range always fluctuates between 24°C and 35°C with a mean of 29.5°C. The rainfall pattern and distribution is erratic and unreliable both with time and space. There are two rainfall seasons. The long rains which usually occur between March and May and the short rains between October and November and ranges between 500 mm and 700 mm annually with an exemption of Nyiro and Ndotto Mountains and Matthews range which receives annual rainfall ranges between 750mm and 1,250mm

3.2 Sampling

The study’s primary focus was the shared border/cross boundaries of the Turkana and Samburu counties with their neighbours of Baringo and West Pokot counties. The unit of focus were the ward boundaries, which are political units in the counties. The crossborder wards in both Turkana and Samburu were purposively picked to ensure that areas which have always been ravaged by conflicts formed the study area.

Samburu county had 6 potential sampling areas, while Turkana had a total of 8 potential sites from where the survey could have been conducted.

Table 3-1: Crossborder wards of Turkana and Samburu counties

	County	Sub-county	Neighboring county	Potential sampling ward
1	Samburu	Samburu West	Baringo	Loosuk and Porro
		Samburu North	Turkana	Elbarta, Nachola, Nyiro and Angata-Nanyokie
2	Turkana	Loima	West Pokot	Kotaruk, Lokiriama/Lorengippi
		Turkana South	West Pokot	Kaputir, Katilu, Lobokat
		Turkana East	Baringo/West Pokot	Kapedo/Napeito, Katilia, Lokori

From the ward list, Lobokat, Katilu (Turkana South sub-county) and Lorengippi (Loima sub-county) wards were selected in Turkana county. The criteria used was relative safety and accessibility of the areas. In Lorengippi, only focused group discussion (FGD) was conducted. Turkana East wards were unsafe. In Samburu county, Loosuk and Poro (Samburu West sub-county) and Nachola (Samburu South sub-county) wards were sampled from.

To ensure the accomplishment of the assignment objectives, stratified snowballing sampling technique was utilized for the individual community respondents (ICR). This ensured that only border villages and community members affected by conflicts were targeted. Cumulatively for the two counties, the individual community respondents were further divided to Elders and/or household heads (to represent main community decision makers-47%), women (to represent main/ most vulnerable or victims-31%) and youths/morans (as executioners of conflict-22%).

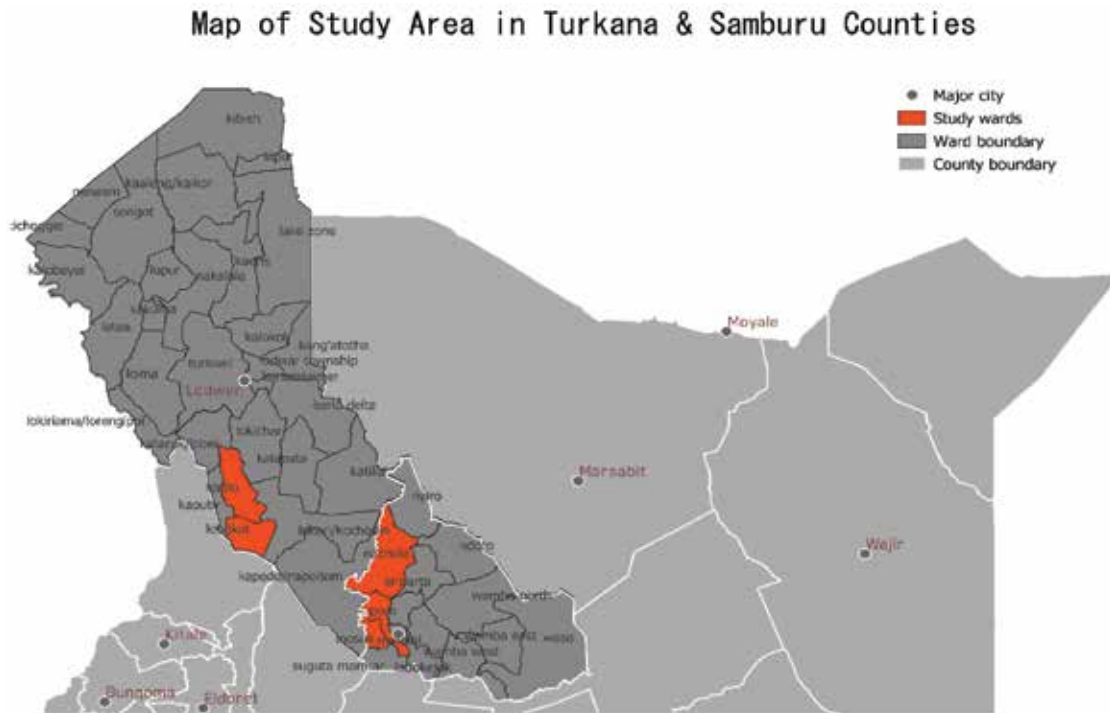


Figure 3-2: Border wards for Turkana and Samburu counties

3.2.1 Sampling in Samburu county

3.2.1.1 Individual community respondents (ICR)

A stratified snowballing technique was utilized to ensure that only community members affected by conflicts were interviewed. This formed the basis of targeting only the border villages adversely affected by the conflicts (Loosuk, Poro and Nachola). A total of 49 respondents were interviewed through a formal semi-structured questionnaire. Out of the sampled, 51% of those interviewed were males while 49% were females. The youths and morans accounted for 15% of the total respondents.

Table 3-2: Category of sampled individual households in Samburu

Sub County	Ward	Village	Category
Samburu West (borders Baringo)	Loosuk	Lolmolog (majority clan <i>Lorokushu</i>)	Male: No. 9 (62.3%) Female: No.5 (35.7%)
	Porro	Siambu (majority clan <i>Lmasula</i>)	Male: No.10 (62.5%) Female: No.6 (37.5%)
Samburu North (Borders Turkana)	Nachola	Tororo and <i>Centre</i> (majority clans <i>Ngimasula</i> and <i>Ngipusho</i>)	Male: No. 6 (31.6%) Female: No.13 (68.4%)

3.2.1.2 Focus group discussion (FGD)

The FGD participants were drawn across the stakeholders we deemed to have direct roles championing for peace and security at the ward level. Key FGD targets were drawn from the local administration (chiefs, assistant chiefs and ward representatives), county development partners (local and national/international NGOs), community members (elders, morans and women leader) and finally, security personnel (Kenya National Police).

The exercises were conducted between the 18th and 21st of July, 2019. The venues were at the area chiefs' camps in Loosuk, Nachola and Porro locations. The FGD had a composition of 7, 8 and 7 members each in Loosuk, Porro and Nachola respectively. A comprehensive list of attendant and details is provided in the annex 6.3.1 to this document.

Table 3-3: List of stakeholders who attended the Samburu FGD

FGD area	Category of participant	No.
Samburu West (Loosuk)	Development partners (NGOs)	1
	Local administration (ward representative and location chief)	2
	Security personnel	1
	Youth (moran)	1
	Elder/s	2
Samburu North (Porro)	Development Partners (NGOs)	1
	Local Administration (assistant chief)	1
	Elders	2
	Security personnel	1
	Youth (moran) representative	2
	County government representative	1
Samburu North (Nachola)	Development partners (NGOs)	1
	Local administration (ward representative and location chief)	2
	Security personnel	1
	Youth (moran)	1
	Elder	2
Total		22

3.2.1.3 Key informant interviews (KII)

Like the FGD list, the KII members were also drawn from the county stakeholders tasked with championing peace and security. The list of respondents was drawn from the ward level and county headquarter level. A total of 13 key stakeholders were consulted as per the table below (detailed list in annexed 6.3.2):

Table 3-4: The key informants who were consulted in Samburu County

Key informants	Category of participant	No.
Samburu county	Development Partners (Local and International NGO)	3
	Faith Based Organizations (FBO)	1
	Local politicians	2
	Local media	1
	Department of peace and special programs	2
	Local administration (chief and ward administrator)	3
	Local CBOs	1
	Total	13

3.2.2 Sampling in Turkana county

3.2.2.1 Individual community respondents (ICR)

A total of 58 respondents from Katilu and Lobokat wards were interviewed through a formal semi-structured questionnaire. From this number, 56.5% of those interviewed were male while 43.5% were females. Again, 25% of the respondents consulted were drawn from the youths and morans in the community as tabulated below.

Table 3-5: Individual respondents sampled in Turkana county

Sub County	Ward	Village	Category
Turkana South	Katilu	Lupur	Male: No.8 (57.1%) Female: No.6 (42.9%)
	Lobokat	Kainuk	Male: No.25 (56.8%) Female: No.19 (43.2%)

3.2.2.2 Focus group discussion (FGD)

The Turkana FGD exercises were conducted between the 11th and 13th July, 2019 at the chief camps in Lorengippi, Kainuk (Lobokat) and Katilu. The Lorengippi FGD had a composition of 9 members, while the Katilu and Lobokat FGDs had 7 participants each as tabulated below.

Table 3-6: Participants' groups for the Turkana County FGD

FGD area	Category of participant	No.
Loima (Lorengippi)	Development partners (NGOs)	3
	Local Administration (Ward Rep. and Chief)	2
	Security Personnel	1
	Youth	1
	Elders	2
Turkana (Lobokat) South	Development Partners (NGOs)	1
	Local Administration (Chief)	1
	Elders	2
	Security Personnel	1
	Youth Representative	1
	County Rep	1
Turkana South (Katilu)	Development Partners (NGOs)	1
	Local Administration (Chief)	1
	Elders	2
	Security Personnel	1
	Youth Representative	1
	County Rep	1
Total		23

A comprehensive list of those who attended and contact details is provided in the annex 6.3.1 to this report.

