



Assessment of Peace and Conflict Dynamics in Pastoralist Regions of Kenya:

A Case of Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, Isiolo and Samburu Counties



Figure 1: A photograph taken from Baringo County showing the state of terrains in some parts of the county.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

CAG	Conflict Analysis Group
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CPCs	Community Policing Committees
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
FBO	Faith Based Organizations
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
KDF	Kenya Defense Forces
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
LEAs	Law Enforcement Agencies
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NGAOs	National Government Administrative Officers
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPR	National Police Reserves
NPS	National Police Service
NSC	National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management
OUNRC	Office of the United Nations Resident Coordinator
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SGBV	Sexual and Gender based Violence
SRIC	Security Research and Information Centre
UDA	United Democratic Alliance
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Executive summary

The pastoral regions of Kenya have incessantly been facing security challenges and cyclical conflicts. These conflicts include; banditry, cattle rustling, repeated reprisal inter-communal attacks that result in deaths, injuries and displacements. The conflicts are mainly caused by a set of complex issues including poverty, population pressures, contested territorial claims, undefined or shifted resource boundaries that often do not align with administrative boundaries, weakened customary institutions and increased availability of firearms (IFAD 2019). As a result; loss of lives, destruction of properties, loss of livelihoods, displacement of persons, disruption of economic activities and underdevelopment largely characterize the pastoral regions.

A few months after elections, many incidents of insecurity, including cattle rustling and banditry have been reported in Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, Isiolo, Laikipia, Marsabit, Samburu, Turkana, and West Pokot counties. The rising insecurity has impelled the local leaders and residents to appeal to the government to reinstate National Police Reserves (NPR). In addition to increasing insecurity in the North Rift, the resurgence of political rallies over the last few months, post-election political re-alignments, drought and high cost of living are all believed to be potential threats to the post-election peace in the country.

In order to contribute to peace and security in the pastoral communities, Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC) in partnership with Conflict Analysis group (CAG) conducted a post-election peace and conflict assessment in Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, Isiolo and Samburu Counties. The assessment sought to assess peace and security situations, identify the root causes and triggers of conflicts, assess the impact of existing peace and security interventions, and to recommend sustainable solutions to insecurity in the pastoral communities.

The assessment adopted a qualitative approach that included use of both secondary and primary means of data collection. In secondary data collection, previous reports on peace and security in the target counties were reviewed while for the primary data, key informant interviews and focus group discussions were used. Groups reached through this assessment included National Government Administrative Officers (NGAOs), representatives from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community Based Organizations (CBOs), Faith Based Organizations (FBOs), officers from National Police Service (NPS), politicians, council of elders, community leaders, farmers and businesspeople among others.

The following are the key findings: -

- Levels of peace and security varied across the region: in Samburu County, Samburu North was found to be peaceful while East and West were not only insecure but also experiencing violent conflicts; in Baringo County, Baringo Central, Eldama Ravine and Mogotio sub-counties experienced higher levels of peace than North, South and Tiaty; Elgeyo Marakwet county has been calm save for the areas that are in the Kerio Valley where bandits have turned the space into a battleground; while in Isiolo County, security situation seemed

moderate as most people interviewed mentioned that most parts of the county were peaceful with minimal insecurity issues being experienced along the borders with Samburu (around Burat and some areas in Ngare Mara), Wajir, Laikipia, Meru and Garissa.

- Issues of banditry, cattle raiding, resource-based conflicts, human-wildlife conflicts, land and boundary disputes were mentioned as the leading threats to peace and security. Other issues mentioned were SGBV, drugs and substance abuse and petty crimes such as theft, break-ins, especially within the town centers.
- The root causes and triggers of conflict were mentioned as; climate change that has led to severe drought - that forces nomads to overstay in certain areas thereby causing tensions with the host communities, territory expansionism - more grazing land and contested boundaries, illiteracy, poverty, business interests - butchery owners blamed for selling stolen meat triggering demand-, easy access to Small arms and light weapons, drugs and substance abuse, and inadequate response by law enforcement agencies.
- Command and control of different security structures set-up in the counties was identified as a challenge especially in coordinating response to early warning information and other distress calls. Some structures were said to be controlled from Nairobi and therefore complicating mobilization of sufficient security personnel for effective response.
- Low levels of trust on the ability of LEAs to guarantee security to the communities across the four counties. This has led to community armament, further complicating the security situation across the pastoralist counties.
- Redeployment of NPRs in the pastoralist communities was lauded by the residents as a good effort by the government to restore peace and stability in the counties.
- Some of the interventions that have worked well include; setting-up security units/ camps in conflict hotspot zones, reinstatement of NPRs; sports for peace events bringing youth from conflicting communities together, shared livestock markets, grazing committees, dialogue forums bringing leaders of different communities together, peace walks and caravans and infrastructure – schools, roads and so on.

Key recommendations: -

- There is a need to sensitize communities on the importance of education. Pastoral communities have the highest illiteracy rates according to the 2019 Census. Cultural values such as Female Genital Mutilation, earlier marriages and moranism have been a challenge to the primary school enrolment hence interventions such as alternative rites of passage should be established to reduce their impacts on school enrolment rates. Sensitization can also be achieved through using role models in the region who have excelled in education to encourage young people.
- There is a need to build more learning institutions, employ more teachers and expand school feeding programmes in schools in the region.
- On police ability to respond to security issues in the pastoralist regions, there is need to deploy more “able” security officers, establish and equip more police posts, establish

permanent security camps along the hotspots and border areas, improve the capacity of anti-stock theft police units, increase the frequency of beats and patrols, intensify intelligence-led policing and improve coordination between different LEAs in the region.

- Disarmament: Holistic disarmament covering the entire pastoralist region will help to rid-off the area of illegal firearms. The firearms were said to be communally used and almost every family owned a gun for protection of lives and properties - mostly livestock - from neighboring aggressors.
- Recruit and deploy more NPRs in conflict prone zones: The assessment established that a good number of NPRs had been recruited and deployed to a number of areas across the counties. Communities lauded this effort by the government especially in improving recovery of stolen cattle and warding off raiders. However, the officers were said to be inadequate and thus they should be increased and posted in conflict-prone areas. This will complement the mostly inadequate numbers of police officers in the counties.
- Capacity-build the newly trained NPRs to fit-in the existing security structures: The assessment established that the majority of the newly recruited and deployed NPRs had not gone through any form of training. The training will be essential in inculcating good working ethics - self-discipline, respect for human rights, adopting the ideals of working for all communities within the population and understanding effective ways of working with all security agencies within their areas of jurisdiction among others. Respondents emphasized on the need for the government to train NPRs and to enhance their compensation for work done.
- Reinvigorate community-level committees – These include the community policing committees, peace committees and grazing committees: This will help in enhancing sharing of early warning information and facilitation of community-level response to peace and security issues. The community-level committees/ structures will also be essential in improving relations between LEAs and communities. These relations will be instrumental in persuading communities to voluntarily surrender illegally held firearms and trust the LEAs in guaranteeing safety of lives and properties.
- Land adjudication and demarcation. Land ownership was found to be problematic in all the four counties. Therefore, the government should step-in and help residents to register their land and avoid the double ownership that most of the time was said to breed conflicts in the counties. The government should also consider changing land ownership from communal land to individual land ownership.
- Community agreements and declarations on ending retrogressive cultural practices and also promoting peace between different communities need to be made binding through legislation: These were said to work and can help in promoting cohesion among different communities in the counties.

