

**AN ASSESSMENT OF SOCIAL-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF CONFLICT IN  
TURKANA AND WEST POKOT COUNTIES**

**SRIC, APRIL 2016**

## **List of Acronyms**

ADR	Alternate Dispute Resolution
ALRMP	Arid Lands Resource Management Project
ASALs	Arid and Semi-arid Lands
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CIDPs	County Integrated Development Plans
CPF	Common Programme Framework
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
EDE	Ending Drought Emergencies
EIAs	Environmental Impact Assessments
FBOs	Faith Based Organizations
FDGs	Focus Group Discussions
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
KII	Key Informant Interview
LEAs	Law Enforcement Agencies
MMR	Maternal Mortality Rate
NDMA	National Drought Management Authority
NGAOs	National Government Administration Officers
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NPR	National Police Reservist
PBCM	Directorate of Peace Building and Conflict Management
PESTLE	Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Legal and Environmental
RCEA	Reformed Church of East Africa
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SRIC	Security Research Information Centre

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## **Introduction**

Turkana and West Pokot counties are located on the north-western portion of Kenya's territory. Both counties lie along the Kenya-Uganda border. The two counties derive their names from the two dominant local communities that occupy them, namely the Turkana and Pokot, both of whom lead largely pastoralist and nomadic lifestyles characterized by rearing of livestock and frequent movement in search of water and pasture.

This expansive and remote region is officially classified as arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs), whose defining features include hot and dry weather, low and erratic rain patterns that result in frequent famine and prolonged drought cycles and internecine eruption of armed violence. This is due to a range of factors that typically include, but not limited to overlapping and long-standing territorial claims and counter-claims along their common borderlines; water and pasture/foilage and lately, feuds around the new-found natural resources, principally oil. In this context, it is also important to note that virtually all land in this region – as in other ASALs – is hitherto communally owned. Also notable is the recent discovery of oil along the Turkana-West Pokot border areas has resulted in calls and ultimatums by some political leaders to the government to issue land titles to citizens.

Decades of perceived marginalization of local communities in Turkana and West Pokot counties by the colonial administration and successive post-independence regimes, coupled by widespread insecurity and scanty government presence has compelled citizens to resort to competitive armament marked by liberal acquisition of huge stockpiles of illicit small arms and light weapons (SALW). The widespread presence and use of SALW has been linked to the escalation of cattle raids between communities, and credited for making it possible for citizens to protect their property and families in the “absence” of governmental authority and critical infrastructure. Numerous attempts by the government to disarm these warring communities with a view to restoring durable inter-communal peaceful co-existence have been singularly unproductive, sometimes even counter-productive.

It is against this background that in 2012, the government developed and commissioned sessional Paper no. 8 of 2012 titled *'The National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands'*, aptly themed *'Releasing our Full Potential'*. Further, on 4<sup>th</sup> November, 2015, the Government, through the Ministry of Devolution and Planning, launched a comprehensive framework known as *Ending Drought Emergency (EDE) Common Programme Framework (2012 – 2022)* to further coordinate and ultimately

give impetus to the realization of sustainable development in all 23 ASAL counties across the country, including Turkana and West Pokot counties.

### **Study Rationale**

It is widely acknowledged that there exists an inextricable nexus between security and development, a fact that is self-evident in Turkana and West Pokot counties in particular and the wider ASALs in general. A perennial state of insecurity tends to profoundly diminish opportunities for social and economic advancement in any given social set up<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, in the case of Turkana and West Pokot counties, what has not been empirically established is the degree - or extent - to which a general state of insecurity, whether driven by perception or reality of the phenomena, negatively impacts on the social and economic welfare and aspirations of local communities. Most of the narratives on this subject remain largely borne out of conjecture and street ‘wisdom’, which unfortunately do not lend themselves up for independent and objective measurement.

This study sought to generate both quantitative and qualitative information on the social economic impact of conflict in both Turkana and Pokot Counties. The information is meant for policy makers and security agencies to institute appropriate, evidence-based intervention measures to ‘release the full potential’ of the region.

### **Main objective**

The main objective of the study was to assess the cost of conflicts in Turkana and West Pokot counties.

### **Specific objectives**

The study was guided by the following specific objectives.

1. To ascertain the nature of conflicts in both Turkana and Pokot counties.
2. To ascertain the effect of conflicts on the communities’ ability to access social services.
3. To investigate the impact of conflict on sources of livelihoods for the communities living in the two counties.
4. To recommend policy options for conflict management in the two counties.

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<sup>1</sup> See Small Arms Survey 2003: Development Denied; See also Lars Buur, Steffen Jensen and Finn Stepputat (eds), The Security-Development Nexus (2007).



## **Methodology**

The research process made use of both secondary and primary means of collecting data. In secondary data collection, previous reports of armed violence in Turkana and W. Pokot counties were reviewed. Literature from other stakeholders like government agencies, NGOs, both print and digital media and individual researchers were consulted to enrich the scope of the research. The study focused on the extent of community livelihood and household income streams encompassing trade and commerce, livestock and agricultural produce markets. On the social front, particular emphasis was given to the history and current state of school enrolment, retention and transition rate vis-à-vis national average, access to basic health care and status of health infrastructure. In addition, an attempt was made to examine the role – if any - of cultural incompatibility, feelings or perceptions of ethnic dominance or subjugation, role of political rhetoric and attitude towards disarmament.

## **Sampling**

The survey employed a mixture of sampling techniques to select actual respondents from whom primary data was gathered. Purposive sampling was used to select the counties of West Pokot and Turkana, as well as the specific locations where the assessment was undertaken. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to select ordinary citizens aged over 18 years who were interviewed for the study, while similar techniques were used to select participants for Focused Group Discussions (FDGs) and Key Informants.

## **Data Collection Methods**

The survey employed the following methods of collecting primary data to meet the study objectives:

### **1. Key Informant Interviews**

Key informant interviews were conducted in Masol in the extreme southeast of West Pokot County, Alale, Loima and Nauyapong in the Northwestern tip of West Pokot, on the border with Uganda, and in Kainuk, Lorogon and Turkwell border areas of Turkana County. The interviews targeted law enforcement officers, National and county government senior officials, school administrators, health practitioners and peace committees. In total, 14 key informants' interviews were conducted, 2 from each sampled location.

## **2. Focus Group discussions**

Seven focus group discussions, one in each select location, were conducted. The FGD's targeted members of the civil society, peace committees, business people, women and youth groups.

## **3. General Questionnaires**

A total of 400 questionnaires were administered to members of the public in the selected locations. Respondents were randomly selected from a sample population of those aged 18 years and above. Gender balance and sensitivity were put into consideration during the administration of the questionnaires, in line with the spirit and letter of Kenya's new Constitution.

## Study Findings

### Analysis from Questionnaires

The table below provides a snapshot of the geographic coverage of the survey, which were carefully selected based on critical consideration, primarily their close proximity to notorious conflict hotspots and urban centres lying along the Kapenguria-Lodwar highway, which have a significant population of settled Turkana people, including the twin townships of Makutano and Kapenguria, the latter being the administrative headquarters of West Pokot County.