3.2.2.3 Key informant interviews (KII)

The Turkana trend was similar to that of Samburu county: the KII members were also drawn both from the ward level and county headquarter level. A total of 15 key stakeholders were consulted as per the table below (detailed list is in annex 6.3.2):

Table 3-7: Key informants interviewed in Turkana County

Key informants	Category of participant	No.
Turkana County	Development Partners	4
	Faith Based Organizations	1
	Politicians	4
	Local Media	1
	Department of Peace and Special Programs	2
	Local Administration	3
	Local CBOs	2
Total		15

3.2.3 Sampling in Baringo and West Pokot counties

Only key informant consultations (KII) were conducted in Baringo and West Pokot counties targeting key players in the peace building as tabulated below:

Table 3-8: Key informants interviewed in Baringo and West Pokot counties

Key informants	Category of participant ***	No.
Baringo	Development partners	2
	Local media	2
	Department of peace and special programs / disasters	2
	Total	6
West Pokot	Local Administration/ Security	1
	Local Media	1
	Department of peace and special programs / disasters	3
	Local CBOs	1
	Total	6

**** This list was provided by the client

3.3 Data collection instruments and process

A process-oriented approach was used to achieve the five (5) objectives of this assignment. This entailed extensive consultations with key stakeholders at all stages of the data collection process. Through participatory approach, the key stakeholders were consulted to give their views and opinions. The approach was also aimed at enhancing ownership of the final output that may lead to effective utilization of the study results by KAS. In writing this report, the consultant used both primary and secondary data. The following assessment tools were utilized:

Table 3-9: Data capture tools and process

No	Research objectives	Source/ process of acquiring information
1	Objective 1	Literature review, direct questionnaire administration, KII guide/checklist, FGD guide/checklist and direct observation and recording
2	Objective 2	Literature review, direct questionnaire administration, KII guide/checklist, FGD guide/checklist and direct observation and recording
3	Objective 3	Literature review, direct questionnaire administration, KII guide/checklist, FGD guide/checklist
4	Objective 4	Literature review, direct questionnaire administration, KII guide/checklist, FGD guide/checklist
5	Objective 5	Literature review, direct questionnaire administration, KII guide/checklist, FGD guide/checklist

3.3.1 Comprehensive literature review

A number of relevant documents and reference materials were reviewed with a view to obtaining background information of the study counties, specifically on conflicts. However, the County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP2) for 2018-2022 period for Samburu and Turkana counties were the cardinal documents to be reviewed. Additional references were made to the CIDP 2013-2018 (CIDP1) for the same counties.

To compliment the Samburu and Turkana CIDP2 reviews, the Baringo and West Pokot counties CIDP 2018-2022 were reviewed for additional information. For the Samburu and Turkana CIDP2 review, the aim was to extract the following point (that would help in answering the objective 3 of the study):

- Proposed conflict interventions / activities, if any
- Budget allocation: for the proposed peace activities
- Institutional arrangement: main actors for implementation
- Public engagement: process and frequency
- Information dissemination: channels and types
- Scope: duration of the proposed activities in the CIDP2
- Recommendation: on policy and areas of inclusion
- Politics on CIDP: effectiveness and roles

A list of all reviewed documents has been provided in the reference section of this report.

3.3.2 Direct individual interviews

Direct interviews were done using questionnaire (Annex 6.1.3). The survey questionnaire was designed and printed on paper form then translated to XLSFORM and published through Open Data Kit (ODK) to ONA server for use in mobile data platform. The questionnaire was used for data collection through an android platform running on tablets and phones to ensure data validity and reliability. The semi-structured questionnaire comprised both open-ended qualitative as well as multiple choice questions, in order to collect qualitative perception data and simultaneously quantify some of the data.

The survey relied to a greater extent on mobile platform, however, enumerators had few printed copies of the form as backup. Data quality was assured through **a)** detailed and elaborate enumerator training, **b)** review of all completed questionnaires, **c)** dry run (pre-test) of the questionnaire before employment and **d)** regular discussions of problem areas and how to deal with the problems with the enumerators.



Mobile ODK administration



Filling of printed questionnaire



Filling of printed questionnaire

Picture 3-1: Individual household interviews by enumerators

3.3.3 Key informant interviews (KII)

Key informant interviews (KII) were guided by a pre-prepared checklist (annex 6.1.2). The checklist was administered directly by the Consultant staff for accuracy of information. The findings from checklist were summarized for qualitative analysis. Baringo and West Pokot counties were included in the list as secondary sampling areas for KII, hence this component of the study covered 4 counties: Baringo, West Pokot, Samburu and Turkana.

In Samburu and Turkana, the KII used a combination of face to face interactions and phone interviews for respondents who could not be met in person. Baringo and West Pokot KIIs were consulted exclusively through phone interviews. For the 2 counties, the list of stakeholders who were to be interviewed was provided to the Consultant by the Client (see in Annex 6.3.2).



Picture 3-2: Interview of the key informants

3.3.4 Focus group discussion (FGD)

During the respective FGD in Turkana and Samburu counties participants were engaged to give a broad perspective to the five research objectives. Guide questions were used (administered directly by Consultant staff) for the consultative process and final responses were arrived after reaching a consensus. Outcomes of the group consultations were summarised, synthesized and analysed qualitatively. Local personnel were engaged as part of Consultant staff to translate most of the guiding questions in local language. Checklist (question guide used is attached as Annex 6.1.1).



Picture 3-3: Participants at an FGD in orengippi, Turkana

3.3.5 Direct observation and recording

The study team was also able to directly observe and note certain socio-economic, cultural and biophysical dynamics in the counties. For illustration purposes, photographs of interventions and beneficiaries were taken to support data collected using other tools (Annex 6.2).

3.4 Data analysis

Numerical data was analysed using descriptive statistics and cross-tabulation in Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The team also performed Spearman's coefficient test to examine the correlations between demographic variables and numerical data on community perceptions about how local politics contribute to conflict. We treated qualitative data through content analysis, specifically by coding. The unit of analysis was the interviewee.

Measures of central tendency (mean) and dispersion (range) were computed to summarize the data on perception of issues facing headers/pastoralists including nomadic pastoralists in the border regions of Samburu, Turkana that lead to conflicts. A custom-made MS Excel database with all variables captured with inbuilt range and consistency checks was created. The SPSS software was used to analyse the questionnaires on perceptions of respondents and identify local politicians' involvement in the inter-ethnic conflicts. Data was explored and analysed descriptively using five number summaries; with Cronbach's alpha and factor analysis used to analyse Likert scale data.

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS

The findings from data collected during fieldwork and interviews have been presented here in alignment with the output areas and their corresponding research objectives.

4.1 Individual community respondents (ICR) profile information

A total of 107 individual respondent questionnaires were administered in 5 villages in the two counties (Samburu and Turkana). From the table below, 54.2% of the respondents interviewed were male and 45.8% female. Youths accounted for 22% of the respondents (youth was defined as ages between 18 and 35 years old). In terms of literacy level among respondents, 50.5% were found to have had no formal education. Farming (livestock keeping) was registered as being the main source of livelihood with 30.8% of respondents solely relying on it as the only lively source.

Table 4-1: Household profile in the sampled areas

		Survey ward					
		Katilu (N=14)	Lobokat (N=44)	Loosuk (N=14)	Poro (N=16)	Nachola (N=19)	Total (N=107)
Sex:	Female	42.9%	43.2%	35.7%	37.5%	68.4%	46.2%
	Male	57.1%	56.8%	62.3%	62.5%	31.6%	53.8%
Age:	18 – 35 yrs.	21.4%	25.0%	30.0%	15.4%	10.0%	22.0%
	35 – 50 yrs.	42.9%	45.5%	40.0%	46.2%	70.0%	47.3%
	50+ yrs.	35.7%	29.5%	30.0%	38.5%	20.0%	30.8%
Education:	No Formal Education	57.1%	43.2%	40.0%	38.5%	100.0%	50.5%
	Primary Education	21.4%	25.0%	30.0%	38.5%		24.2%
	Secondary Education	21.4%	25.0%	30.0%	38.5%		24.2%
	College or Tertiary Education	7.1%	20.5%	20.0%	7.7%		14.3%
	University degree/ Masters		2.3%	10.0%			2.2%
Occupation:	None	57.1%	27.3%	20.0%			24.2%
	Farmer	14.3%	15.9%	40.0%	84.6%	40.0%	30.8%
	Employed (salaried)	7.1%	6.8%	10.0%			5.5%
	Self-employed	14.3%	31.8%	10.0%	7.7%	10.0%	20.9%
	Casual laborer	7.1%	11.4%	20.0%	7.7%	40.0%	14.3%
	Retiree		2.3%			10.0%	2.2%
	Others		4.5%				2.2%

4.2 Contribution of local politics to conflicts amongst herders

In determining the contribution of local politics to conflicts, the ICR, KII as well as FGD hypothesis questions revolved around politics as a factor in border conflicts, specific actions taken by politicians that contribute to conflicts as well as roles politicians can play to enhance peaceful existence of the communities living

along the border lines. The KIIs additionally provided an opportunity for county administrators and stakeholders (peace initiatives) to provide their institutional perspective on the same.

4.2.1 Local politics in Turkana county

When a question was posed to the ICR from Turkana county as to whether they believed the local politics or politicians had a role in the communal conflict, almost 90% of them acknowledged the contribution of local politics to communal conflicts. Upon being asked to rank the political contribution to conflict, the majority ranked the influence as high. There was slight variation in opinions; with respondents from Turkana county ranking political contribution to conflict higher than Samburu county respondents (Katilu, 100%; Lobokat 79.5%)

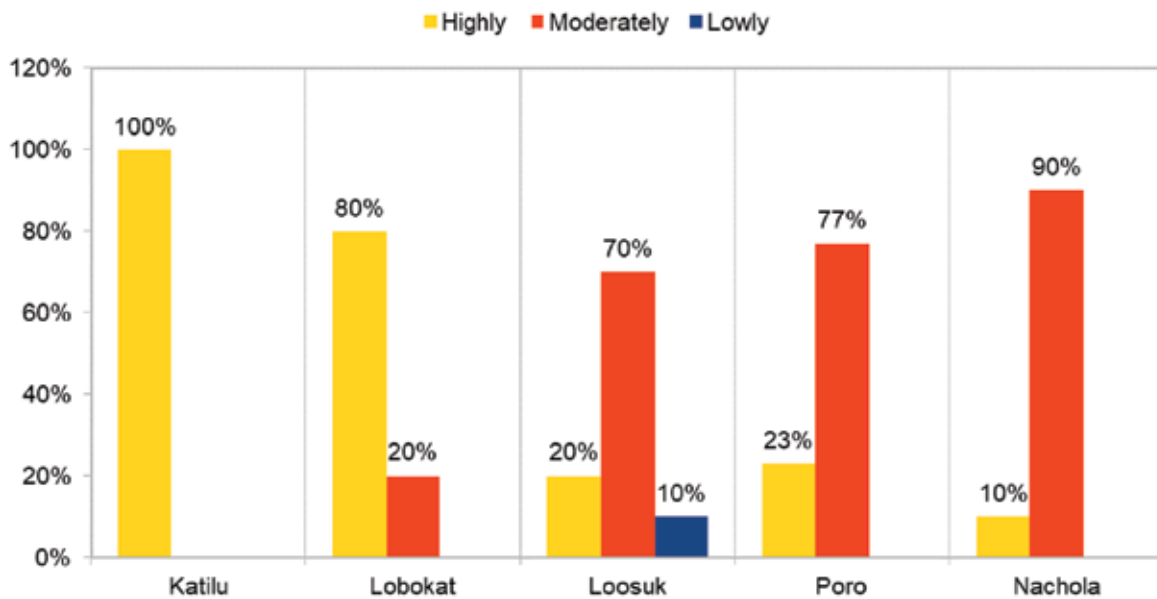


Figure 4-1: Individual respondents' opinion on contribution of politics to conflict

The key stakeholders consulted in Turkana also had the same opinion regarding role of politics on conflict. Nonetheless, the participants in the three (3) FGDs held in Lorengippi, Katilu and Lokobat (Kainuk) were of a different view. The FGD members acknowledged that local politics only contribute partially to violent conflicts along the Baringo, Samburu, Turkana and West Pokot counties cross borders.