- Enhance collaboration between national and county levels of governance on security issues: County governments need to be brought-into the issue of security considering that they have resources that can be channeled in promoting peace and security within the counties

Section One

Introduction and Methodology

1.1 Introduction

The pastoral regions of Kenya have incessantly been facing high security challenges and cyclical conflicts. These include; banditry, cattle rustling, repeated reprisal inter-communal attacks that result in high number of casualties and fatalities. IFAD, Investing in Rural people, “How to Prevent Land Use Conflicts in Pastoral Areas”, describes these regions as sites of tension and conflict due to an often-complex set of issues including poverty, population pressures, contested territorial claims, undefined or shifted resource boundaries that often do not align with administrative boundaries, weakened customary institutions and increased availability of firearms amongst other¹.

The regions may, at times, seem peaceful, however a pop up of a trigger factor such as; prolonged drought, cattle raid incident or a divisive political statement among others, changes everything and violent conflicts explode. Easy access to illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) aggravates the conflict situations. As a result; loss of lives, destruction of properties, loss of livelihoods, displacement of persons, disruption of economic activities and underdevelopment largely characterize the pastoral regions.

Compared to other regions in Kenya, the pastoral regions are least developed with rough terrain, harsh climatic conditions and have been marginalized since pre-independence. During the colonial era, the British colonial administration did not see economic value in these regions other than just securing the colony’s territorial and administrative structures. A closed district policy was enacted and the region was isolated from the rest of the colony and largely left underdeveloped². The post-colonial government adopted the policy and thus these regions have been left behind in terms of development.

1.2 Justification

Towards the 2022 general elections, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission³ (NCIC) conducted a countrywide conflict hotspot mapping and assessment, under the theme “Towards a

¹ Read more at: IFAD, How to Prevent Land Use Conflicts in Pastoral Areas, retrieved on 25/3/2023, at; <https://www.ifad.org/documents/38714170/40184028/LandUseConflicts.pdf/4da68519-6c21-bc00-67df-d7e75aba9543>

² Aukot, E. (2008). Northern Kenya: A Legal-Political Scar. Retrieved on 25/3/2023 from; <https://cohesion.or.ke/index.php/resources/downloads?download=61:impediments-to-peace-in-the-north-rift>

³ A statutory body mandated to promote national unity, equity and the elimination of all forms of ethnic discrimination by facilitating equality of opportunities, peaceful resolution of conflicts and respect for diversity among Kenyan communities. See <https://cohesion.or.ke/index.php/about-us/ncic-at-a-glance>

Violence-Free 2022 Elections”, with an objective of a detailed understanding of the peace and security situation in the country. From the assessment, Baringo, Isiolo and Samburu Counties were ranked to hold a medium to high-risk potential for electoral violence with index of 62.8%, 61% and 57.9% respectively while Elgeyo Marakwet was ranked within the medium to low-risk category with an index of 52.6%⁴. From the study, pre-existing conflict factors such as cyclic inter-communal violence as a result of competition over natural resources, cattle rustling, organized gangs, bandits, cross-border conflicts and high proliferation of SALW were identified as the key drivers for electoral violence.

A post August 2022 elections peace and cohesion assessment by NCIC - “Elections Bila Noma 2022, The Kenyan Experience⁵” - depicted a rather peaceful country during and after the August general elections. According to the study, more than 91% of Kenyans indicated that the elections were the most peaceful under the new constitution, with 8% indicating somewhat peaceful and a paltry 1% indicating that the elections were not peaceful. The peacefulness, as reported by the study, was attributed to tremendous investments by state and non-state peace actors in promoting peaceful coexistence, Kenya’s legislative reforms to improve election management and the effects of increasing cost of living. Indeed, the study infers that the elections did not disrupt levels of peace hence peace and conflict dynamics remained the same before, during and after the elections.

However, this position may not be true for the pastoralist regions. Reports from different media outlets portray a different picture regarding the status of peace and security in those regions. Just five (5) months after elections, many incidences of insecurity, including cattle rustling and banditry have been reported in Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, Isiolo, Laikipia, Marsabit, Samburu, Turkana, and West Pokot counties. The rising insecurity has necessitated the local leaders and residents to appeal to the government to reinstate National Police Reserves (NPR). The NPRs had been withdrawn in 2019 after being accused of aiding cattle rustlers and bandits in addition to misusing their firearms. Despite this withdrawal, the National Police Service (NPS) crime statistics indicate an increasing trend of cattle rustling and stock theft from 254 cases in 2019 to 662 and 817 in 2020 and 2021 respectively⁶. In addition to increasing insecurity in the North Rift, the resurgence of political rallies over the last few months, post-election political re-alignments, drought and high cost of living are all believed to be potential threats to the post-election peace in the country.

⁴ Retrieved from the NCIC’s report – Towards a violence-free 2022 elections – contained in Table 7, Kenya Electoral Violence Index – County KEVI. Available at: https://cohesion.or.ke/images/docs/downloads/hotspot_map_ping_ncic.pdf

⁵ Read more at: <https://cohesion.or.ke/index.php/resources/downloads?download=71:elections-bila-noma-the-2022-kenyan-experience>

⁶ National Police Service (NPS) report (2021). Crime Statistics. Retrieved on 13th January, 2023 from: <https://www.nationalpolice.go.ke/crime-statistics.html>

It's against this background that SRIC in partnership with NSC and NCIC conducted an assessment on post-election Peace and Conflict dynamics in Samburu, Isiolo, Baringo and Elgeyo Marakwet Counties.

1.3 Objectives

The assessment sought to contribute to peace and security in the pastoral communities and to recommend sustainable interventions. It specifically sought to;

- Assess the peace and conflict dynamics in Samburu, Isiolo, Baringo and Elgeyo Marakwet Counties.
- Identify the root causes and triggers of conflicts in the four pastoral Counties.
- Assess the effectiveness of interventions employed to address insecurity in the pastoral communities
- Recommend sustainable solutions to insecurity in the pastoral communities

1.4 Methodology

The assessment made use of both secondary and primary methods of data collection. In secondary data collection, previous reports on peace and security in the pastoral region were reviewed, including those from print and digital media. Literature from other stakeholders like government agencies, NGOs, local security agents, research think tanks and individual researchers were consulted to enrich the scope of the assessment. The primary data was systematically collected using an interview guide for both key informant interviews and focus group discussions.