The population cohorts included the business community, civil servants and domestic workers, who nevertheless get somewhat affected whenever conflict incidents pitting the two communities arise, however far-removed they may be from the geographic location. Moreover, it was reckoned that such an “exposed” group would provide useful insights and perspectives to the conflict phenomenon on account of its presumably “reformed” mindset. It will be noted that, owing to its relatively high population density, the Kapenguria-Makutano area accounted for just under half of the sampled population at 41.7%, while sparsely populated areas inhabited mostly by pastoralist-nomadic communities accounted for low percentages, as in the case of Kainuk, Orwa and Nyang’aita, which had a combined representation of 23.8%. The specific areas and their proportion of representation are presented in the table here-below.

Area	Frequency	Percent
1. Kapenguria and outlying trading centres	168	41.7
2. Sigor	49	12.2
3. Alale	90	22.3
4. Kainuk	29	7.2
5. Orwa	33	8.2
6. Nyangaita	34	8.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>403</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Table 1: Distribution of the Sampled Respondents.*

### Gender Distribution

Despite the relative sensitivities surrounding or associated with matters ‘security’, which women and girls typically try to avoid getting involved in, the research team was able to somewhat surmount those barriers by ensuring that well over one-third (35.48%) of the respondents were from the female gender, as the pie chart below illustrates. The rationale for

this deliberate targeting was informed in large part by the recognition that males and females were affected differently by any conflict incident, and hence the need to capture their own perspective as they perceive and experience it. This aspect is further articulated in greater depth in the focus group discussion (FGDs) sessions elsewhere in this report. Considering the hitherto strong patriarchal social structures that are still largely intact in the two communities, this representation becomes even all the more commendable.

### **Age Distribution of the Respondents**

Age was considered yet another critical demographic factor in determining both a person's predisposition to engaging in armed conflict as well as their overall perception of the same phenomenon, as the pie chart below attests. The youth (18 -35 years) accounted for 57.32% of the sampled respondents, while the rest of the respondents (35 years and above) accounted for 42.68%. There is consistent and unarguable anecdotal evidence from previous studies by SRIC as well as other practitioners<sup>2</sup> that lends credence to the hypothesis that, on the whole, males falling under this age bracket invariably hold sway in the perpetration of conflicts and also fall victims to the same phenomenon disproportionately.

### **Respondents' level of education**

In highlighting a respondent's level of education, the rationale was premised on the supposition that a person's level of education has a direct bearing in shaping their opinions, mind-sets and world view, in this case with specific reference to the subject under investigation. As the table below illustrates, 20.8% of the respondents had secondary school education, while 16.9% had college level education. A significant number of respondents (30.5%) had no formal education at all. This is starkly juxtaposed by the number of respondents at the other end of the continuum with the highest level of education (university) which constituted a lowly 14.9%. When put into context, this demographic mix is quite representative, considering the historical marginalization that the region has been consigned to for decades on end.

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<sup>2</sup> See Most studies on SALW focusing on Northern Kenya have noted this phenomenon; SRIC (2003), Mkutu (2004), Wepundi et al, (2009).

<b>Education Level</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
None	123	30.5
Primary Level	68	16.9
Secondary Level	84	20.8
College Level	68	16.9
University Level	60	14.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>403</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Table 2: Education Level of Respondent.*

### **Conflict Situation on the Borderline of Turkana and Pokot Counties**

The first objective of the study was to assess the nature of conflict in Turkana and West Pokot counties. To achieve this objective, the researchers sought to establish the nature and frequent types of conflict in the counties, the major causes and perpetrators of the conflicts, and the areas that were prone to conflicts. Questionnaires on these issues were administered to sampled respondents. In addition, focus group discussions and key informant interviews were held in specific localities addressing the same issues.

The research team first sought to establish the communities' perception with regard to conflict trends across the preceding 1 year. As the table below depicts, the vast majority (86.849%) were positive that "conflict cases have reduced". Those who held contrary or divergent views posted a negligible combined percentage of just over 10%, meaning in effect that the previously volatile region was beginning to experience lasting peace.

This finding was corroborated in focus group discussion (FGD) as well as through the administration of key informant interview (KII) schedules.

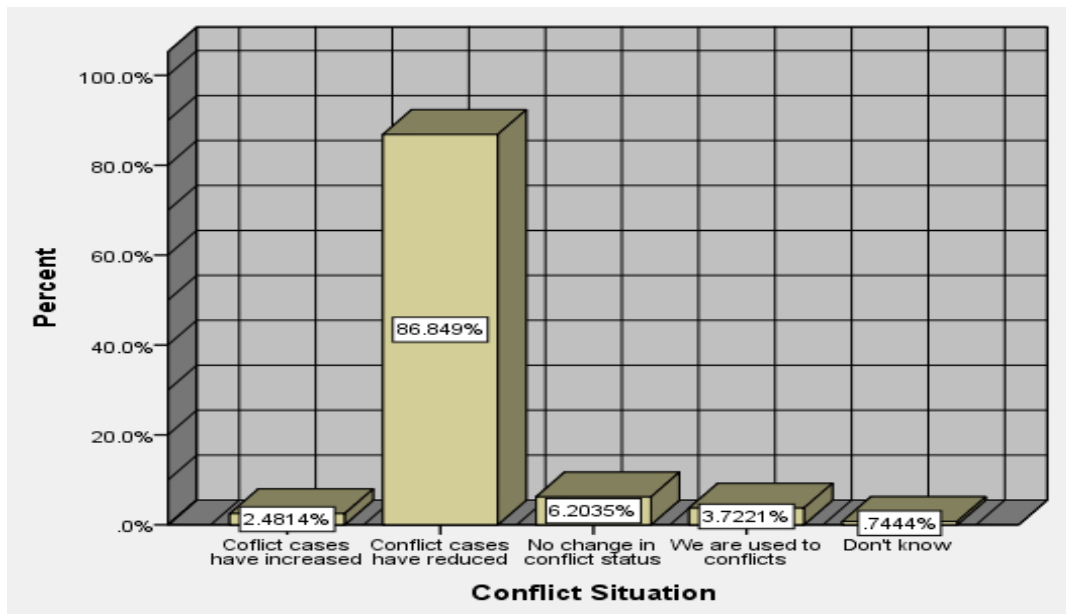


Figure 1: Current situation of Conflict.

### Common Types of Conflict

Understanding the various conflict typologies was considered a central factor in this survey, as this would be critical in pointing to the range of intervention strategies that would need to be deployed in order to address them, based on empirical evidence.

Upon analysis of the data, three main conflict drivers in that corridor were identified, in order of intensity and/or frequency with which they occur: resource-based (43.424%), territorial disputes (33.995%) and lifestyle-related conflicts, mostly between farmers and herders (16.873%). Contrary to widespread assumptions, politically-instigated conflicts did not feature prominently in the study, being cited by a tiny minority of 5.707%. In this regard, it was explained that cross-county peace-building and conflict management efforts – in which political leaders played a leading role – were instrumental in promoting peace between the two dominant communities in Turkana and West Pokot counties. Similarly, the introduction of the devolved system of governance had the beneficial effect of introducing an unprecedented flurry of development projects – under the County Integrated Development Plans (CIDPs), especially infrastructure investment – even in the remotest fringes of the counties, hence imbuing a new-found sense of positive pride and belonging among those hitherto marginalized communities.