The specific roles cited by the respondents that politicians play to fan conflicts include: incitement at political rallies, provision of arms, compromising elders and giving handouts to the youths.

4.2.2 Local politics in Samburu county

On average, about 79% of all respondents in Samburu county partially believed that local politics contributed to conflicts. Nachola ward, which recorded the highest (90%) number of respondents who believe politics moderately contribute to conflict, is in Samburu county but exclusively inhabited by Turkana community.

The actions cited in Turkana as being carried out by politicians were the same ones given by respondents in Samburu Ccounty: incitement at political rallies, provision of arms, compromising elders and giving handouts to the youths.

From figure below, incitement at political rallies and provision of arms majorly contributed the conflicts.

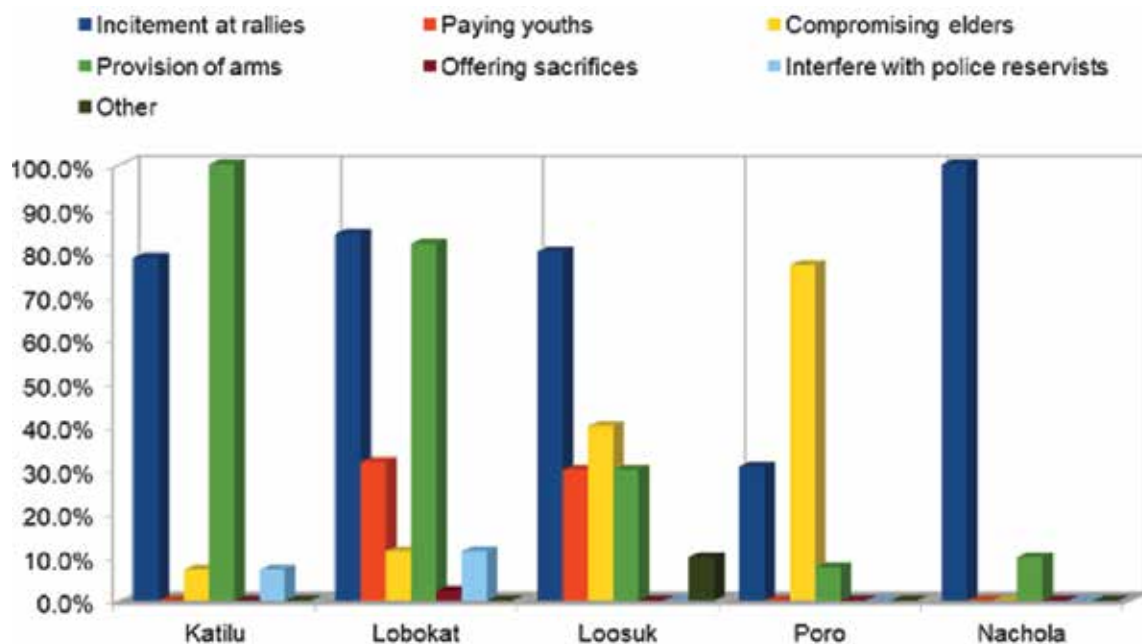


Figure 4-2: Specific actions politicians take that contribute to conflicts

4.2.3 Reasons connecting politicians to communal conflicts

Once this study was able to establish a direct link between local politics and/or politicians to community conflicts, a question was posed during the FGD as to what exactly may motivate local politicians to engage in acts of commission or omission that may result into communal conflict among pastoralists. Some of these reasons cited in the FGD in both counties are presented below:

- **Retention of voting masses:**

In their quest to attract or retain their voting blocks, politicians have sometimes sided with wrongdoers so as not to lose support. However, the most common support to conflict is through inaction where politicians remain silent and sometimes passive during ongoing conflicts. Their silence and refusal to condemn attacks that have been done by their 'own people' always lead to further tensions. This was one of the key issues cited in the FGD.

- **Economic / resource interest:**

While a more direct political influence is normally about boundary and supremacy wars, participants alleged, during the discussions, instances where politicians have taken an active role of inciting locals to fight for scarce resources like water and grazing fields instead of encouraging them to share. Some politicians are also said to have cattle and employ locals whom, it is alleged, they support secretly in cattle raiding to acquire more.

Closely related to that is the concept of commercial cattle rustling. Stolen livestock and put in lorries and transported to markets and destinations outside the counties. Participants observed that this process is complex and could only be sustained by people well connected like politicians. The raids have, unfortunately, become commercial in nature and the attacks are more brutal (no longer cultural in nature). Some are reportedly involved in barter trade; exchanging cattle with illegal fire arms. This was cited both at KII and FGD levels.

- **For sheer supremacy:**

Politicians sometimes exchange bitter and inciteful words either rallies, harambees or local funerals or in the media. Such exchanges spread hate speech and cause tensions. These tensions occasionally escalate to real fighting among the supporter. Some politicians are said to have identified 'emotive' topics which they exploit for own selfish gains. For example, politicians wanting to own land are likely to be the ones supporting boundary conflicts at the borders. Sometimes, the participants observed, there are local politicians who spread hate in order to gain popularity among locals.

Acrimony between the national government and the county government is a new front that either cause conflict, or hamper proper implementation of the peace initiatives. More blame has been put on the national government. At times the government makes unpopular development decisions or uses

excessive force on the communities. For example, use of military to disarm locals, or when security personnel shoot livestock in order to drive pastoralists out of disputed grazing lands.

■ **Corruption:**

Corruption among local leaders and influencers have a direct impact on conflict. For example, it was reported that sometimes clan elders are compromised with money to make unpopular decisions or flatly ignore calls for peaceful dialogues. Local politicians have also been reported to sometimes attempt to influence on operations of NGO/CBO, especially trying to give a direction a development project needs to take, or deciding on locations of where a project should be implemented. Political leaders do this in an attempt to try connect the projects to their own campaign pledges, or seek political mileage. There were also concerns about deliberate misinformation, where politicians are blamed for distorting information on who are the real casualty or attackers in a conflict's situation.

4.2.4 Positive roles politicians play

In relation to pursuit of sustainable peace in the region, politicians play different specific roles. This study sought the views of the stakeholders on the roles they feel can be performed by local political leaders. The responses vary, but worth noting was that legislation, which is among the core mandate of politicians, was least recognized as role they can play to manage conflicts. Locals assigned more traditional roles to their leaders. Majority in both Turkana and Samburu counties felt the best role politicians can play is to offer goodwill and set conducive environment for peace building initiatives. Appealing to local politicians to stop inter-ethnic/clan incitements was also cited as a major factor that could contribute to peace.

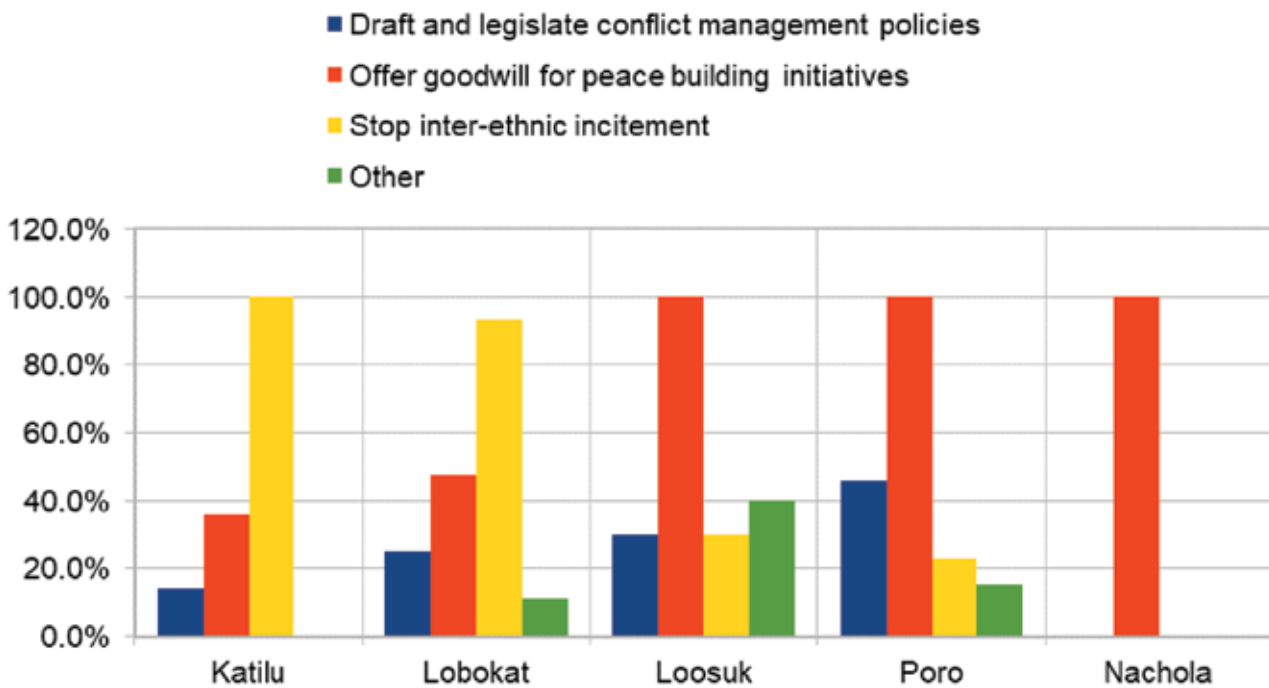


Figure 4-3: Specific role politicians can place in pursuit of sustainable peace

Other roles the local respondents felt needed to be played by their political leaders it to lobby national government to initiate specific development projects in the conflict area. For example, participants felt that a politician who lobbies for establishment of a school, hospital, or a police post at the crossborders would have contributed to peace process.