1.4.1 Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews targeted different peace and conflict stakeholders within the counties of focus. The interviews involved law enforcement officers, National Government Administrative officials, local community leaders, religious leaders, reformed warriors, youth representatives and representatives from community-level peace and security structures. In total, 60 key informant interviews were conducted with 15 interviews in each target county.

1.4.2 Focus Group Discussions

The assessment conducted 12 FGDs, comprising a minimum of 9 people, three in each County. The FGDs targeted members of the civil society; Community Based Organizations (CBOs), peace committees, Community Policing Committees (CPCs), grazing committees, council of elders, women and youth groups and other representatives from different community leaderships.

1.4.3 Sampling

The assessment utilized purposive and snowballing sampling techniques to select key informants and FGD participants.

1.4.4 Data Analysis

The assessment made use of content and literature analysis to draw themes and generate summaries that eased report writing.

1.4.5 Assessment Area

The assessment was undertaken in Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, Isiolo and Samburu Counties

County	Selected Area	FGDs	KIIs
Baringo	Kabarnet	1	5
	Marigat	1	5
	Kabartonjo	1	5
	Sub-total	3	15
Elgeyo Marakwet	Chesoi	1	5
	Iten	1	5
	Tambach	1	5
	Sub-total	3	15
Isiolo	Ngaremara	1	5
	Bulla Pesa	1	5
	Burat	1	5
	Sub-total	3	15
Samburu	Maralal	1	5
	Suguta Marmar	1	5
	Losuk	1	5
	Sub-total	3	15
Total		12	60

Section Two

Assessment Findings and Discussions

2.1 The Status of Peace and Security

The study observed that the four pastoralist counties where this assessment was conducted were experiencing different levels of peace and security. Issues of banditry, cattle raiding, resource-based conflicts, human-wildlife conflicts, land and boundary disputes were mentioned as the leading threats to peace and security in some parts of each of the four counties. Other issues mentioned were SGBV and petty crime incidents, mostly theft and break-ins in the shopping centers.

The study also found that there exists a huge trust deficit between communities in conflict prone areas - that are trapped in a spiral of ethnic insecurity dilemmas - and LEAs, on the ability of LEAs to guarantee security to the communities. This serves as an impediment to cohesiveness and peacefulness in the region.

In Baringo County, Baringo Central, Eldama Ravine, Mogotio and some parts of Baringo North and South were identified as more secure and peaceful while other parts particularly the border points with Tiaty and Kerio valley were facing high insecurity challenges relating to banditry and resource-based conflicts.

In Samburu County, despite peaceful August elections, tensions were high especially along the border areas of Central and Tiaty East. Cases of indiscriminate killings by bandits and crime - shop break-ins, cattle theft (1 or 2 cattle, slaughtering and selling in butcheries) - were reported to have increased since December, 2022. Massive displacements as a result of tensions in some of the areas, not only, in Samburu but also in Isiolo, were also mentioned to be causing tensions in urban areas.

Elgeyo Marakwet county has been calm in the last six months save for the areas that are in the Kerio Valley where bandits have turned the area into a battle ground. The onset of drought forced pastoralists to move from Tiaty to Elgeyo Marakwet County in search of water and pasture resulting in clashes which have in turn led to several deaths, livestock theft, and displacement. After deployment of the joint security team the area has calmed down a bit but tensions remain high. Additionally, the political temperatures did go high during the senatorial by-elections especially during the UDA nominations.

In Isiolo, most parts of the county were said to be peaceful with minimal insecurity-related incidents. The border areas with neighboring counties were said to experience cyclic conflicts mostly linked to competition over resources. Although the security agencies reported remarkable improvement in managing the security situation in the mentioned hotspot areas, cases of people

being killed during cattle raids were reportedly still high. A new type of conflict was also manifesting in Kom area. This was related to scramble for a share of mineral deposits (majorly gold) discovered in the area that has attracted invaders and immigrants from as far as Ethiopia, South Sudan, Congo and so on. Cases of land grabbing by people that the locals constantly referred to as ‘outsiders’ were reported to be rampant in this area. This presents a new security challenge that - if not properly addressed could be a potential cause of conflicts in the area.

Generally, findings seemed to point to a huge trust deficit between communities in conflict and also with the LEAs. The assessment was informed that it was hard to bring together the different conflicting communities since they viewed each other as enemies. This state of affairs was even observed during one of the FGD sessions in Baringo County, where participants from one community refused to attend the session citing that they will be uncomfortable sharing the space with members of a different community. There is also a low level of trust on the ability of LEAs to guarantee security to the communities across the four counties which explains the proliferation of small arms among different communities in the four counties. A key informant in Baringo summarized this by lamenting that: -

“.....the government disarmed the NPRs claiming that they were able to guarantee us security..... reinstating them again, like it has always happened, is a sign of defeat or their inability....”⁷

It also appeared as if the police officers were not adequately equipped and supported to respond to distress calls and other emergencies. The cattle raids across the pastoralist counties have been heavily violent such that police officers can only use armored vehicles to respond and access certain areas within the counties. According to the key informants drawn from the security sector, those armored vehicles are few and consume a lot of fuel. This makes the equipment difficult to maintain as fuel allocation does not change based on the number of armored vehicles. A key informant in Isiolo lamented that: -

“.....our area of coverage is so huge, fuel allocated still remains the same with other counties and areas yet we are required to fuel the armored vehicle, that consumes a liter of fuel for every two kilometers covered.....so you can imagine, if we have to respond to different emergency calls/ alerts in different areas of Isiolo, how much fuel we’ll need or consume...sometimes it becomes totally impossible to respond in good time, as we try our best to mobilize support for the fuel.....”⁸

Another key informant bemoaned that: -

“...our police are not properly supported to help the communities, they are demotivated and the majority feel discriminated against by their bosses when assigned responsibilities

⁷ A comment by a key informant in Baringo County. Interview held in March, 2023

⁸ A comment by a key informant in Isiolo County. Interview held in march, 2023.

of responding to an attack or even tracking stolen cattle, considering that they are ill equipped to deal with heavily armed raiders and bandits.....there are incidents where communities gang-up to protect the police who are sometimes overwhelmed by the heavily armed raiders/ bandits.....this leaves us wondering who between us, needs security”⁹

2.2 Conflict Dynamics

- **Urban versus Rural conflict.**

The assessment was informed of a simmering conflict between the rural pastoralists and urbanites. The warriors living in the interior parts of the counties blame their counterparts in urban centers for neglecting them especially during times of violent conflicts. Based on this alleged negligence, any peacebuilding effort is viewed as ‘accommodating opponents’ hence received with hostility. This state of affair may explain why peacebuilding initiatives such as ceasefire and peace talks have not been successful. This was buttressed by a comment by a key informant who observed thus:

“The perpetrators never attend peace meetings but innocent elders or urbanites who have no say in the communities”¹⁰

In Lodokejek and Loosuk sub-counties for instance, the Morans blame the urbanites for accommodating their Pokot opponents in the name of peace talks. They thus do not believe in negotiations or any kind of peacebuilding.