From the analysis of Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), it was established that border disputes, cattle rustling and contestations over resources such as pasture and water were the main types of conflicts along the border areas of Turkana and

West Pokot. This finding tallies with the data from questionnaires as presented in the chart below.

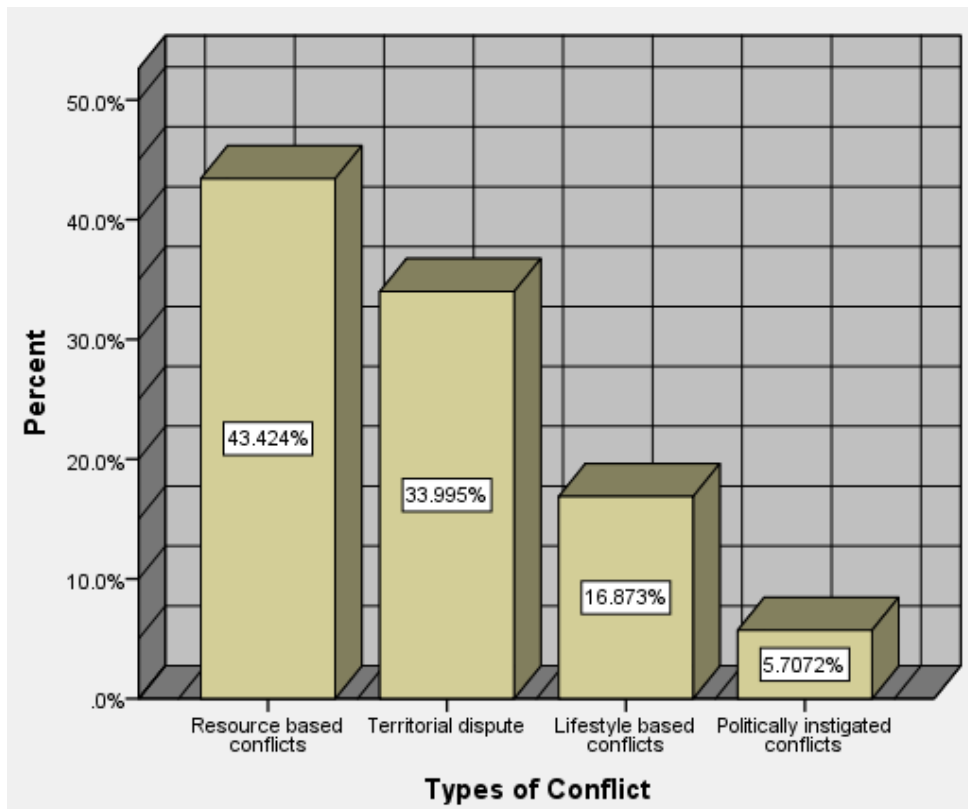


Figure 2: Common types of Conflicts

### Root Causes of Conflicts

The table below captures the identified root causes of conflict in the region, and the reasons cited generally mirror the conflict typologies listed in the preceding figure, only differing marginally in their citing. This was further buttressed by FGDs and KIIs who indicated that competition for resources and disputed boundaries were the two main causes of conflicts.

According to key informants and focus groups, just like local residents, the main causes of conflicts were cattle rustling, land and territorial disputes and competition for resources such as water, pasture and the recently discovered oil deposits. Others identified poverty and underdevelopment, near-total absence of basic infrastructure namely road network, telecommunications as well as water and electricity supply, virtual “absence” of government presence along the borderline corridor especially police, other law enforcement agencies (LEAs) and administrators and cultural practices such as dowry payment as drivers of conflict. Deep-seated feelings of revenge and retaliation were also cited as a major cause of the cyclic and internecine nature of the conflict. There are still a large number of residents

from either side of the conflict who believe that the other community is the source of all their security problems.

On land disputes, key informants noted that both the Turkana and the Pokot communities accused each other of encroaching on their land particularly in areas such as Turkwel gorge, whose ownership is claimed by both communities.

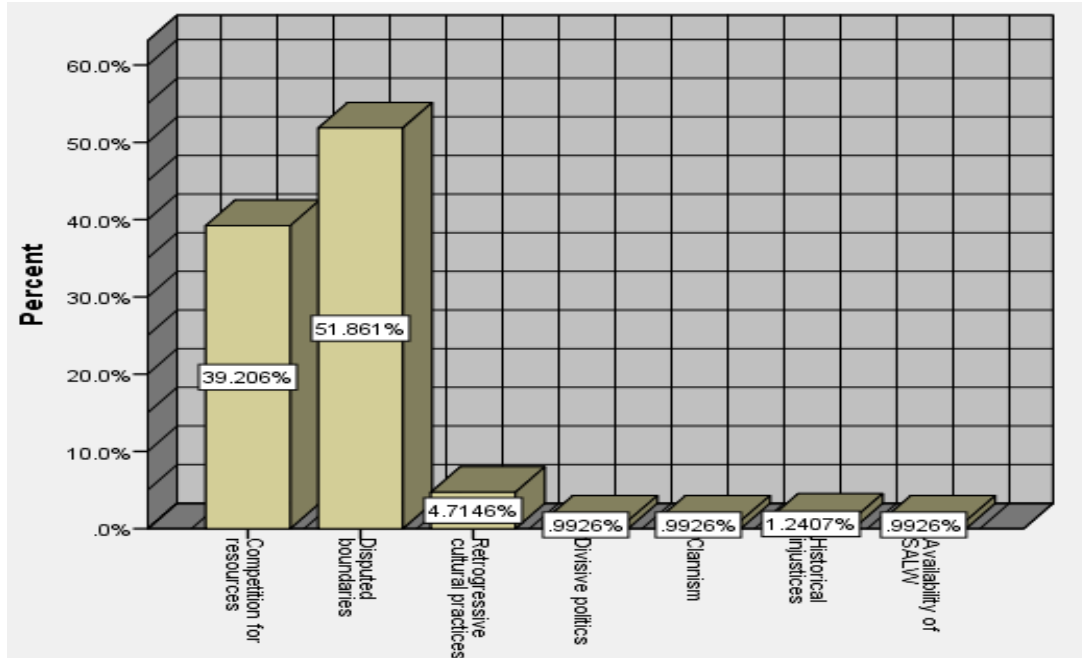


Figure 3: Root causes of conflicts.

### Perpetrators of Conflicts

Respondents were asked to name the perpetrators of conflict in Turkana and West Pokot counties. Warriors/ morans and to a lesser extent political leaders were the two major villains that were said to be contributing to ethnic-based conflicts, with Council of elder and women trailing with insignificant numbers, as can be clearly observed in the chart below. Except for the notable spike in the frequency relating to political leaders, there is a strong consistency in this finding, looked at vis-a-vis those captured in KIIs and FGDs analyses. According to majority of key informants, youth/ Loibons were identified as principal perpetrators of conflict. Community elders were credited with foretelling the outcome of raids, based on their acknowledged capacity to “read” the intestines (tripe) of domestic animals, and whose word was considered sacrosanct and also the influence they had on politicians.