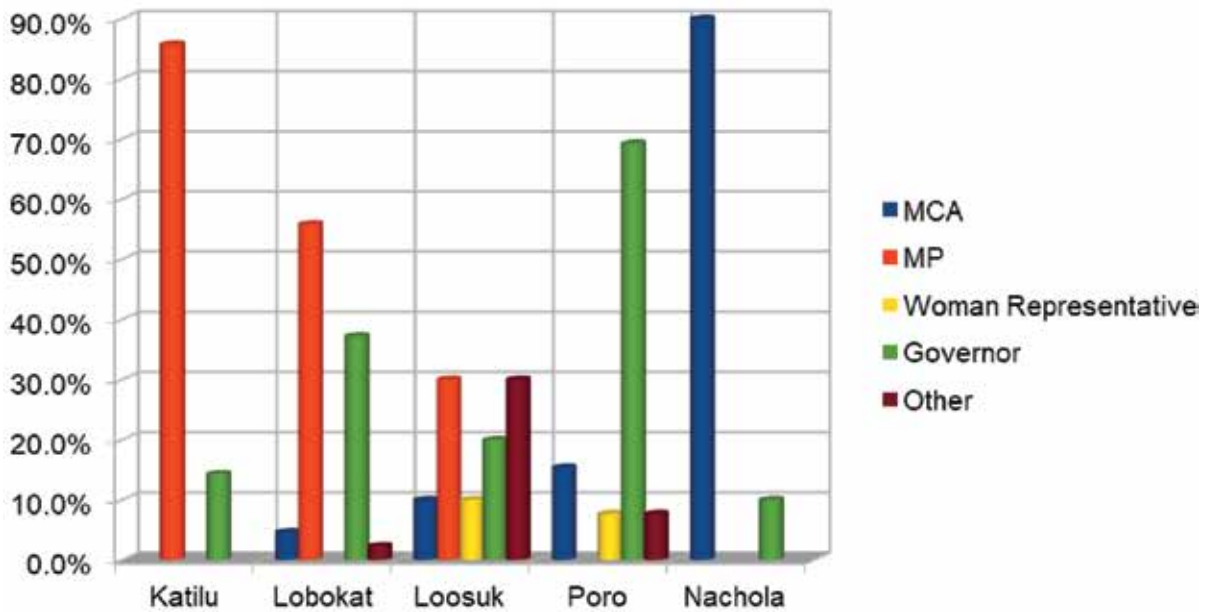


Figure 4-4: The most influential politician to address the inter-clan conflicts

4.3 Issues faced by pastoralists that lead to conflicts

This study was conducted among locals who have lived through or witnessed violent conflicts within their community. As such, one of the findings the study sought was to establish how exactly each respondent had been affected. In Turkana county, the majority of the respondents (84% in Katilu and 96% in Lobokat) stated that they had lost a relative during one of the communal conflicts. Loss of livestock and other forms of livelihoods were cited as the other significant impacts on the Turkana respondents, in that order.

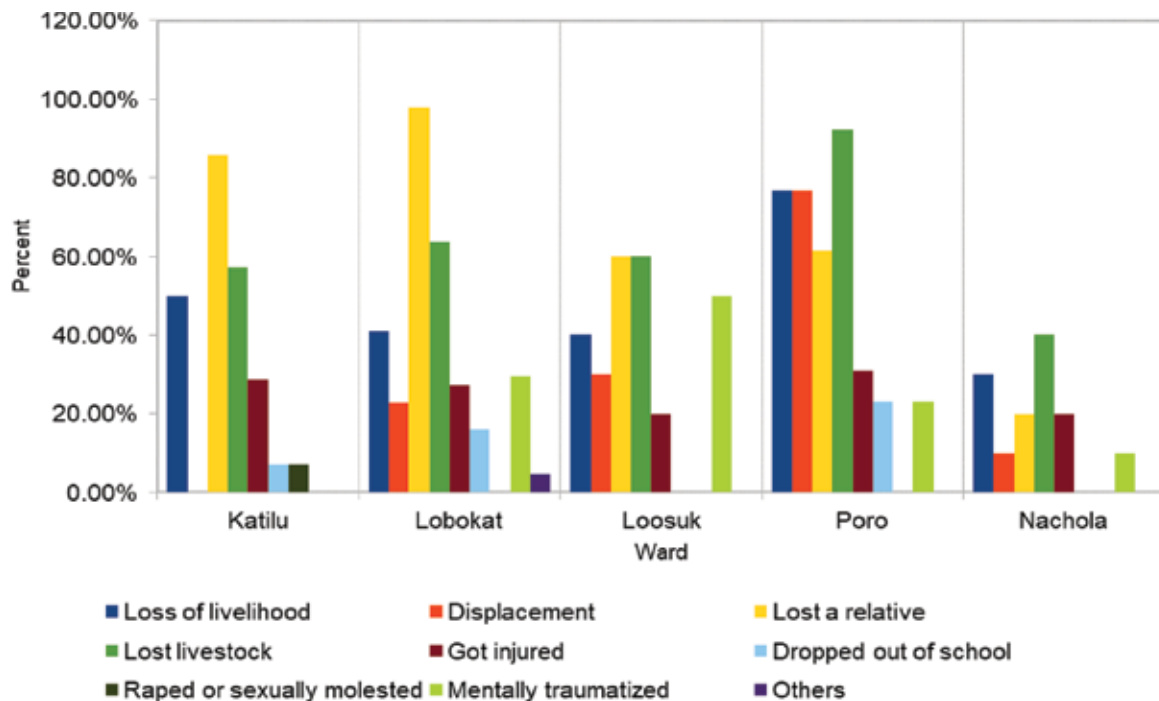


Figure 4-3: Impacts of inter-communal conflicts in the sampled household

In Samburu county, the respondents indicated loss of livestock as the main impact suffered by the locals. Porro and Loosuk wards (bordering Baringo) had the highest among the respondents who had lost livestock at 93% and 60% respectively. Nachola ward (majority Turkana community) bore the list effects of the cross boundary conflicts even though it borders Turkana county.

A list of possible drivers to these inter-communal conflicts (as highlighted during the literature review) was presented to the individual respondents for ranking. As shown in figure below, competition over resources (water and pasture) was the major driver to conflicts in all the wards of study. This was followed closely by livestock raid (rustling) which, though was originally a cultural process, has taken an economic dimension. A paltry 10% of the respondents cited local politics as another driver to conflicts in their areas. Again, retaliatory attacks were only mentioned in Turkana county.

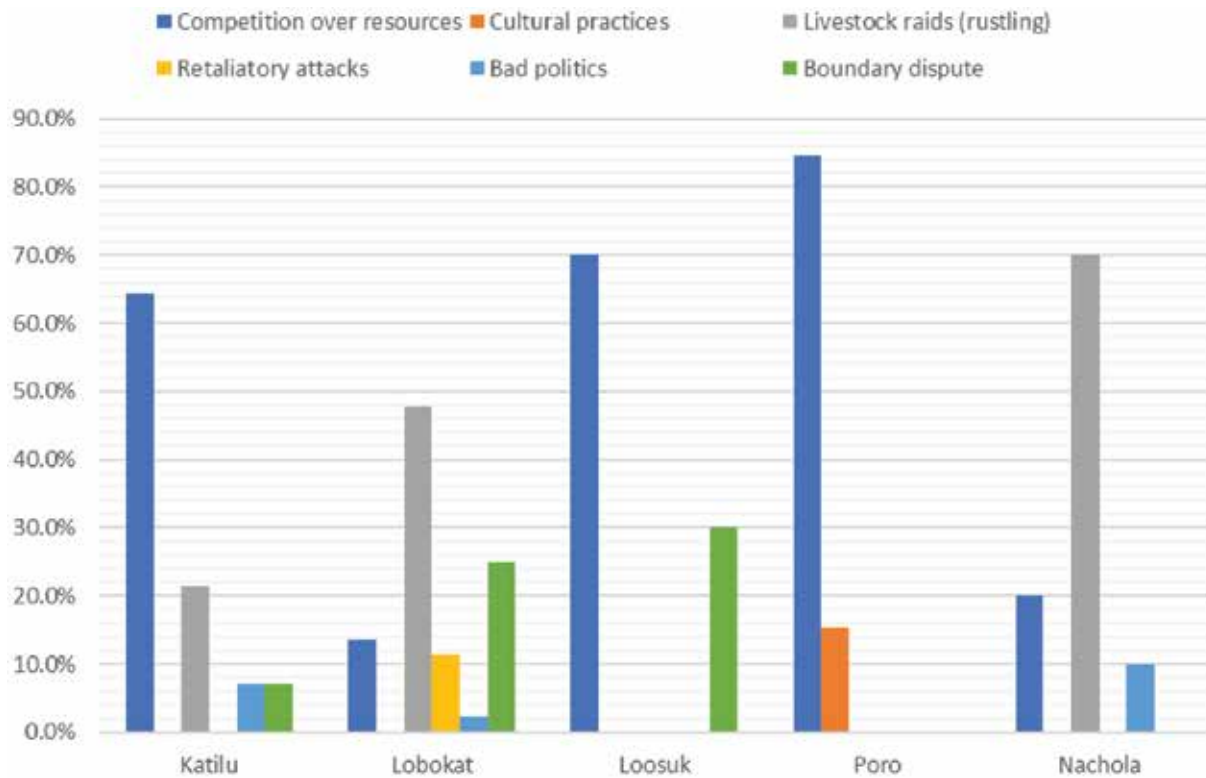


Figure 4-4: Drivers to inter-communal conflicts among pastoralists

While competition over resources was cited as the major contributor to inter-communal/ cross boundary conflicts, the consultations with KII and further engagement at FGD revealed underlying cultural practises that could easily be ignored but have high potential to ignite conflicts. Some of the are as highlighted:

■ **Youth rebellion:**

Youths have become rebellious and no longer respect counsel from the elders or chiefs. These two offices used to be some of the respected custodians of the peace process in the communities. There are already suspicions of a bad trend creeping into the clans. It was reported that at times some rogue youths form alliances with youths from a neighbouring community to attack their own clans. They do this by acting as local informers for economic gains.