The rural-urban migration is also a driving factor in rural-urban conflicts. With nothing for shelter or subsistence, the displaced persons are accused of putting unnecessary pressure on urban resources or even engaging in crime. Title deeds were also said to complicate the rural lifestyle. In case of displacement during conflicts, people find shelter in towns if volunteers do not shelter them as a way of increasing security.

- **Cattle raiding and Banditry**

Largely, pastoralists raid cattle both as a response to drought adversities and or as a cultural practice. This tradition, which in most cases remained a bloodless cultural practice has now graduated to indiscriminate killing of people, burning of schools, homes and massive displacements. The assessment was informed that the raids that have occurred in the last five years, has left numerous people dead including women and innocent children. Different assessment participants explained that it was no longer about the cattle, rather there was another motive behind the cattle raids.

⁹ A comment by a key informant in Isiolo County. Interview held in march, 2023.

¹⁰ A comment by a key informant in Samburu, Loosuk. Interview held in March, 2023

“.....we no-longer understand what the raiders want. They come with guns and just shoot people indiscriminately.....the other day a mother and her 10-month-old baby were shot dead. This was not linked to any cattle.....found in the house and just eliminated.....it is increasingly appearing as if these people just want to kill our people...”¹¹

Participants explained that raiding, as practiced in the past, did not result in deaths and whenever it accidentally happened, elders would be sent to reconcile with the other community. The reconciliation would include rituals to make peace, cleanse the perpetrator and compensate the family of the deceased. The assessment was informed that today, bandits take glory in killing their opponents, and by doing so, they are treated as heroes by the community who reward them with praises and dance during cultural ceremonies such as “Sapana”. They also have marks and badges - as many as the number of people one has killed. The assessment also learnt that today, bandits take pride in killing security officers since whoever kills one, assumes the rank of that officer.

The assessment established that banditry is now a form of organized crime committed by a group of youth in areas that are less governed. The vice has been flourishing courtesy of a weak security coverage, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, socioeconomic conditions such as poverty and unemployment. The assessment was informed that today’s bandits had transformed into a ‘military’ outfit that terrorize communities and that were courageous enough to even attack security agencies. They were mentioned to be doing very inhumane acts such as slitting bellies of pregnant women, sexually violating women and beheading people to provoke communities into counter-violence/ attacks. A participant in Isiolo County explained that according to their culture, killing a pregnant woman by separating the infant from the mother is considered more offensive than shoving a spear through someone’s stomach and this usually triggers violence between communities. These provocative acts were said to be on the rise across the counties. An FGD participant in Baringo lamented that: -

“.....the bandits are not the same ones we used to know, nowadays, they just want to kill and provoke and annoy communities. The other day there was a case where bandits went into a home, took the husband out, ordered him to open his mouth then went ahead and sprayed bullets - as the wife and children were watching¹².

On the ongoing military operation, the bandits were captured as threatening the military;

“Let the operation begin so that we can kill them and get their uniforms like we did in the Suguta massacre”¹³

Majority of people interviewed lamented that there was a need to declare banditry as an act of terrorism so that punitive measures can be instituted. A key informant in Elgeyo Marakwet mentioned that: -

¹¹ A comment by a Key Informant from Isiolo County, March 2023

¹² A comment by an FGD participant in Baringo County. Discussion held in March, 2023

¹³ A Key Informant in Samburu quoting a threat by bandits, March 2023.

“Banditry should be classified as terrorism maybe that will give the government reasons to end it....”¹⁴

The assessment was informed of a “Tiaty Defence Force (TDF)”, a bandit group, composed of Pokot bandits and which has also incorporated Samburu youth and women mostly as informers and have been killing people, including the KDF, with reckless abandon. The TDF was also using women and children as shields. It was mentioned that on 7/03/ 2023, Pokot set on fire a Manyatta at Polo, 500m from the military camp after taking away everything including household goods. In the new bandit formation, the assessment was informed that it is hard to differentiate who’s a bandit and who is a genuine Pokot or Samburu.

Numerous participants consulted in this assessment scorned the continuous calls by the government for voluntary surrender of arms, mentioning that it was next to impossible. It was mentioned that the bandits were hiding their firearms in bee hives and also underground wrapped in plastic bags thus it’s hard for security operations to find them.

A KII reiterated thus:

“.....mjue, hakuna Pokot anaeza rudisha bunduki because of past experience” (...just know that, there is no single individual from Samburu community that can willingly surrender their firearms)

The bandits were said to source their firearms from Uganda, Ethiopia and Somalia while the ammunitions were said to have the KDF markings from Eldoret arms factory.

It was added that:

“.....there is a ready market (Leperamarai market)-selling ammunitions manufactured in KDF military factory in Eldoret for as low as Ksh. 100 per bullet”

“.....banditry has gone commercial, easily getting a market for the stolen cattle at even sh.5000 per cow, hence motivation for more attacks.”¹⁵

- **Territorial expansion**

When asked what would be the reason for the indiscriminate killings, vandalization of infrastructure, burning of schools and homes, most of the participants mentioned territorial expansionism. It was alleged that such acts were meant to oppress, intimidate and create fear so that communities could leave their land thereby creating space for occupation.

*“Kama ni nyasi... kwanini wauwe watoto na kina mama, kwa nini wanashambulia shule?
Kama ni Ng’ombe, wanaenda Arror, Elgeyo Marakwet kufanya nini na hakuna Ngombe?
Bona wasichukue ng’ombe na waachane na watu? (If they are searching for grazing land,
why kill innocent people, especially defenseless children and women? If it’s just cattle*

¹⁴ A comment from a Key Informant in Elgeyo Marakwet, March 2023

¹⁵ A comment by a Key Informant from Elgeyo Marakwet East Sub-County, March 2023

raiding, why are they going all the way to attack innocent people in Aror in Elgeyo Marakwet where there is no much livestock?”¹⁶

The assessment was informed of an incident where the Pokot bandits employed the same tactics to forcefully displace Turkana in Silale ward, which they now occupy. The same case applies to Loruk, part of Loyamoruk ward which belonged to Tugens but now occupied by Pokots. It was alleged that the Pokot also invaded Mukutani which has now been changed to *Makutano* in their favor. At the time of this assessment, in Nasur village, Samburu County, residents had vacated their homes due to regular attacks, fleeing their Manyattas to seek refuge at Loosuk shopping center as others moved to Maralal town. In Baringo County people have fled Mukutani, Kerio valley and Mochogoi wards fearing attacks by bandits. In Isiolo county, Insecurity incidents were happening at the borders with Samburu especially in Burat also forcing people to move to safer zones, mostly the town centers.

The bandits were said to be well coordinated and employing a tactic they referred to as “game game” - where they attack in different regions to confuse or digress the focus of security officers.