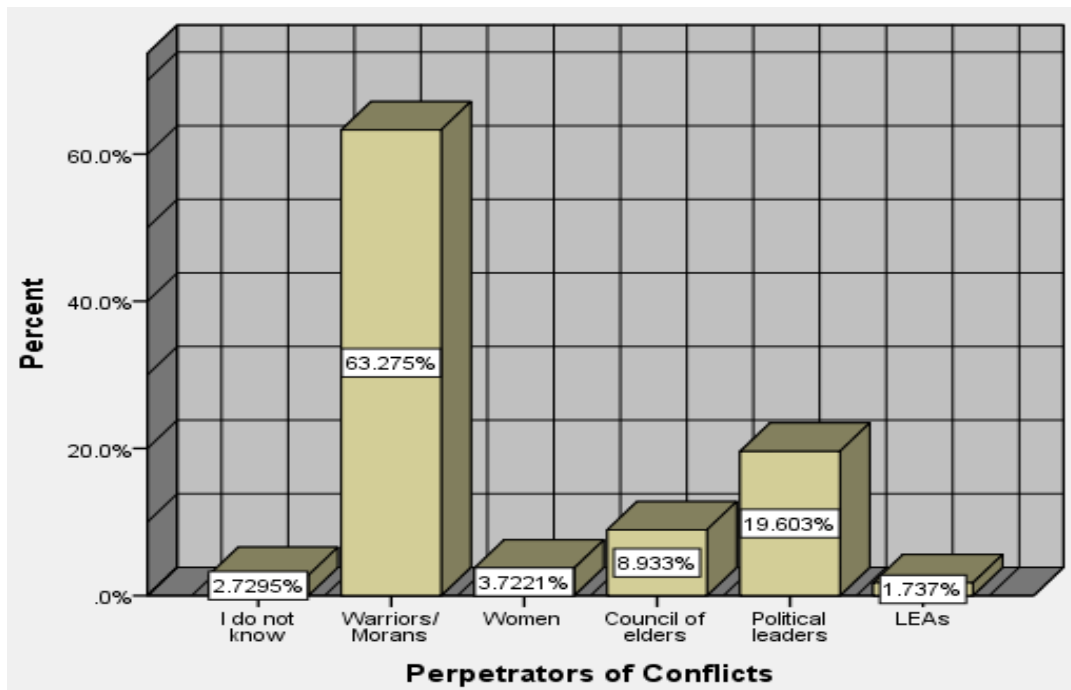


Figure 4: Perpetrators of conflicts.

### Frequency of Conflicts

Quite apart from measuring the effects of conflicts, it was reckoned that their frequency tends to profoundly affect the way that affected communities view and react to it. Specifically, communal apprehension of frequent conflict outbreaks generally leads to depressed investment portfolios, school enrolment and prospects of human capital flight, among other direct consequences.

The finding, as captured in the pie chart below, indicates that the respondents were more or less divided in their assessment of this factor, with those reporting that there had been ‘no’ conflict witnessed outnumbering the ‘yes’ side by thirteen (13) percentage points. Since the stretch of the area covered as much as 100 kilometres, it is possible that direct experiences of conflicts are highly localized, and as such their reporting would therefore tend to differ markedly from one geographical area to another.

It was further noted that the incidents and intensity of conflict in the two counties had generally reduced in the last one year. The research team also observed that there was a general calm, peace and security throughout the areas they traversed. In some of the trading centres visited by the team such as Sigor in West Pokot and Kainuk in Turkana, there was an observable, apparently newfound sense of mutual friendship and neighbourliness among the Pokot and Turkana communities. In this regard, the research team was reliably informed by local security agencies (including police officers manning the few road blocks) and national

government administration officers (NGAOs), CSOs, business fraternity and residents alike that the communities were beginning to co-exist in harmony, including sharing resources. A villager in Sigor which the research team visited on a market day, had this to say about the general conflict situation in the area:

*“We no longer have any problems with the Turkana. It is a long time since I heard of an incidence of cattle rusting or a bandit attack. This area is now peaceful and even in the market here today we are trading peacefully with our brothers from Turkana. They bring their goods to sell to us and we sell our honey, mangoes, maize and other goods to them.”* (Interview with Joseph, Pokot villager in Sigor market.)

The sentiments expressed by Joseph<sup>3</sup> were echoed by Ekim<sup>4</sup>, a shopkeeper interviewed in Kainuk Market. Ekim noted that the Pokot and Turkana communities were now living in harmony and that the hostilities of years gone by are now in the past. The research team saw Pokot young men in Kainuk town going on with their businesses. The research team also witnessed hundreds of cattle grazing along the Marich Pass-Kainuk stretch of the road. Similarly, the team did not notice any herders or young men carrying weapons such as guns, which had in the past been a common spectacle in the area. Ekim observed thus:

*“There is now Peace in Kainuk. Our Pokot neighbours are everywhere going on with their businesses here. You can see them (pointing at two young men in traditional attire walking leisurely along the main street), those two over there are Pokots. We have no problem at all with them.”*

The decrease in incidents of conflict, and the general sense of camaraderie can be attributed to a number of factors among them increased peacebuilding efforts by the central and county governments and non-state actors focusing attention on known conflict hotspots while at the same time mitigating some of the causes of the conflicts through facilitation of inter communal peace meetings, increased government presence through posting more security personnel, and the entry of county governments through various interventions such as infrastructure development, digging of water boreholes in areas such as Sigor and Nauyapong, and concerted disarmament efforts by the central government.

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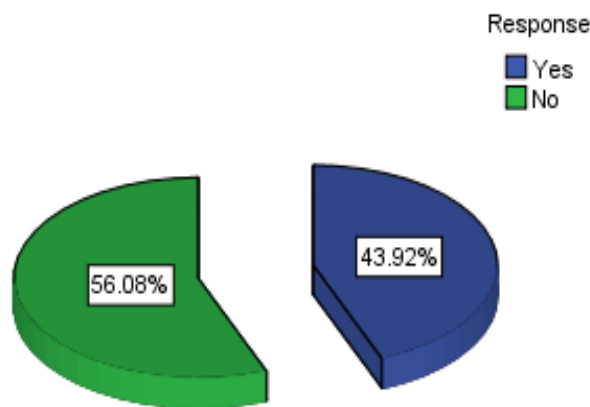
<sup>3</sup> Joseph (not his real name), a key informant, was interviewed by the research team at Sigor Market, West Pokot County on Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup>, February 2016

<sup>4</sup> Ekim (not his real name), also one of the key informants, was interviewed at Kainuk, Turkana county, on 9<sup>th</sup> February, 2016 at around 4pm.

It is noteworthy that having been a veritable theatre of inter-communal violence and conflicts for generations, the acknowledged spells of peaceful co-existence constitutes a welcome trend that ought to be consciously orchestrated toward the achievement of community-driven sustainable peaceful co-existence and amicable resolution of armed conflicts as and when they arise.

Key informants noted that local communities had begun to realize the futility of conflict. They emphasized that there have been no winners in the longstanding inter-community rivalry. Other factors that have led to the de-escalation of ethnic animosity are change in mind-set (progressive value systems) owing primarily to better access to education; more proactive involvement by political leaders from the two communities in PBCM activities and better trained and professional National Police Reservists (NPR) personnel.