■ **Bad influence from traditional 'seers' and kraal leader:**

Kraal leaders are the ones who offer blessing and do initial initiation processes for morans (would be rustlers). This process signifies the commissioning of an attack. Seers are said to have powers to foretell eminent attacks from neighboring communities. Since the locals believe in their abilities, they tend to be trusted. While the seers are active and respected in the community, this trust can sometimes be abused. They may be source of false information that can put the youths in defensive alert leading to conflicts.

4.4 Extent to which the CIDP2 addresses the predisposing issues to conflicts

The CIDP is a document that forms the basis of a development direction a county takes. CIDP captures the challenges, opportunities and applicable policies in place to help in implementation in a given county.

There are a number of socio-cultural, economic, political and environmental challenges faced by the counties, including issues relating to inter-communal conflict. One way of addressing such conflicts is by putting in place modalities on conflict avoidance and/or mitigation. Two notable measures, which form part of a CIDP, are about budgeting and policy formulation.

4.4.1 Main pillars in the CIDP2

In the CIDP2 of the four counties (Baringo, West Pokot, Turkana and Samburu) all the four governors, in their pillar manifestos, recognize rampant insecurity under the peace and security pillar amongst the social economic challenges facing the community members and residents. The 4 counties also listed the key priorities under CIDP1 (2013-2017) to include: Health, Education, Infrastructure, Drought Emergencies Mitigation and Food Security as the core areas of focus for the counties. A review of the plans indicates varying degree of achievements in all the above sectors. The major focus in the CIDP1 was drought management, which was recognised as a major trigger of the rest of the disasters. Inter and intra communal or clan conflicts has not been comprehensively addressed in either CIDP1 and CIDP2.

All the CIDP2 (for Baringo, West Pokot, Turkana and Samburu) mentioned special linkages to Constitution of Kenya 2010, County Government Act 2012, Public Finance Management Act 2012 and Vision 2030 (which is a long-term Government Economic Blue Print) and mainstreaming of the CIDP2 to SDG to drive the county agenda and strategies. Of interest is the West Pokot and Baringo CIDP2 which are additionally linked to Sindai Framework of Action for Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) and Ending Drought Emergency Framework (EDEF). The above two frameworks, though key in DRR, have not been cited in the Samburu and Turkana CIDP2.

4.4.2 Source of funds recognized in the CIDP2

CIDP2 have provided the basis for counties budgets and expenditures. To start with, the Constitution of Kenya 2010 and the County Government Act 2012, has clearly outlined the available sources of revenue from where the county government can tap from in order to finance its development agenda. They are categorized as follows: (1) transfers from the national government, (2) equalization fund, (3) local revenue sources, (4) conditional or unconditional grants, (5) loan guarantee from the national government, (6) **contingencies fund**, (7) public private partnerships and, (8) private donations.

The contingencies fund is an important source of fund for handling of the emergencies. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 requires that the counties set aside 5% of the total budget for the county to drive the county during disasters such as drought and conflicts. However, none of the CIDP2 has expressly mentioned this. Moreover, none of the KII consulted mentioned the contingency fund, proving further that awareness on the contents of the CIDP2 is low even among the major stakeholders in the counties.

4.4.3 Proposed conflict interventions by the CIDP2

Scanning through the 4 CIDP2, a number of proposals have been made that are intended to help the counties in management of conflict situations. They include:

- Develop county peace building policy documents
- Hold peace building campaigns among warring communities
- Constitute peace committees
- Construct schools and health facilities along the border
- Establish markets sites along the borders
- Develop geological survey for water points
- Carry out research on best practices that can be implemented as alternative livelihoods to pastoralism (as poultry and bee keeping)
- Complete all the infrastructure development (roads and water points)
- Carry program evaluations to establish their impacts to the community

4.4.4 Monitoring and evaluation framework in CIDP2

Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) are key components in county project implementation covered under project implementation framework in the CIDP2. M&E help in provision of data on programme progress and effectiveness. The processes also keep the implementation process on track and identify and resolve implementation problems of the CIDP2. From the CIDP2 review, it was quite clear that the 4 counties have not developed elaborate M&E tools for security and peace building initiatives conducted by the county and development partners alike.

4.4.5 Perception on past interventions by Samburu and Turkana counties

To test the effectiveness of the CIDP 2013-2018 (CIDP1) for both Samburu and Turkana counties, so as to compare if lessons learnt were used to inform CIDP2; locals (who have been victims in different ways) were asked if they had personally received any form of assistance during times of conflict. Positives responses were low. Only Loosuk, in Samburu, had high number of respondents who had received help.

The different forms of help vary (figure 4-5). In Turkana county, where respondents had cited loss of relatives as the main impact of conflict, medical treatment and food aid were mentioned as the main form of help received. The story in Samburu is slightly different. Food aid and restocking were the main forms of help the victims received. Restocking, though a comparatively a long-term approach, was not an intervention approach in Turkana. This difference in response could be speculated on political grounds (no evidence was available to verify this). During the KII and FGD in Turkana, respondents and participants said Samburu county has had more people working in national government in positions of influence.

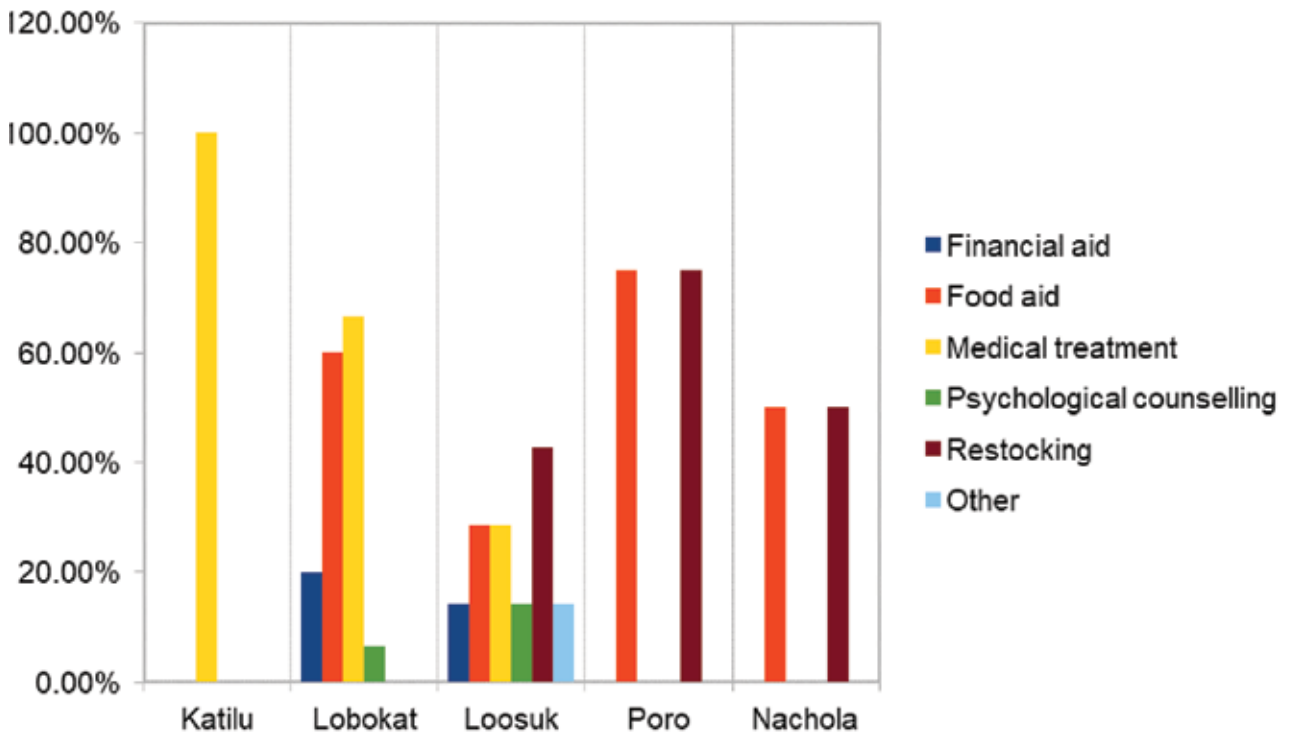


Figure 4-5: Different forms of help the community received during or after conflict

In light of the above, Samburu and Turkana should be able to capture these local realities in their plans. The CIDP2 for Samburu and Turkana were reviewed to highlight their strengths and weaknesses in terms of addressing conflict management. At a glance, Turkana and Samburu CIDP2 have notable deficits and have not comprehensively addressed inter-communal conflict in the respective counties. The plans, however, have called for formulation and adoption of a number of Bills and Policies that have direct relevance to conflict and disaster management. Notable Bills and Policies are highlighted in the Table 4-2.

Table 4-2: Conflict-related bills and policies in Samburu and Turkana

No	Bill / Policy	Status in county at the time of study	
		Turkana	Samburu
1	County Peace Policy and Strategy Framework	Formulation, 2019	None
2	County Emergency and Disaster Management Act	Enacted, 2016	Enacted, 2016
3	Public Participation on Culture	None	Bill, 2019
4	County Community Safety Bill	Bill, 2019	None

Most of these were at drafting stage, or were existing as bills awaiting debate and enactment by the legislative arm of the county governments.

The Samburu CIDP2 has been adopted by the county and is available for public use. The Turkana CIDP2 is also finalized and adopted but had not been 'officially launched' by the county governor by the time of this study. Its availability for public use was still limited. Because the CIDP2 for both Turkana and Samburu counties have made references to availability of county disaster management acts which were products of the CIDP1, this study took the liberty of comparing them (see in the following sub-section).