Asked to explain the reasons for Pokot territorial expansion, the following emerged: -

- Looking for more grazing land
- Being a minority ethnic group thus claim to be marginalized in terms of resource allocation and distribution thus pushing to have their own county.
- Ethnic supremacy battles.
- Source of income especially commercialization of cattle raids
- **Resource-Based Conflicts**

The pastoralist region has been ravaged by severe drought since 2016. This has occasioned stiff competition for water and pasture among the neighboring communities. As a consequence, to this competition, there has been more drought related disasters such as land and boundary disputes, human-wildlife disputes, inter-communal conflicts, and banditry. The effects of these conflicts were reported as increased human suffering; loss of lives, destruction of livelihoods, destruction of critical infrastructures, disintegration of families and massive displacements.

Fierce competition over inadequate resources were said to be happening along river beds and highlands. For instance, in Isiolo County, people were fighting over access to the pasture and water in the area around Burat hills while in Baringo, there were disputes around Kerio valley and Arabal locations because of the permanent rivers and pastures.

A key informant in Isiolo commented that: -

“.....everyone wants access to Burat hills... the grazing committees in the border there with Samburu have been trying to organize people but no-one is willing to listen to them.

¹⁶ A Key informant narration from Baringo County, March 2023

Deaths are a daily occurrence as people from Samburu force-in their cattle into those hills.... the government is aware of the conflicts but they seem unable to contain the menace”

Resource-based conflicts were also said to be worsened by the prolonged drought that forced communities visiting others for water and pasture to overstay their welcome. Assessment participants mentioned that in the past communities would only be allowed to graze their cattle and access other resources such as water in the neighbouring villages/wards/counties over a short period of time but because of the prolonged drought some of them were being forced to overstay and even in some cases build homes and settle. This was mentioned to create tensions with the host communities. This was reported to be common in all the four counties and in extension other pastoralist counties.

- **Land Disputes**

For a long time, the pastoral region has suffered inter-communal boundary disputes between and within the counties. Almost in every county there exists contested spaces which are said to be a trigger of conflicts. For instance, in Isiolo county there is a boundary dispute with Meru County while around Kom, another dispute exists between Isiolo, Samburu and Marsabit. Equally, Burat is contested between Laikipia and Samburu East who believe they own some of the land. The issue with the Meru County (Tigania East) was said to be more emotive as there were allegations that members of the Meru community were being allocated land that other communities in Isiolo believed was theirs.

In Baringo County, boundary conflicts are rife in the border areas of Baringo North and South with Tiaty, and border areas with Elgeyo Marakwet at Kerio Valley.

The assessment learnt that part of the reasons for disputes over land was a consequence to diminishing pastures since, it was alleged, that most of the pastoralists' land had been taken by conservancies. In Baringo, assessment participants accused conservancies of sponsoring attacks claiming that whenever there is contestation of a certain land, there is a conservancy involved.

- **Human-Wildlife Conflicts**

The human-wildlife conflicts were highly reported in Isiolo and Elgeyo Marakwet Counties. Wild animals were said to be invading people's farms, making it difficult for anyone to eke a living through farming. Majority of people interviewed for the assessment in Isiolo raised concerns of parks which are not fenced all round therefore allowing the free movement of animals into and outside of the park. It was alleged that during the drought periods, some pastoralists moved their cattle inside the parks in search of pasture which at times led to attacks from the wild animals. The Kenya Wildlife Services was accused of not doing any compensation whenever the animals destroyed farms or harmed human beings. This was also reported to be the case in Elgeyo

Marakwet. An FGD participant in Iten while commenting on the human-wildlife conflicts made the following remarks:

“.....kuna shida hapa ya ndovu huko Karibu na Rimoi national park. Wanavamia mashamba ya watu wanakula kila kitu” (Elephants have become a menace here. They invade people's farms and destroy everything).

- **Conflicts related to Extractives**

This is a new and emerging conflict issue. The study was informed that the various mineral deposits being discovered in some areas within the pastoralist region were increasingly influencing peace and conflict dynamics in those regions. In Isiolo County, for instance, the discovery of some gold deposits in Kom area, was said to be attracting 'invaders' including immigrants from Ethiopia, Congo and South Sudan in what participants referred to as 'gold rush'. As a result, there have been simmering tensions and conflicts between the residents and the immigrants resulting to deaths, injuries and displacements.

Land grabbing around areas where these discoveries have been made was reported to be the new norm which has led to fierce conflicts between the local communities and the invaders.

- **Gender Based Violence**

Gender based violence; domestic violence, FGM, rape, defilement and sodomy cases were said to be high in pastoral regions. Men are the main perpetrators, while women mostly are the victims. SGBV issues were attributed to culture, especially patriarchal orientations and social problems such as poverty, unemployment, drug and substance abuse. Communities seemed to support some of the practices like early forced marriages and FGM.

“.....a woman who has not undergone FGM cannot take care of their son who has undergone traditional rite of passage, so this forces them to engage in the vice to protect the family's honour.”¹⁷

The assessment was informed that most cases went unreported while others were withdrawn by the victims due to pressure from elders or simply solved through “*Kangaroo courts*”. The study observed that of-late there was improvement in reporting of SGBV cases owing to awareness campaigns driven by both state and non-state actors. An incident was narrated in Baringo County of an assistant chief who was found guilty of defiling a 9 – year old girl and has since been sentenced to 40 years in prison.

In Elgeyo Marakwet, SGBV was reportedly high among the athletes residing in training camps around the county, although such cases end up being withdrawn out of pressure from the same camps.

¹⁷ A comment by a key informant in Tambach, Elgeyo Marakwet. Interview held in March, 2023.

2.3 Root Causes and Triggers

The assessment found that conflicts among the pastoralists revolve around intolerance which breeds suspicions in every neighbor's action. As a consequence, if one community crosses a border in search of water or pasture, it is perceived as an act of aggression by the host community leading to border conflicts. The vagaries of climate change were said to cause heightened competition over resources which, added to the warrior cultures, triggers resource-based conflicts among neighboring communities. Other triggers of conflicts were mentioned as the culture of cattle rustling, history of violent conflicts which has made conflicts intractable, normalization of violence, proliferation of illegal Small arms and light weapons, ethnic and clan incitements especially by political leaders, unequal distribution of resources by both national and county governments, marginalization, high levels of poverty, illiteracy and conflict traps due to lack of alternative pathways to peace and development, perceived culture of expansionist, weak presence of the government and geographical isolation which limits positive social change arising from interacting with peoples from different backgrounds-cultures and ethnicities.