These findings were corroborated by the information gathered from local citizens through questionnaires, who, while noting that conflict had reduced significantly, also paid tribute to the efforts by both levels of government to mitigate conflict causes and outcomes.



*Figure 5: Responses on whether any conflict had been witnessed in the last 1 year.*

### **Type of Conflict Witnessed over a period of 1 year**

The fact that a huge segment (60.5%) of the respondents returned a ‘not applicable’ answer on whether they had directly witnessed conflict is a validating testimony that conflict incidents were on the decline in the area. Nevertheless, some of the potent conflict triggers revolve around boundary disputes and intermittent cattle raids.

The study revealed that other serious conflict and crime typologies that had previously been associated with the region such as highway robbery/armed banditry, ethno-centrist prejudices and “politicization” of security/disarmament have significantly declined, as shown in the figure below.

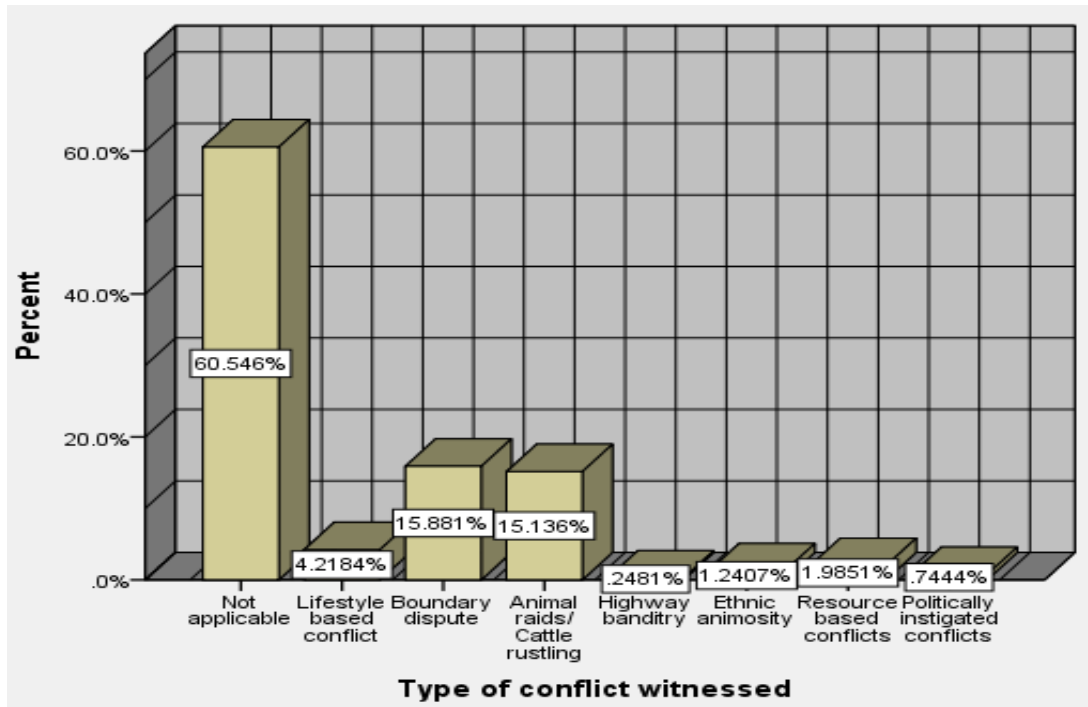


Figure 6: Types of conflict witnessed over a period of 1 year.

### Areas where Conflicts are most likely to occur

Some of the defining features of the sampling points listed below are their sheer remoteness and distance from their respective county or district headquarters, as well as their (real or perceived) strategic importance by the local communities and/or their respective political leadership - or county governments. It could well be hypothesized that it is for this reason that, Kainuk (a notable trading centre on the Lodwar-Kapenguria road) and Turkwell (home to a hydro-electric generation dam) post the highest percentages in their vulnerability to conflict outbreaks as shown below. By contrast, the other locations are of relatively insignificant value, at least yet.

Key informants and focused group participants confirmed that there were tensions and suspicions within border towns and also mentioned a number of zones/ areas regarded as more susceptible to conflicts. These included Nakide, Apuko, Chemorongit, Nauyapong, Ombolion, Akoret, Karisokol, Chichya, Ladule, Chepropoi and Nasal.

Area	Frequency	Percent
Loyapat	5	1.2
Kainuk	38	9.4
Lorogon	6	1.5
Lami Nyeusi	7	1.7
Nauyapong	11	2.7
Turkwell	32	7.9
Apuko	7	1.7
Kapedo	11	2.7

Table 3: Areas most prone to conflicts

### Victimhood to Conflict

Respondents were asked whether they had been victims of conflict. This question sought to establish if a respondent had directly borne the brunt of conflict, ranging from personal harm, loss of property, business or been displaced, and the outcome was as presented in the pie chart below. This would enable the researchers to empirically measure the magnitude of the insecurity menace. Upon analysis, it was found that, contrary to widespread perception, only 23.08% of respondents sampled from the Pokot and Turkana communities, as well as persons residing in the area stated that they had been caught up in or otherwise adversely affected by conflict, while an overwhelming majority testified to the contrary, as can be deduced from the pie chart below.

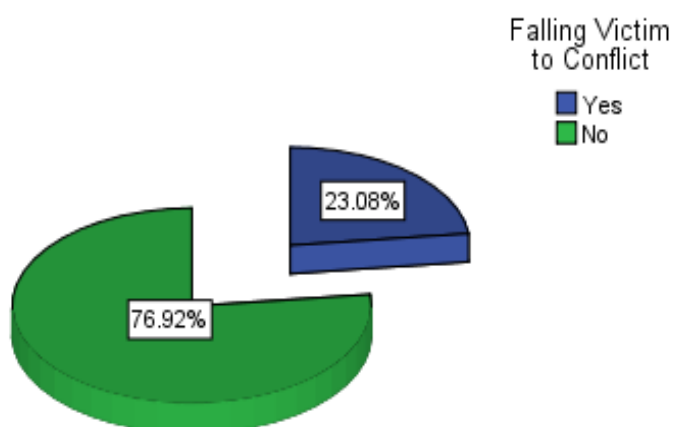


Figure 7: Responses on whether one has ever fallen victim to conflict.

It was also noted that the likelihood of armed conflicts leading to deaths was also high. This was blamed on increased use of firearms in most of the incidents the residents noted to have witnessed. Indeed as shown in the pie chart below there was almost an equal chance of an

incidence leading to deaths or not. This was indicated by 47% of the residents while responding to the question on whether the incidence they had witnessed had any fatalities.

According to key informants, conflict incidences had reduced significantly but the few incidences witnessed or experienced seemed to lead to a number of deaths due to extensive use of firearms.