4.4.6 Samburu and Turkana county disaster management acts

4.4.6.1 Mandate of the acts

Both county governments of Samburu and Turkana have established their own versions of Disaster Management Bills. These bills were adopted by their respective county assemblies into acts to provide for a more effective organisation of the mitigation of, preparedness for, response to and recovery from emergencies and disasters including conflicts. For Turkana county, the Act is referred to as Turkana County Emergency and Disaster Management Act, 2016. Samburu County enacted theirs in 2015 and is referred to as Samburu County Emergency and Disaster Management Act, 2015.

The Acts aim to, among other functions, establish efficient structures for the management of disasters and emergencies through capacity building and availing resources. They have proposed a Disaster Management Fund as the main source of financing for meeting the expenses for emergency preparedness, response, mitigation, relief and reconstruction in the county after a disaster. While the County Emergency and Disaster Management Acts are entirely county government Acts, they have not put any guideline on what proportion of the county revenue should be dedicated to the Disaster Management Fund. This is a critical omission in our view, it predisposes the Disaster Management Fund to possible underfunding. Additionally, inter-communal or inter-clan conflicts have not been expressly recognized as disasters.

4.4.6.2 Institutional arrangement

Both Turkana and Samburu Acts have established their respective County Disaster Management Committees (CDMC) whose main purpose are to promote an integrated and co-ordinated approach to Disaster Management in Turkana and Samburu counties. A closer look (as shown in Table below) reveals that while the established CDMC are supposed to serve the same purpose, there are notable differences in the category and number of stakeholders who constitute the CDMC, with the Turkana County DMC having more representation than the Samburu County DMC.

Table 4-3: Composition of Turkana and Samburu disaster management committees

Samburu County Team	Turkana County Team
The Governor of the County or a Deputy Governor who shall be the chairperson	The Governor of the County or a Representative appointed in writing by the Governor who shall be the Chairperson
The County Executive Member (CEM) responsible for matters relating to Disaster Management in the County	The County Executive Member (CEM) responsible for matters relating to Disaster Management in the County
Two persons working in the area of Disaster Management appointed by the CEM	Three representatives of Development Partners working in the area of Disaster Management in the County
A person appointed in writing by the Council of the Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS)	A person appointed in writing by the Council of the Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS)
A representative of the Private Sector appointed in writing by the chairperson of an Association representing the Private Sector	A representative of the UN Agencies working in the County
A person working in the area of Fire and Rescue Services in the County	The County Commissioner
	County Executive Committee (CEC) members from Finance and Planning; Pastoral Economy and Fisheries; Education; Health; Water, Irrigation and Agriculture and Roads and Infrastructure

4.4.6.3 Public involvement

Another glaring omission in both Turkana and Samburu counties' committees is the none-representation of ordinary citizens (the local pastoralists) in the county DMC. The Turkana county emergency and disaster management act, 2016 has further "devolved" their DMC than Samburu county. This has been achieved in two ways: by establishing the sub-county disaster management committee (SCDMC) chaired by the sub-county administrator and ward disaster management committee (WDMC) chaired by the ward administrator.

The Turkana version of the DMC has promoted public participation and holistic representation through incorporation of more stakeholders. Ordinary citizens' interests have been catered for at the Sub-County level by allowing for the appointment of *two opinion leaders in the sub-county, one male and one female* as members of the SCDMC. at the ward level, inclusion of *all the village administrators as well as two representatives of members of the public, one male and one female* could be used as indicator of good representation of local pastoralists' interest in Disaster Management.

In terms of communication and information sharing, the Act gives powers to the Directorate to compel anybody in control of *audio or audio-visual media or such other means of communication to carry any warning or advisories regarding any threatening disaster situation or disaster*. The act, however, do not elaborate on what other measures the county government should have in place to increase information sharing apart from indicating the DMC shall *give advice and guidance by disseminating the right information regarding disaster management in the county, especially to vulnerable communities*.

4.4.6.4 Functions of disaster acts

The Directorates are also tasked with the functions of formulation of the county disaster management policy as well as monitoring and coordination of the county disaster management plans, which should contain information about *the vulnerability of different parts of the county to different forms of disasters*. The plans are also expected to assign roles to the different departments of the County Governments. These Acts submit that the existence, or threat of occurrence of a disaster shall be declared by the respective County Governors upon advice by the CDMC. The Acts further give the Governors powers to *cause the evacuation of persons and the removal of livestock and personal property and make arrangements for their adequate care and protection and to authorize the procurement and distribution of essential resources and*

the provision of essential services.

4.4.6.5 Role of politics

The Acts recognize the role played by local politicians, particularly the elected ones. While the Directorate is empowered and obligated to develop County Disaster Management Plan, the Acts further require that the Plans shall be approved by the County Assembly. The Acts also specify that the County Governments shall, in their annual budgets, make provisions for funds for the purposes of carrying out the activities and programmes set out in its Plan. It, therefore, means that an effective Plan can only be realized through proper consultation and seeking the goodwill of the local politicians. This also means that such Plans may be exposed to abuse if the Directorate succumb to political influence and manipulation while discharging their duties.

4.5 Stakeholders participation and level of awareness on how CIDP2 addresses their issues

Public participation is one of the core pillars of the Constitution of Kenya 2010. It involves community-based processes, where people organize themselves and their goals at the grassroots level and work together through governmental and non-governmental community organizations to influence decision making processes in policy, legislation, service delivery, oversight and development matters.

The two county governments Turkana and Samburu cite adequate participation and consultation in reviewing 2013-2017 (CIDP1) and drafting 2018-2022 (CIDP2) in line with the public participation guidelines stipulated in the Constitution. This is to ensure robust participation of community members and stakeholders across the divide.

Key questions posed to all stakeholders consulted (ICR, KII and FGD) were geared towards unlocking the levels of stakeholder participation/ awareness on how CIDP2 addresses conflicts and how information provided can either be factored in the CIDP2 or shared with the community at wards levels.

The situation on the ground paint a picture contrary to what the county CIDPs report. Almost all of the individual respondents consulted (92%) indicated their lack of knowledge in the existence of the CIDP2, leave alone participating in its drafting. With the exception of the local administration (chief and assistant chiefs) the 92% additionally cited lack of engagement in the development/ reviewing of the CIDP2 at ward level. This summarises the community feeling and perception that their ideas have not been incorporated into the CIDP2. This lack of awareness of CIDP2 and non-participation in its drafting was a common phenomenon in both counties.

Amongst the key informants, the media (radio Mchungaji-Samburu and Echami-Turkana) fraternity lamented on the lack of engagement by the two counties in reviewing and drafting CIDP2. This is against the backdrop of the fact that the Department of Disaster Management has empowered the Peace Directorate to compel media houses to broadcast information on disaster management if and when needed.

To bolster community/ stakeholder's engagement and awareness, 90% of the respondent were in agreement that stakeholders need to meet annually both at county and ward levels either for updates or ironing out issues affecting them as a community that needs to be addressed legislatively. On community awareness, the stakeholders suggested the following avenues for sharing of CIDP2 information:

- Local administrators' offices (chief, assistant chiefs and ward representatives)
- The county library for both online and direct publications
- Local media engagement in dissemination of CIDP2 information in local dialect easily understandable by the local community

4.6 Mechanisms for local politicians to forge common front on conflict resolution

There is a general feeling among the neighbouring communities (as was revealed during phone interviews with Baringo and West Pokot KII) that the Turkana Annual Festival (Tubonglore), though highly funded and publicised, mostly focus on the Ateker group. (Ateker is a term that loosely translates to clan or tribe in Teso language. It is a common name for the closely related *Jie, Karamajong, Turkana, Toposa,*

Nyangatom and *Teso* people and languages. These ethnic group groups inhabit areas across Kenya and Uganda). The festival organisers seldom invite the Pokot community, despite being the main Turkana rivals. Similarly, Lokirima Peace Accord is also alleged to have not featured Pokots. The illustrations above point to possible weakness in implementation of good projects, thereby reducing the intended positive impacts. There is generally a need to invite and include all stakeholders.

The study asked the respondents to suggest long-term solutions that local politicians can promote to achieve sustainable peace or, at least, reduce violent conflicts among communities. Some of the interventions suggested clearly require political goodwill of the national government, which could be gained through lobbying by the local politicians. There are also some intervention projects that may require to be supported through legislation and policy formulation.

For example, to reduce boundary conflicts, opening up of development projects at the crossborders has been cited as a potential solution. It therefore means politicians should initiate or lobby for building of schools, hospitals, service (*huduma*) centres, community resource centres, social halls among others along the borders to encourage mingling of the communities. Closely related to this is the promotion of literacy levels among pastoralists. This can be achieved through adult education programmes.

To manage of conflicts over competition for pasture or water resources, investment in water projects (boreholes, dams, bowsers) in strategic positions along the boundaries has been proposed. Other long-term interventions highlighted include joint natural resource and boundary mapping, pursuing lasting agreements on resource use and sharing. There are also proposals for economic empowerment of both genders through availing credit facilities, entrepreneurial training, facilitation of *table banking* and community saving and micro-finance models.

The issue of disarmament of morans with guns has also been identified as a longterm approach to managing conflicts. Participants felt there should be structures to encourage locals with firearms to wilfully surrender them to the relevant authorities. It was further noted that voluntary surrender of firearms depended on the trust the pastoralists will have on the government structures and the rapport the security personnel will build with the morans.

4.7 General discussions on findings

■ CIDP2 approach to conflict

The CIDP2 for the 4 counties above have some similarities in their approach to dealing with inter-clan or inter-community conflicts within their boundaries. Baringo, Samburu, Turkana and West Pokot counties have identified such conflicts as both cause and outcome of poverty in the areas at large. While the CIDP2 for each county have put plans to address inter-clan or inter-community conflicts and insecurity in general, inter-clan or inter-community conflicts have not been expressly defined as disasters, rather as a socio-political impediment to economic growth. The approaches to solving such conflicts have largely taken economic angle.

The county disaster management plans and disaster management acts, which are products of CIDP, have provisions that make it an offense punishable in law for whoever makes or circulates a false alarm or warning as to disaster or whoever raises false alarm with regards to disaster for personal gain. The Acts however fail to clearly define what exactly constitute *disaster* in the respective counties' context. They have also not mentioned inter- or intra-community conflict as a form of potential disaster that the pastoralists face.