A public inquiry on insecurity and its impact on enjoyment of human rights in the North Rift Region of Kenya, by Kenya National Commission on Human Rights¹⁸, corroborates these findings on the root causes of the cyclical conflicts in the North Rift region. In their analysis, they observed that the North Rift Region is a home of diverse cultures and ethnic groups with a network of complex causes of conflicts including; the high bride price and the high expectations set by the traditional *Sapana* and *Athapan* rituals by Pokot and Turkana respectively. The contemporary causes include; political incitement by the local politicians, contested and shifting administrative boundaries, systemic absence of infrastructure in most areas of North Rift region coupled with a negligible presence of government security apparatus and dilapidated roads, the marginalization of the Pokot community by successive governments from 1950 to the present day, and the drive from ethnic inclusion to ethnic exclusion especially after the discovery of mineral wealth in some areas.

Regarding the current conflict trends and patterns there has been:

- A shift from mass raids to raids by a small number of raiders (usually 3-10). This is a tactic aimed at defeating security surveillance.
- A possible transformation of what has been known as bandits or acts of banditry into a potential insurgent group for instance Tiaty Defence Force (TDF).
- Rising intra-ethnic cattle rustling and rise in interethnic retaliatory killings
- Increase in use of social media to incite and mobilize for violence

¹⁸ Kenya National Commission on Human Rights; A Public Inquiry on Insecurity and its Impact on the Enjoyment of Fundamental Human Rights in the North Rift Region of Kenya. Retrieved on 31/3/2023, from; <https://www.knchr.org/Articles/ArtMID/2432/ArticleID/1041/Public-inquiry-on-insecurity-and-its-impact-on-the-enjoyment-of-fundamental-human-rights-in-the-North-Rift-Region-of-Kenya>

- Growing land conflicts associated with land demarcation and titling and expansionism of the Pokot community of Tiaty into Baringo and Samburu County. The expansionism of the Pokot community from Tiaty East to other Baringo sub-counties and Samburu County is going to be the main conflict dynamics going forward. The Samburu, Tugens and Ilchamus are adamant that there can be no peace unless they vacate their lands and the Pokots are determined to expand into Malaso, Longewan, Amaya, Lolmolok, Pura areas among others. They are justifying the expansion in terms of historical claims that these lands belong to them.
- Another trend that has emerged is the unification of moranism. This is a collaboration between morans from diverse ethnic groups or clans to stage a common raid on their own people. The new trend increases chances of success and is mostly driven by commercialization of cattle raids.
- The expansion of security installations in the counties was also reported to be a source of tensions in Isiolo County. Communities expressed dissatisfaction with expansion of land occupied by the military camps in Isiolo county, claiming that it contradicted agreements between the council of elders and the government when the land was freely given by the communities. A key informant lamented that: -
*“.....the military camps keep taking our land claiming that it has always been theirs.....they’ll start by earmarking some areas for range shooting, then ultimately, they take over and deploy security to stop us from grazing our cattle in spaces that have always been ours.....”*¹⁹

In terms of conflict intensity, it was found that conflicts are more prevalent during long cycles of droughts as communities compete over water and pasture, and during the onset of rains as communities raid their neighbors to restock. The most peaceful periods are when there is adequate rainfall and spatial separation of ethnic groups as they retreat to their own grazing lands. In addition, when political activities are low, there is peace since politicians are not mobilizing and inciting their ‘people’ against perceived ‘enemies’.

2.4 Hotspot Areas

County	Hotspot area and their Uniqueness
Isiolo	Mlango, Burat - Almost daily raids by members of Samburu community. The only area with some pasture and water and therefore intense competition over the resources.

¹⁹ A comment by a key informant in Isiolo County while commenting on the shrinking land as a result of expansion of military camps in the county. Interview held in March, 2023.

	<p>Biliko - Borders the Isiolo Park and therefore everyone is fighting over illegal access of the park for pasture.</p> <p>Gambela - Contestation of ownership and conflicts over grass and water</p> <p>Isiolo Town – Bulla Pesa - Heavy peddling and use of drugs especially illegal substances such as shashamane, (said to originate from Ethiopia) and nang’o among the youth (both women and men)</p> <p>Tigania East border with Isiolo - Contested border points. Double allocation of parcels of land because of unclear boundaries. This causes conflicts that mostly take an ethnic angle.</p> <p>Yamicha - Contested area between Wajir and Isiolo over resources and alleged encroachment</p> <p>Kom – Gold rush, land grabbing</p> <p>Kina, Igembe - Border points with Meru</p> <p>Eldera area - border with Garissa</p> <p>Kambi Samaki, Garba Tula</p>
Baringo	<p>Border areas with Tiaty. These areas have very poor network coverage, tough terrain, quite hilly and thus makes it hard for effective response to conflict. Also have plenty of water and pasture.</p> <p>Baringo North- Saimo Soy Ward, Ngaratuko, Kosile, Kagir, Yatya and Chemoe. Bartabwa ward is also a hotspot area especially at Kabariyon, Chepkesin, Kamweetyo, Kisumet, Kapturwo and Kinyach villages.</p> <p>Baringo South- Mukutani ward, Ramacha, Laromoru, Ngelecha, Bartalo, Rugusi while in Mochogie ward, we have; Kasila, Resiele, Lomonwet, Embosos, Chembinyiny and Arabal villages.</p>
Samburu	<p>Rural conflict Hot-spot areas; Suguta, Amaya, Loosuk, Poro, Amatanyuki, Lolmolok, Longewani, Longorate, Lochiala, Akuchatis, Malaso, Pura, Laluni and Lasanga areas. The areas were said to be hotspots due to their proximity to Tiatya neighbor who Samburu blamed for aggression. There is also the change of tactic; from groups of 100 raiders or more to 3 to 8 raiders. Other unique factors in these areas are increased illegal firearms-AK-47 or more sophisticated weapons and indiscriminate killings.</p> <p>In urban areas, the main hotspot areas are Suguta Marmar, Kisima and Kitobor. The areas are considered hotspots due to increased stealing, ostensibly triggered by lack of food, increased consumption of “Muguka” and Shop breakages.</p>

Elgeyo Marakwet	Banditry - Tot division, Kolowa Bridge, Murkuto, Endo, Arror Stock Theft-Embubut Forest , Kamogit, Kapsio GBV - Kipka, Chepkogin, Kapchumbi Land conflicts - Upper Sambirir Human Wildlife Conflict - Rimoi National Park FGM - Tambach
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2.5 Parties to Conflicts

Parties	Motivations	How the influence conflicts
Political leaders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Political power - Political players instigate conflicts in an effort to gain political control and supremacy over a certain region or people in order for them to use that in their political maneuvers ● Income generation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● They supply guns to communities and warriors especially the bandits ● They incite their communities to attack others ● They employ bandits to herd their cattle in the forests ● Protect bandits ● Provide markets for the stolen cattle
Youth/Warriors referred to as “rangers” in Baringo and “Warani” in Samburu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Source of livelihood: Engagement in stock theft and banditry is seen as a form of income generation ● Revenge: Each community does not take lightly attack from another community therefore they resort to revenge to recover their stolen animals and also assert their strength and dominance. ● Raise dowery 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Very young and energetic ● They are the primary perpetrators ● Heavily armed and highly trained – they are trained by former or retired officers. ● They live in the forests herding their livestock and that of politicians’ ● They are the majority; easily swayed, unemployed, disgruntled and hence vulnerable to politicians