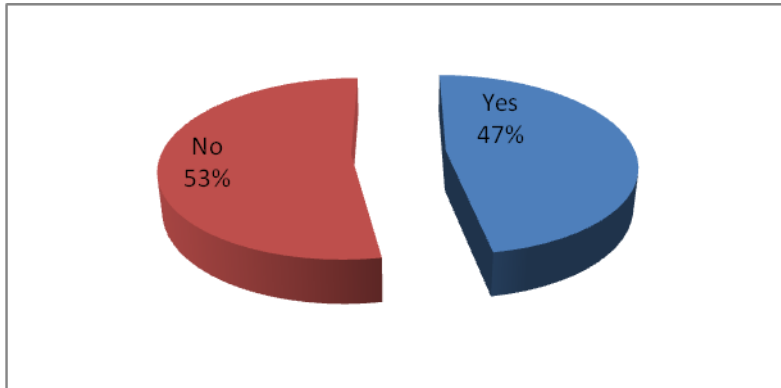


Figure 8: Likelihood of conflicts leading to loss of lives.

#### **Effect of conflicts on the communities' access to social services**

The assessment sought to establish the effects of conflict on the Turkana and Pokot communities' access to social services. It was established that only 6.2% of those sampled rated access to those range of social services as “easily accessible”, and just over half (51.1%) returned a “fairly accessible” response. On the flipside, more than 33% complained that those services were altogether inaccessible.

This is a most distressing state of affairs considering that the government has been implementing a raft of policies including the reduction of infant mortality rate (IMR) as well as maternal mortality rate (MMR) and compulsory universal primary education (UPE) as espoused under her premier development blueprint of Kenya Vision 2030 and related international conventions.

In this regard, it is to be noted that even where those facilities – notably schools and health centres – exist, the requisite human resource is unavailable while essential drugs are almost always in short supply, hence severely compromising the developmental potential of women and children. Subsequent FGD and KII interview sessions tended to strongly corroborate this finding.

It is noteworthy that the most popular means of transport is by *boda boda*, since public transport or private cars are extremely rare in areas such as Alale, Turkwel, Nauyapong, Mosol and other rural areas in Turkana and West Pokot.

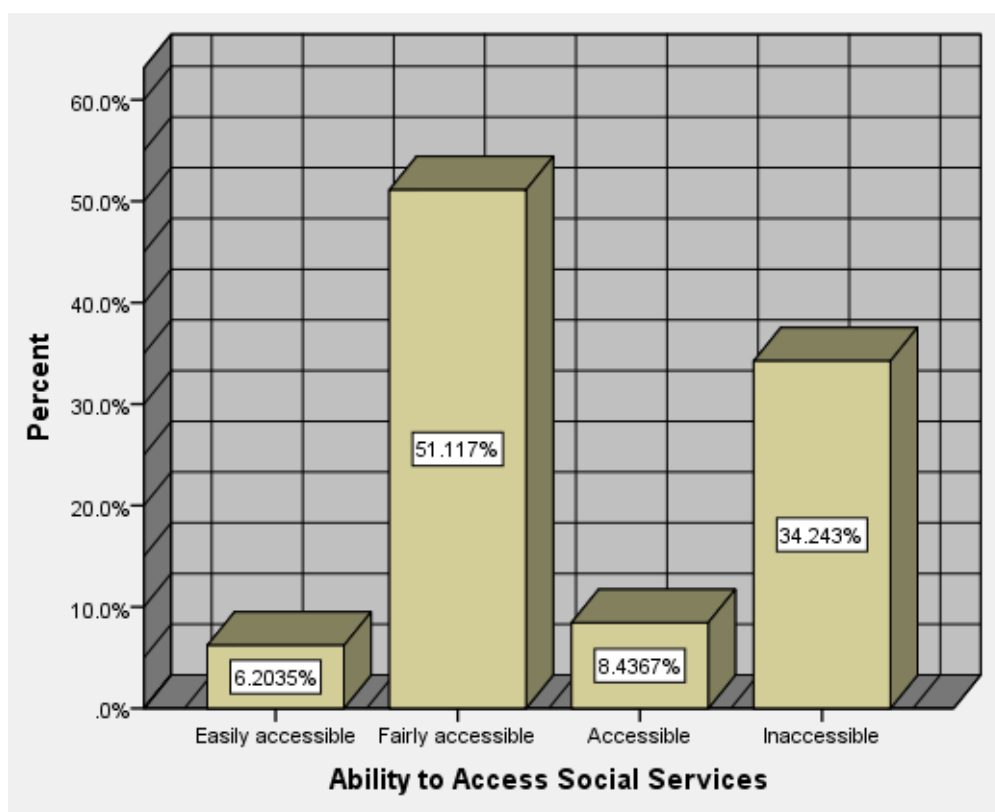


Figure 9: Ability to access social services.

### Distance to Social Places (Health Care, School, Water Point)

In order to put respondents' own relative understanding of 'accessibility' into proper context, it was decided that the factor be presented in estimated measurable distance in kilometre ranges, as depicted here-below.

An overview of the table below shows that the bulk of the respondents travel an average of 20.308 kilometres to access a health centre facility, an unacceptably long distance by any standard, considering the inherent emergency nature of the service, as well as the remoteness and hostile terrain and climatic condition that characterize the region. The research team, on asking probing questions and observation, noted that majority of people actually walked to those facilities.

A similar scenario was observed with regard to access to schools and water points, whose average distances were 20 and 24.96 kilometres respectively, based on analyzed data.

Social Service	Approximate Distance	Frequency	Percent
Healthcare	I do not know	39	9.7
	Less than 5kms	94	23.3

	Between 5 - 10kms	144	35.7
	More than 10kms	126	31.3
<b>School</b>	I do not know	31	7.7
	Less than 5kms	145	36.0
	Between 5 -10kms	140	34.7
	More than 10kms	87	21.6
<b>Water Point</b>	I do not know	35	8.7
	Less than 5kms	105	26.12
	Between 5 - 10kms	142	35.2
	More than 10kms	121	30.0

Table 4: Approximate distance to social services

### Displacement as a result of conflict

In order to be able to measure the effect of conflicts on the communities' access social services, the study also sought to understand whether conflicts led to displacements. As depicted in the pie chart below, the percentage of persons interviewed who reported being subjected to forced displacement and outmigration from their preferred homes (being internally displaced) fell slightly below the half mark (46.15%). In the ordinary scheme of things, this situation represents a huge humanitarian emergency. A probing question (see fig below) reveals that, of those displaced, ethnic tensions and animosity, inaccessibility to critical life-sustaining resources and raging territorial contestations were the overriding reasons necessitating their emigration.

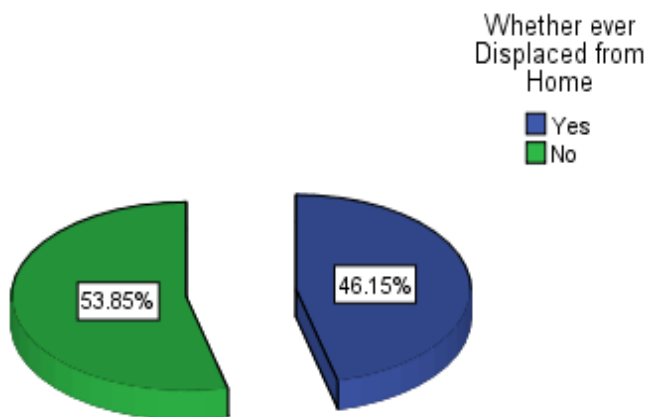


Figure 10: Responses on whether one has ever been displaced from home as a result of conflict.