■ National police reservist (NPR)

The national government's decision to disband and disarm the national police reservists (NPR) which were formerly known as Kenya police reservists (KPR) elicited mixed reactions from the stakeholders interviewed during the study. When a question regarding the fate and role of the NPR was presented to the respondents, majority gave a positive verdict. Further, the proponents of the NPR believed the NPR understand the local terrain, language and challenges better than the national police. They are also generally more trusted by local than they would the police. They opined that the NPR are crucial to the conflict management in the areas. Disarmament and disbanding, therefore, was not supposed to happen. The NPR numbers needed to have been increased and the NPR empowered through remuneration. Putting NPR in camps to work like local defense units (to copy the Ugandan model) was also muted in Turkana.

Nonetheless, a section of the respondents painted a different image of the NPR. It was alleged that some

of them had a role in conflict. The NPR are said to have become mercenaries and guns for hire. Prior to the disbandment and disarmament, most NPR had been absorbed by private entities like Tullow Oil and politicians or 'rich clients' to provide private security services at a fee. This meant few NPR actually remained to maintain peace among the local communities.

Turkana respondents believed that due to political connection of the leaders in West Pokot county, the NPR there have remained intact even after the disarmament and their guns were never taken. The armed NPR in West Pokot, the Turkana's alleged, take part in organized raids or are misused by leaders political.

- **Role of media on conflict:**

The media role in conflict is two-fold: bad news sells faster hence the media may also be a contributor of conflict by magnifying tensions and incidents. On the other hand, politicians are also the main news makers, hence their opinions are always sought, including on conflicts or tensions. When either the two scenarios play out, bad influence may be impacted on local community through information sharing.

- **Peace meetings and dialogues:**

Peace dialogues were one of the frequently cited approaches to conflict management. However, they are seen by some stakeholders to have lost meaning. It is said the meetings have been turned to business cycles for organizers or opportunities for earning daily allowance for attendees. Peace dialogues now rank among the low impact approaches to conflict management. The least effective being peace dialogues hurriedly held soon after conflict in public places without proper targeting. It was also reported that most of the peace meetings are not effective because they are usually held outside the counties.

It was observed by key stakeholders that development partners and even the national government have shifted their focus on peace initiatives. A lot of attention is now on cross-border issues (mainly between along the borders with Uganda, Ethiopia or South Sudan). This has resulted in local clan and intra-boundary conflicts within the counties largely being ignored. There are now fewer actors and interventions on the ground focusing on intra-clan conflict. Similarly, there is general ignoring of internal borders between Pokots, Turkanas and Samburus. Less attention is paid while more effort by the counties go to cross border (Kenya and other countries). This has created a false perception that some areas are peaceful.

- **Actors in conflict:**

Incitement to revenge attacks are said not to be unique to politicians alone. Even local elites and opinion leaders; sometimes including religious leaders take part in incitement. *Kraal* leaders bless and perform initial initiation process for moran rustlers before taking part in attacks. Traditional 'seers', with powers to 'foretell' events, sometimes ignite tensions and eventual conflict. Youths sometimes go, based on advise from 'seers', on pre-emptive attacks to 'avert' eminent attack on their community. Nonetheless, local youths (morans) have also become rebellious and no longer take advice from or respect elders. It is not uncommon for them to take part in conflict without necessarily being provoked or incited by third parties.

Reformed warriors also get idle in the community and eventually return to their criminal activity. It is also alleged that when idle, they also help organize and coordinate raids with neighbouring community for payments, but do not personally participate on the raids. Again, local politicians absorb these warriors or leaders as their political youth leaders for use in incitement.

- **Traditional conflict management:**

Compensation over killing by giving animals to the community that lost life is an effective way of conflict management that has worked in other communities. Other declarations have worked before: Nabilatuk Declaration (steal one cow, pay twice the number, plus 1 more) adopted by the National Intelligent Committee (NIC); Kobebe – Nakonya Declaration (on resource sharing); Atanache Declaration in Turkana West.

- **District peace committee:**

The defunct district peace committee (now sub-county peace committee) is crucial, and need to be empowered. Members of this committee can still play a role in conflict management. Unfortunately, the committee has largely been ignored by the county governments since they are part of the national

government structure.

- **Uncoordinated efforts:**

Peace approaches are not coordinated in the counties. There are different actors working on their own. There is need to have an umbrella group with a secretariat to coordinate peace efforts. This way, it would be easy to put a united front and advocate for some of the sensitive issues like lobbying for reintroduction of NPR which the majority of the community have identified as important.

There are also previous resolutions that are not implemented, especially those made amorously by government without putting lead agencies that actually do the implementation or follow-ups. A holistic approach should entail a combination of the following: promotion of local communities, establishing peace councils in wards and villages, working with women and kraals and, most importantly, using existing government structures.

- **Intervention projects:**

There have been a number of intervention projects promoted by national or county governments, as well as development partners. Some of these projects are meant to promote alternative livelihoods among pastoralists in order to reduce overreliance on livestock. Among them are agricultural projects. Agricultural projects (given as community empowerment projects) are seen as 'women affair' and are rarely taken seriously, meaning agricultural projects may not be the best avenue to rehabilitate youths who want to leave *moranism*.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusions

- **Weak evaluation of impacts of peace initiatives:**

Most of the respondents consulted during fieldwork indicated that peace meetings and dialogues were among the least effective intervention approaches. Unfortunately, this is one of the initiatives being promoted or championed by the 4 county governments under their respective CIDP2. This continuous investment by the counties on peace dialogues can only be because monitoring and evaluation frameworks of projects relating to conflict management is weak or lacking. M&E is only mentioned as one of the components under the Implementation Framework in the CIDP2, but not well elaborated including its tools and plans.

- **Illiteracy hinders effective public participation:**

There is a direct correlation between the majority of the ICR interviewed who are illiterate (from Table 4-1: 50.15% Turkana and 63% Samburu) and their lack of knowledge in the existence of and the details in the CIDP2. Despite being illiterate, the Constitution 2010 still guarantees every citizen the right to full participating and access to information. The citizens' inability to read and write should never be an excuse for exclusion in participation in important county decision making process.

- **Impacts of violent conflicts is universal:**

While attackers from the Pokot community were reported as the most aggressive as compared to the rest of the communities, the effects and impacts of the conflicts on individual or households were similar and profound across all the communities. The four counties (Baringo, Samburu, Turkana and West Pokot) all recognize inter-klan and inter-communal conflict as a major impediment to socio-cultural, economic and political progress of their citizens and communities.

- **Different politicians play different roles:**

The significance of a politician or political office does not follow the ranking or the established hierarchical order. This was discovered during study where, when asked to identify the most influential politician who can address the inter-klan conflicts, responses varied from MCA to the Governor. Within a county, there could be areas where the most influential politician would be the ward MCA. Locals in some wards have their strong believe in lower political offices, overshadowing even the governor's role. For example, in Nachola ward of Samburu county, the local MCA was recognized as having higher potential at local peace initiative than the county governor. In Turkana, the serving MP for Turkana South constituency was recognized more than the governor.

In such case, the assumption that higher political offices are key in smooth project implementation would be wrong. There are those politicians with the power to mobilize the financial resources (like the county governor) and those who can mobilize human resources and goodwill needed in the peace process. Targeting and profiling for new projects should be a key aspect in project implementation. This stakeholder profiling and role assigning can be done overall, or per development projects' objectives. This situation is expected to change, depending on the personalities who hold office at a given time. It means that prior to project initiation in an area, the stakeholders must be properly profiled and their roles defined for effective implementation and outcome.

- **There are legislative gaps in conflict management:**

Turkana county, which appears to receive the most share of the violent conflict, have initiated more legislative and policy process for addressing disasters, more as compared to Samburu county. However, these county-based initiatives also depend on efforts from the national government. Any weak link, or inaction from the national government affects the overall conflict management progress in the counties. For example, the Conflict Management Bill is still in draft form at National level, which also affects its drafting and implementation at county levels.

- **Role of local media is crucial in all stages:**

Media is a key component in information dissemination. As earlier mentioned, the Directorate of Peace has powers to compel, if need be, media houses to disseminate information on disaster management. On the contrary, the local media is rarely involved in key aspects of drafting and refining legislative documents like CIDP2. The closest they get involved is through invitation as 'guests' to cover events. Going forward, media should be considered as a key component on information dissemination on CIDP2 in local languages palatable to the local community.

5.2 Recommendations

- **Softer interventions:**

Research findings pointed to material interventions as the most common ways governments and development partners respond to victims of conflict. There is need to explore non-commodity approaches like setting up, and training locals to operationalize them, psychological and counselling centres to deal with victims of violent conflicts. Recovery process is always faster if the victim receives counselling. It also reduces chances of revenge attacks borne out of frustration and unresolved bitterness from the victims.

- **Elevate communal/ clan conflicts to full disaster level:**

From responses obtained from the stakeholders consulted, and even from the language of the reviewed CIDP2 and other documents, interpretation as to what is a Disaster has been largely restricted to the conventional forms of natural disasters: flood, disease, drought etc, but not communal conflicts. It is very important that advocating for the respective counties to elevate inter- and intra-communal/ clan conflicts to full disaster level should be prioritized. It is only upon giving conflicts the same level of attention, just like drought, famine, flood and diseases, that actors will respond to it appropriately.

- **Advocate for adoption of past accords:**

There are a number of peace accords and agreements that have been signed and adopted by different communities and leaders in Samburu and neighbouring counties, or Turkana and neighbouring counties. Most of these accords have not been followed to the latter. Previous resource sharing agreements have encountered challenges with regards to goodwill in implementations. There is need for development partners to support and facilitate the operationalization of such accords and agreements. One of the best ways will be to advocate for regional bodies (like north rift economic block, NOREB) to adopt conflict management plans. Alternatively, a donor can help set a secretariat to operationalise and manage accords and agreements. It is at such secretariat that strategies to address political economy of conflicts (illicit communal raids and/or illegal guns) can be effectively addressed.

- **Building capacity of local actors:**

Another positive step that has been recognized is the establishment of village administrators by the county governments. These local administrators supplement the local chiefs and assistant chiefs in the peace process. Capacity building the administrators to be able to establish early warning hubs that can feed into the directorate of peace database on conflict management. Forms of capacity building include facilitation of movement (purchase of motorbikes, or providing fuel allowance for those who have motorbikes but are immobilized by lack of funds).