Elders/ community leaders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuity of community's traditions • preservation of cultural practices such as raiding • Bride prices • Source of income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They crown warriors • They are very respected in the community • Use their position to radicalize youth in the name of protecting the community • They administer oaths to the bandits before raids • They mark routes for warriors whenever they go raiding • They rent weapons to the bandits in exchange of the cattle
Business men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business • Relevance in the market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide ready markets for stolen cattle • Supplying bandits with SALW in exchange for cattle and plots.
Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social reasons • Pride 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cheers and jeers bandits after a successful raid • Young women only marry successful raiders • Old women wear waist beads as a symbol of protection to the bandits whenever they go raiding and remove them when safely back • Young women only marry men with cattle

2.6 Interventions

In assessing the effectiveness of interventions by different actors, the following emerged as the most effective in the county: -

County	Actor, Intervention and Effectiveness
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Isiolo

- **Sports for Peace** - Was effective in mobilizing and bringing the youth from different communities together. During the sports, leaders take the opportunity to create awareness for peace and security.
- **NPRs** - Though inadequate, the NPRs were said to be effective in improving community security. Assessment participants emphasized on the need to ensure the officers are well trained to be able to blend and work closely with other security agencies in the county.
- **Shared livestock markets** - Had worked well until criminals moved-in and started stealing cattle. Needs to be revived as a way of improving cohesion between different communities in the region.
- **Establishment of grazing committees** - Helps in improving sharing of resources especially among communities along the borders.
- **Dialogue forums bringing leaders of different communities together** - This helps calming tensions between different communities. Needs to be encouraged.
- **Peace walks and Caravans** - Important for constant awareness of the need for different communities to coexist peacefully. Worked well in the county.
- **Bursary programs for children from low-income families** - Continuous improvement of education levels is crucial in addressing the culture of violence among the pastoralist communities. Bursaries make education affordable to the less fortunate and also encourage communities to embrace education as a long-term solution for peace in the county
- **Use of drones to improve surveillance of conflict zones** - This was identified to have worked especially in helping access to areas that LEAs would struggle to access
- **Women caucus for peace** - These were identified to have worked well especially during the electioneering period. The forums were crucial in promoting peace at the community levels and also bringing leaders together.
- **Set-up formed-up units in conflict hotspot areas** - This worked in Archers post area, Gotu and Kom. There is a need to set up a security unit in Mlango and Yamicha to contain the insecurities in those areas. It also emerged that sometimes, it was difficult for the county-level security commanders to coordinate and control the units which in most instances slows down response. A key informant lamented that: -
“.....the formed-up units are quite important in deterring criminals from raiding certain areas but sometimes it is difficult for us to coordinate or

	<p><i>work closely with them especially when we want them to be quickly deployed in responding to certain emergencies within the counties. You can imagine, the use of a drone is controlled from Nairobi, while the services are needed here.....sometimes you call the commanders of those units for assistance and they have to consult with their bosses(who are in Nairobi) before agreeing to our requests.....obviously slows our processes here of helping communities.....the security units need to be brought under the command of the county-based security leaders.....that will help a lot...”²⁰</i></p>
<p>Elgeyo Marakwet</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Annual Peace forum- by Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CPJC) in collaboration with the county government of Elgeyo Marakwet. The forum brings together the local communities from Elgeyo Marakwet, Uasin Gishu and Trans Nzoia and has been fostering peaceful coexistence of communities in the region. ● Water, Education and health initiatives; by World Vision International have helped improve social services in the Kerio Valley region. ● Chiefs Baraza tackling SGBV and alcohol, drug and substance abuse.
<p>Samburu</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Sabala chiefs’ forum. This is a meeting of chiefs drawn from Samburu, Baringo and Laikipia counties. The forum is organized under the clarion call “Alolero ” which in Samburu means “who is that passing”. The forum appears to borrow from the <i>Nyumba Kumi</i> initiative which largely seeks to understand one another and to monitor stranger’s roles and missions. The Sabala forum was said to have developed a WhatsApp group from which participants share information. The initiative is arguably successful in addressing conflicts in Laikipia but does not appear to have succeeded in Baringo and Samburu counties. It was however interesting to note that Turkana and Isiolo were not part of this initiative. The assessment learnt that there were other similar initiatives; Sabala women group, Sabala youth group all partnering with security agencies in addressing conflicts in Samburu, Baringo and Laikipia counties. ● NPR. The National Police service (NPS) is leading a training and deployment of NPR in conflict hot-spots areas. All the assessment participants were in agreement that the NPR was instrumental in responding to conflicts, especially cattle rustling since they understood the terrain and can withstand the punitive weather conditions. The NPR

²⁰ A comment by a key informant in Isiolo while commenting on the role of formed-up security units in the county. Interview held in March, 2023.

	<p>are being trained at Ltungai Conservancy camp where about 400 have already been trained and deployed.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Curfew. By the time of the assessment, the government had imposed curfew in some parts of Samburu County, starting from Suguta Marmar town. The curfew had been received with mixed reactions with the majority of residents against it. There is the feeling that the curfew gives the Pokots an advantage since they can attack as Samburu remains indoors. One key respondent observed thus: <i>“Curfew has made the situation even worse.....this week alone, 10 people have been killed during the curfew in my ward, Pura Malaso has witnessed increased banditry, a chief was raped in Tangolai”</i>
<p>Baringo</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● NPRs – Were said to be effective in preventing and recovering cattle raids ● Shared livestock markets – Brings together different communities thus promoting cohesion. ● Economic support programmes – Such as bursaries and welfare funds were said to be very effective in making education affordable. ● Traditional elders and chiefs - They are highly respected and play a vital role in brokering peace during conflicts. ● Religious leaders - In Kabartojo, religious leaders play a significant role in unifying various ethnic groups in the area. A case in point was during the elections. ● Peace committees - The committees intervene whenever there are conflicts between communities such as the Tugen and Ilchamus and have succeeded in promoting peace in some parts of the county. ● Security camps have been built in specific areas in the county and police deployed to maintain peace but they have not been effective since the bandits are heavily armed

Actors with highest influence for peace

<p>Actors with highest influence for peace</p>	<p>Opportunities for peace</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Women groups ● Politicians ● Northern Rangeland Trust (NRT) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Community-level peace and security committees were identified as huge opportunities for peace in

<ul style="list-style-type: none">● CSOs/CBOs based in the counties● Elders● Clergy	<p>the region. This was majorly because the groups were widely accepted and relied-on for peace.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Training and deployment of NPRs. This will help in protecting lives and properties.● Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) – use of the existing local dispute resolution mechanisms as it is very effective.
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Section Three

Conclusion and Recommendations

3.1 Conclusion

The assessment established that each county was experiencing different levels of peace and security although the contributing issues were similar across the four counties. Banditry, cattle rustling, resource-based conflicts, land and boundary disputes were found to be the main issues in all the counties. Easy availability of SALW, harsh climatic conditions that lead to prolonged droughts aggravate conflicts in these regions.