## Causes of Displacement

The figure below demonstrates that a big proportion of the locals (52.1%) did not provide an answer as to the causes of displacement. This could be because the particular respondents were not themselves victims of displacement. Of those who responded, 18.6% cited access to resources especially water and pasture as the leading source of displacement, while 17% identified ethnic animosity as the main cause. 7% and 1% named land disputes and cattle raids as the main cause of displacement respectively. These factors reflect those cited as major causes of conflict between the Pokot and Turkana communities. It is significant that while cattle raiding are a major cause of conflict among the communities, it does not result in significant displacement of communities but appeared to push the communities to live in fear.

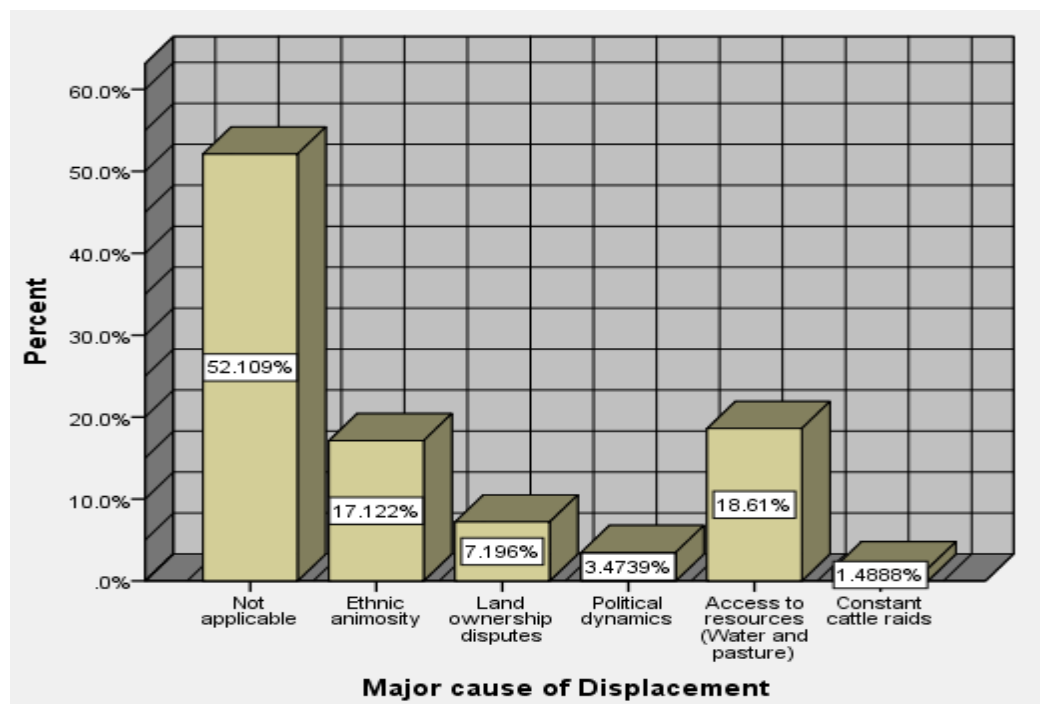


Figure 11: Major causes of displacement.

## Conflict and welfare of communities along the Turkana-Pokot border

Respondents were asked to state if conflict had affected their welfare. A significant proportion (77.7%) affirmed that their welfare had adversely been affected by conflict. By contrast, 11.9% were not affected. Considering the prevailing settlement and lifestyle patterns along the corridor under examination, it is safe to conclude that those unaffected largely comprised communities residing in build-up urban centres and trading posts and living within close proximity to security agencies, and whose major occupations were primarily trade. Their residences could also be a lot more strongly secured and impenetrable, as opposed to

the dwellings in the outlying areas which are for the most part temporary *manyattas*. Figure 12 below shows the distribution of the responses.

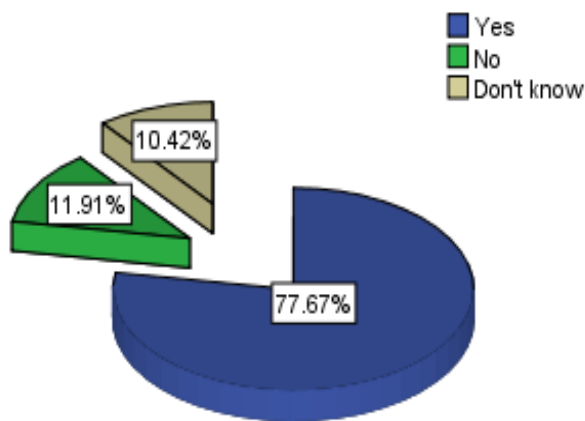


Figure 12: Responses on whether conflicts have had adverse effects on the welfare of communities living along the border.

### Severity of conflict and communities' access to social services

Besides the difficulty of accessing the services offered in the facilities/installations listed in the table below, the study sought to also assess the level of conflict-induced severity in accessing the same, employing respondent self-assessment interview technique. As demonstrated by the table below, there was a correlation between physical distance and degree of severity. It was found that in all the three services (education, healthcare and water), severity levels accounted for at least 1/3, while a slightly higher number thought the severity levels were moderate. It is however noteworthy that there was hardly any respondent who rated access as “easy” or “convenient”.

In view of this finding, it can be argued that the rampant cases of high illiteracy rates, ill health and livestock deaths could be reasonably attributed to under-development in the area. In ranking the most affected social service by conflict, watering points seemed to hot the worst followed by education then health care. This was based on the number of residents who indicated “severe” when describing the effect of conflict on the communities’ access to the services.

Social Service	Response	Frequency	Percent
Education	I do not know	24	6.0
	Severe	157	39.0
	Moderate	174	43.2
	None	48	11.9

<b>Healthcare</b>	I do not know	37	9.2
	Severe	128	31.8
	Moderate	185	45.9
	None	53	13.2
<b>Water point</b>	I do not know	43	10.7
	Severe	168	41.7
	Moderate	123	30.5
	None	69	17.1

Table 5: Effects of conflict on communities' access to social services

### Closure of Schools, Watering Points, Healthcare or any other service as a result of conflict

In order to establish the effect of conflict on access to social services such as education, health care and water points, respondents were asked if they were aware of any facility that offered such services but closed or had been closed in the past due to conflict. As the pie chart below depicts, 44.4% reported that schools, health centre and water points had been closed; while 51.1% indicated that they were not aware that such facilities had been closed.

The researchers were given names of specific social facilities that had closed, and were informed that other facilities had recently been reopened after peace had returned to the area. The pie-chart below represents the distribution of responses on this question:

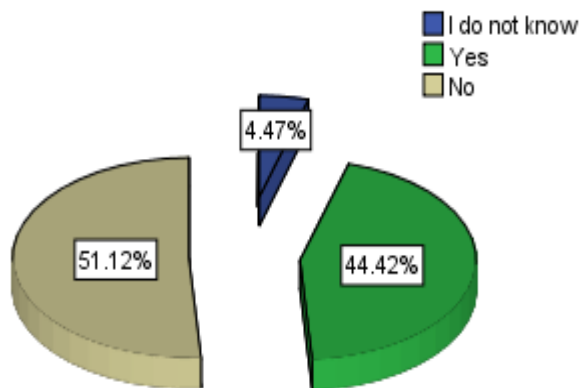


Figure 13: Responses on whether some schools, healthcare centre or a water point were closed as a result of conflict.