The administrators should also be empowered to comfortably carry out civic education. The County Disaster Management Acts says the Directorate shall *promote the recruitment, training and participation of volunteers in disaster management in the county*. These volunteers can be taught about peace building and conflict management and mitigations as a way of averting conflict and disasters.

- **Partnerships with local media:**

Local media plays an important role in peace building. There are peace promotional processes that have been used by local FM stations like studio discussion on peace-based initiatives, thereby setting trend for community on ideas that can be explored by community members for sustainable harmony. Some responsible media houses have programmes that they air to promote peace. Unfortunately, this is not done on a regular basis. This is one of the areas that can be explored by development partners through sponsoring peace initiative programmes on radio stations. In Turkana county, Echami FM based in Lodwar has such a programme airing every Saturdays between 7pm and 9pm. The FM station is at advanced stage of expanding to Lokichar town to cover the lower parts of Turkana; which has low radio penetration.

A donor can sponsor, through paying for airtime, programmes that focus on peace. Once the airtime has been paid for, opinion leaders can be invited on a weekly basis to discuss different topics relevant to peace process. The available channels are radios messaging, talk shows, road shows/caravans. Besides talk shows, media can also feature positive stories (from project interventions) which encourage pastoralists to change. They can also feature success stories from warriors who have reformed. Talented youths can also be sponsored to produce plays or music that can be adopted by radio stations as sponsored content. Other approaches include having concerts between communities; availing shortcode messaging sent as sms or as radio spots; traditional dance competition and exchange visits. For maximum effect, the cultural events should be covered by the local media.

NB: There should be proper media regulation barring the houses from broadcasting any sensitive matter/ issues until the responsible quarters are informed and greenlights given for consistency and coordination purposes.

- **Forge partnership:**

There are already development partners in Samburu and Turkana implementing conflict management projects. Besides, the respective county governments, through the peace directorate, is also involved in the process. It would be beneficial if new development partners forged a working partnership with the existing networks. Specifically, a partner can play an active role in helping to establish an umbrella body and secretariat for all peace builders in either county. Similarly, they can sponsor research and documentation and help in disseminating information to wider audience. Topics of dissemination can be diverse. Further, a new partner can sponsor a needs assessment of all the actors on the ground. For sustainability of such partnerships, existing government structures like county steering group (CSG) which are headed by governments should be adopted. This is because such group as CSG are long lasting structures.

- **Borrow from working models:**

A local NGO working in Turkana county called Agency for Pastoral Development (APAD) has been implementing peace projects named PEACE I, II and III. They indicated that one of the positive stories they have documented is the success of cross-border chief's Forum for the shared Kenya (Turkana West) and Uganda participants in peace articulation. This is a forum exclusively for chiefs where they share information on cohesion and peace building. The forum also acts as a platform for delivery of early warning systems with regards to disasters (conflicts). This mode can be borrowed to be replicated and adopted across the county in the volatile bordering communities (Pokot, Turkana and Samburu).

- **Produce citizen friendly versions:**

To increase access to information and effective public participation in the county processes, including making decisions on conflict management, it is recommended that important information as such CIDP2 should be translated and packaged in simple languages which is readily consumable by the local communities to make gain on the levels of awareness on the document. This process of translation and production of citizen friendly versions can be sponsored by the development partners of the counties.

- **Improve social audits of conflict management programmes:**

Its worth to note that M&E informs county budgeting and investment needs on projects implementation by the four counties. With proper M&E framework, the above misplaced investment (on peace meetings and dialogues) could have been weeded out and the funds allocation transferred to other aspects of security and peace building. There is a strong need for a proper and elaborate M&E framework for all county projects (especially those that deal with conflict management) to establish their effectiveness and impacts to either inform continuous investment (if it's impactful) or termination if not effective. Monitoring and evaluation of peace initiatives should be institutionalized and funded in the counties concerned. While such frameworks are developed, they should include modalities on how best local politicians and pastoralists can best be involved in conflict resolution.

- **Have peace initiatives or projects with longer cycles:**

Peace building should be continuous, not as a project of definite years. Most projects initiated by development partners in the pastoral areas follow on a predictable cycle of 2-3-years period. This has been noted to be ineffective. This is because the local pastoralists involved in the projects revert to their previous lifestyles soon after project winding up. Some may resort to conflict soon after a particular peace initiative project ends. It is therefore recommendable that an intervention targeting peace building, or other support projects need to be longer. A simple 10-year project will therefore be more effective than

a grand project that last 2 years. The principle here is to try make a lasting impact on a generation. For example, targeting households with school going kids until the kids finish class 8 (8-year project cycle).

- **Political goodwill:**

For sustainability of good neighbourliness, all leaders regardless of their rank should preach and practice peace in all their undertakings. Spiritual leaders should also be encouraged to preach the importance of peace for prosperity. The local politicians can also pursue formal agreement between their counties with national government on modalities of gun surrender. The agreement should be able to demonstrate non-victimization of those who return guns, and the rewards of such process. Negotiations and drafting of such agreement can be sponsored and facilitated by a development partner.

- **Avenues to push for conflict management ideas:**

Since the CIDP2 for the two counties are already finalized, this study recommends that the best avenue where new conflict management ideas can be recommended for adoption by the counties would be through the proposed county bills and policies.

- **Simultaneously involve partners from both side:**

A general trend in most projects is that they are 'one-sided', targeting only one community or clan at a time. Our recommendation is that at any one time a piece initiative or project is being implemented, the development partners should get participants from both sides of the warring clans/ communities to participate in the same project instead of having one project replicated in different communities. Again, members from neighbouring counties should be in the project steering committee.

- **Proper targeting:**

Peace building initiatives and conflict management, like all forms of interventions, can be exposed to forces of external interference. Such interference could be motivated by either political or economic expectations. It is therefore safer to avoid *peace cartels* who profit from peace ventures. Peace initiatives need to target the right people, like the particular morans who take part in the raids. Once the youths have been roped in, the elders and chiefs can be involved as custodians of the process. Additionally, institution of the "clan elders" should be strengthened to help in conflict reduction amongst the communities.

- **Simple alternative livelihoods:**

The best approach is to involve warriors and their leaders. Identify peace ambassadors (mostly from reformed morans). These warrior's/peace ambassadors need to be trained warriors on unique alternative livelihoods, like being agricultural ventures and vocational training courses as driving and monsonery. After training, few of them can then be facilitated to acquire motorbikes for commercial use. Other forms of alternative livelihood could include welding, sports and talent development. The Identified peace ambassadors (mostly from reformed morans) should such be enrolled in projects they consider 'attractive'. Additionally, the reformed morans and other groups can be taken for excursion visits away from their counties to learn what their agemates are doing to make livelihoods and they can also have networks for comparisons.

6. ANNEXES

6.1 Annex 1: List of participants

FGD attendance (Turkana & Samburu)

County	Participant	Organization
TURKANA	Ekeno Lukuruka	Community Elder
	Albert Aleya	Church Representative
	Paulina Lonkor	Representative of Women
	Moris Ekiru	Church Representative
	Nicholas Kebo	National Police
	James Edapal	Youth Representative
	Lorukudi Ekai	Former NPR
	Richard Ekal	Village Elder
	Dickson Akeno	Youth Representative
	Awejit Ekowon	Women Representative
	Ekaale Merinyang	Church Representative
	Mary Lewoya	Chairlady Peace
	Nathan Ekal	Administrator (Chief)
	Abraham Kisang	Practical Action
	John Ikiru	Elder
	Lokure Toto	Local CBO Representative
	Nakala Lokadite	Youth Representative
	Ekidor Charles	Elder
	Sarah	Senior Chief
Dennis Mochama	NDMA	
SAMBURU	Phillip Lerno	Administrator (Senior Chief)
	Nelson Loosenge	Youth Representative for Peace
	Sanoe Lekopien	Peace Chairman
	Joyce Lekeren	Representative of Women
	Robian Loosenge	Administrator (Ass. Chief)
	Christine Leakono	Ward Administrator
	Charles Kostan	NGO (Child Fund)
	LetipisLetoron	Social Services
	Depil Lelmoodoni	Moran Representative
	Jacob Lerantilei	Local CBO Representative
	Ltopiris Lepose	Moran Representative
	Richard Lningeres	County Government Representative

KII representation

County	Name	Representation
TURKANA	Mukoo Bernedict	Director Disaster Management
	John Lokoli	Director Peace Directorate
	Sarah	Chief Kainuk
	Sammy Tioko	Chief Lokiriama
	Nathan Longuroi	Chief Lorengippi
	Security anonymous) (remain anonymous)	Loya Police Station
	Moses Nawoton	Disaster Management Department
	Abraham Kisang	Practical Action
	Rukia Abubakar	Kenya Red Cross
	Michael Amerupus	Mercy Corps
	Sammy Ekal	APAD
	Wycleff Masinde	Radio Mata FM
	Dennis Mochama	NDMA
	Grace Rengei	MCA (Tarkwel Ward)
SAMBURU	Joseph Lekakeni	Radio Mchungaji
	Phillip Lerno	Senior Chief Loosuk
	Charles Kostan	Child Fund
	Peter Leseke-ton	Catholic Church
	Ambrose Lemtuminai	Senior Chief
	Robian Loosenge	Assistant chief
	Christine Leakono	Ward Admininistrator
	John Ojimbi	CaritasMaralal
	Nicolas Leparsayia	MCA
	Letipis Letoron	County Stearing Group (CSG)
	Jacob Lerantilei	Local CBO Representative
	Daniel Lesaigor	CO Disaster Management
	Richard Lnitingeres	Ward Admin.Representative
	Peter Daniel Lesooni	County Special Programs
WEST POKOT	Paul KropNgoriareng	CBO- Program Coordinator
	Timothy Mosiang	County Disaster Management Officer
	Scholstic Gelong'at	Local Media (Kerio Radio)
	Nantale Kodeny Enock	NDMA
	County Commandant	Commander of Police-AP Section
	Joseph Akoule	ED Director
BARINGO	Festus Kipchumba	Baringo County News (Online Media Platforms)
	Jemutai	Radio Alpha
	Victor Kibet	NGO (Hand-in-Hand Organization)
	Carlos Juan	Red Cross
	Makau	Director, Ministry of Agriculture
	Wafula	NDMA Baringo

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