The underlying drivers of conflicts in the region are complex. The drivers are systemic, require huge outlay of resources and robust involvement of the state especially the national government as a lead peace actor. The assessment established that the government to a large extent has remained absent in the pastoralist regions.

In terms of interventions, it appeared as if they were not fully leveraging on available local resources for peace and were also implemented within short periods yet the complex issues driving conflicts in the region required a long-term approach. The assessment also concludes that interventions failed to factor-in the power of spoilers such as arms dealers and livestock warlords.

In conclusion, there is a need for different peace and security actors to invest in mechanisms of elevating the trust levels between communities and law enforcement agencies through sensitizing communities on the role of LEAs and the need to coexist peacefully and also reviving or reinvigorating community-level peace and security structures with a view to onboard communities in security management.

3.2 Recommendations

3.2.1 State Actors

- a) **Education.** There is a need to sensitize communities on the importance of education. Pastoral communities have the highest illiteracy rates according to 2019 KPHC. Cultural practices such as female genital mutilation, early forced marriages and moranism have been a challenge to school enrolment hence interventions such as alternative rites of passage should be established to reduce poor enrolment rates. Sensitization can also be achieved through using role models in the region who have excelled in education to encourage young people. Coupled with sensitization would be the need to build more learning institutions, employing more teachers and expanding school feeding programmes in schools in the region

- b) ***Accelerate initiatives on land subdivision and issuing of individual land titles:*** Land demarcation and titling would guarantee secure land tenure to individuals and groups, encourage sedentarization and pursuit of alternative sources of livelihoods, and enhance service delivery. The government should accelerate the process. This is critical for the following reasons: Individuals and groups assured of a land tenure security can use their land to secure credit, initiate long-term development projects, and pursue alternative sources of livelihood such as farming; individual land holding may help address environmental issues related to the tragedy of commons such as overgrazing and degradation of rangelands for it will incentivize herders to keep sustainable herd sizes; it has the potential of encouraging sedentarization of the now predominantly transhumance communities in the county which in the long term will help improve service delivery and access since it is easier to serve settled communities owing to benefits of the economies of scale.
- c) ***Strategic investments in infrastructural development aimed at addressing systemic issues driving conflict and insecurity:*** There is a strong correlation between development and security. The government should invest in constructing good road networks which will act as a development catalyst opening up the vast counties to investments especially around tourism, large scale farming, honey production and livestock supply. This should be augmented with working with private telecommunication sector players to expand communication networks coverage. Additionally, the government should invest more in building boarding schools to enable children to stay longer in school and watering points and water pans to increase availability of water. Possibly the schools should be ethnically integrated as a way of strengthening interethnic networks.
- d) ***Support development of a well-orchestrated county peace and security structure:*** The national government, through its various agencies, should take the lead in supporting the development of a well-orchestrated county peace structure capable of sustainably responding to conflicts in each county.
- e) ***Increase investments and technical support in production, harvesting and storage of pastures coupled with destocking:*** Through the National Drought Management Authority (NDMA), the government should fund and coordinate initiatives aimed at enabling communities to produce, harvest and store pasture. This will help reduce conflict related to competition over access to pasture and reduce loss of livestock during droughts. Destocking programs will help to mitigate the destruction of rangelands because of overgrazing, and help improve livestock quality translating to higher prices.
- f) ***Deploy more “able” security officers and increase police posts.*** The assessment found that the majority of police officers deployed in the “disturbed” regions were freshly recruited youth or those on disciplinary actions. It is recommended that preference be given to those with adequate experience on the environment and understands the security dynamics in the

region. Further the government should establish permanent security camps along the hotspots and border areas

- g) **Intensify intelligence-led policing:** This will help in narrowing down to criminals as opposed to blanket condemnation of communities that sometimes work against police and community relations
- h) **Improve coordination between different LEAs in the region:** The formed-up units need to be brought under control of the County Security and Intelligence Committees (CSICs) for ease of coordination and unity of command.
- i) **Disarmament:** Holistic disarmament covering the entire pastoralist region will help to rid-off the area of illegal firearms. The firearms were said to be commonly used and almost every family owned a gun for protection of their livestock from neighborhood aggressors
- j) **More deployment for NPR:** The study was informed that NPRs were very instrumental in preventing as well as recovering stolen cattle. However, the officers were said to be inadequate and thus they should be increased and posted in conflict hotspot areas. This will compensate for the mostly inadequate numbers of police officers in the county. Further, it is necessary to adequately train NPRs to avoid biases when conducting their work.
- k) **Reinvigorate community-level committees** – Including the community policing committees, peace committees and grazing committees among others: This will help in enhancing sharing of early warning information and facilitation of community-level response to peace and security issues
- l) **Erect permanent beacons on the borders** to manage contestation of boundaries: This will help reduce cross-border conflicts
- m) **Open the shared livestock markets:** This worked well and helped improve cohesion among communities from different regions. The markets need to be revived and security enhanced to minimize cases of cattle theft
- n) **Amend the law for cattle theft:** The government should review the law on cattle theft to include cattle rustling and make it a serious crime that will attract heavy penalties and fines that can deter communities from stealing from one another.
- o) **Community agreements and declarations** on ending retrogressive cultural practices and also promoting peace between different communities need to be made binding through legislation: This was said to work and can help in promoting cohesion among different communities in the region.

- p) **Enhance collaboration of national and county levels of governance on security issues:** County governments need to be brought-into the issue of security considering that they have resources that can be channeled in promoting peace and security within the counties.

3.2.2 Non-State Actors

1. **Disarmament:** The assessment observed that more community members were arming themselves as a consequence to low trust levels on LEAs. The non-state actors therefore need to enhance awareness campaigns to sensitize communities on the dangers of illicit SALW and to encourage voluntary surrender.
2. **Civic education** that will create awareness on peace and security: This will be important for communities to understand their roles in promoting peace in the region
3. **Strengthen the traditional system** as alternative means of solving cases particularly in remote areas, by training the council of elders in arbitration of cases in line with the constitution
4. **There is a need for a youth forum to pacify the “disturbed” youth pastoralist communities.**
5. **Strengthening of community peace committees** to conduct peace building initiatives and conflict resolution both within the counties and across the borders.
6. **Agency Empowerment:** Build capacity of individuals and groups to meaningfully participate in peace processes.
7. **Develop and coordinate multidimensional projects:** CSOs should develop and implement multidimensional projects linking peace and security, alternative livelihoods and resilience support, governance support, psychosocial support and trauma healing, gender equity, and child protection among others. To be able to do this, CSOs should pursue horizontal cooperation consisting of CSOs with different competencies.

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