### Closed schools, healthcare centres, water points or related facilities

Respondents provided names of social amenities that had been closed as a result of conflict. Presented below is a list of the various educational, health, and income-generating activities which had to be closed or abandoned at different times as a result of cyclic conflicts. These

facilities are located within a distance of five kilometres astride the West Pokot/Turkana borderline.

<b>Facility</b>	<b>Location</b>
1. Amolem irrigation	Turkana/ W. Pokot border
2. Lorung'war mining site	W. Pokot
3. Loiya primary school	Turkana
4. Amolem primary school	Masol, W. Pokot
5. Lotuboro mining site	Turkana
6. Lokanpei primary school	Turkana
7. Kalong'ende/Cheptarit oil exploration site	W. Pokot
8. Lokitanyala community borehole	W. Pokot
9. Chepchikarer Primary School and community dispensary	W. Pokot
10. Apuke community grazing land	Turkana
11. Nasal primary school	W. Pokot
12. Nasal Primary School	W. Pokot
13. Nauyapong primary school	Lokitanyala, West Pokot

*Table 6: Closed school, mining, healthcare or water point.*

Regarding the effect of conflict on communities' access to social services, focus group discussions and key Informant interviews in both Turkana and West Pokot came up with similar findings. In Kainuk, Turkana County, it was reported that conflict has seriously affected access to schools, market and health centres, and even irrigation schemes. Schools such as Nakukuse and Lokwarr have been closed and buildings vandalized as a result of conflicts in the area. Other schools such as Molem, Lochakula, Lokori and Kaputir were burnt down completely.

In West Pokot county schools such as Nakwamoru, Masol, Turkwel have been closed. One key informant emphasized that the situation in Nakwamoru was very bad a few years ago when gun men opened fire killing several innocent civilians. Amolem market centre was closed down a long time ago with all the social facilities (health centre, irrigation scheme, school) and community around displaced. The strategically located Kainuk market (it is the entry point to Turkana County and is popular with long haul business travellers headed to Lodwar and South Sudan from Kitale, Eldoret, Nairobi and Mombasa) was also closed down at one point due to insecurity, but it has since been reopened following cessation of hostilities between the Pokot and Turkana communities. Also closed was the sleepy Marich pass market on the West Pokot side. It has since been reopened after the situation normalized.

Communities' access to water points has badly been affected by conflict. For instance in Lochar, Esekon, and Kaapeduru areas, water hand pumps were rendered useless after being vandalized by raiders, denying citizens of this precious water in these semi-arid areas. Shared water points like dams and water pans are the worst hit by conflict. From discussions with focus groups and key informants, the researchers established that Amolem, Lochakula, Kaptir and Lokwamoru dams were abandoned after residents fled for their lives owing to frequent armed attacks. Other water points abandoned include Orwa, Mosol and Turkwel dam.

Focus group discussions revealed that conflict has not spared places of worship either. The Reformed Church of East Africa (RCEA) in Amolem was closed down due to conflict. Similarly, entertainment and social meeting points have suffered under the weight of conflict: A magnificent guest house that had been constructed by Kengen at Turkwel Gorge, complete with a swimming pool and restaurant was vandalized at the height of the conflict a couple of years ago and now remains a shell, denying employment to scores of unemployed residents and denting the local tourism industry. These findings reflected those gathered from ordinary citizens interviewed through questionnaires.

The closure of markets and social amenities does not only affect peoples' economic activities, but is also an unwanted contributor to the underdevelopment status of this region. Farming and cattle rearing due to the shutting down of some irrigation schemes, and the frequent incidents of cattle rustling, are other sectors badly affected by conflict. Small scale mining ventures as well as the extractive industry were also cited as other economic sectors negatively affected by conflict. An example was given of the delay in the start-up of the proposed cement manufacturing factory near Chepareria in West Pokot County. The free movement and interaction between communities across the two counties has been hampered by conflict, as well as business activities particularly along the border areas. The researchers concluded that conflict has a direct bearing on the high infant mortality rates, school dropout rates, ignorance, poverty and diseases that are rampant in this area.

### **Sharing Peace Dividend Projects such as schools, healthcare centres or cattle dips, watering points and pasture with neighbours**

There had been a raging- but largely unresolved debate among practitioners, critics and inter-ethnic conflict researchers as to the role and effect of shared resources as a strategy for de-escalating conflicts. While the jury is still out, this research found that, for the most part, the two communities view these investments favourably, as borne out by the pie chart below, which has an approval rate of 82.6%, compared to a paltry 9.9% which held a contrary

opinion. The reasons for this preference are clearly outlined in the subsequent table, which pointedly include the fact that they inherently tend to consolidate harmonious co-existence and also accelerate much-needed development.

The researchers concluded that dividend projects, when well conceptualized and community buy-in sought and secured at their pre-implementation phases, have the potential to significantly de-escalate conflicts. These include conscious decisions such as the determination of their locations/sites, observance of equity and fair representation in their management structures and their repair and maintenance at the project completion stage to in-build and assure sustainability.

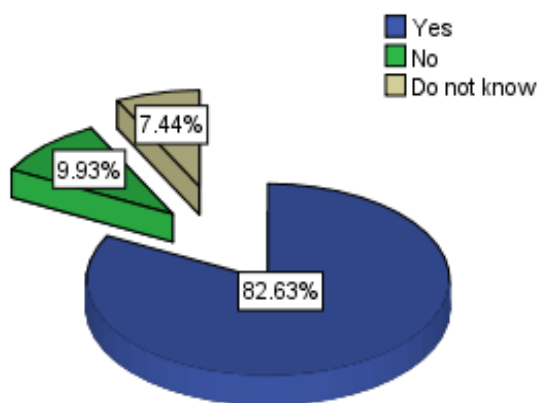


Figure 14: Responses on whether one would share peace dividend projects such as schools, healthcare, watering points and so on.

Asked to state reasons as to why they would share, 61% of the respondents noted that sharing of peace dividends projects creates a peaceful society, while 9% noted that sharing brings development. A large majority of respondents (89%) who had indicated that they would not wish to share resources did not give the reasons why, while 8% said that they would not share because of the unending conflicts in the area.

### **Impact of Conflicts on Sources of Livelihoods**

The third objective of the study was to assess the impact of conflict on sources of livelihoods for the communities living along the border areas of Turkana and West Pokot counties. To this end, respondents were asked about their main sources of livelihood and whether and how conflict had affected their access to that livelihood. Respondents were also asked their views on the effectiveness of interventions by various actors to restore peace in the affected areas. The findings are presented below:

### Main Source of Livelihood

As indicated in the figure below, cattle rearing (pastoralism) is by far the single largest source of livelihood in the two counties, and accounts for 64.%, followed in distant second position by farming (28.%), with the latter being practiced on the southern highlands of West Pokot county while small-scale, irrigation-supported agriculture thrives along the banks of rivers Turkwell, Muruny and Kerio.

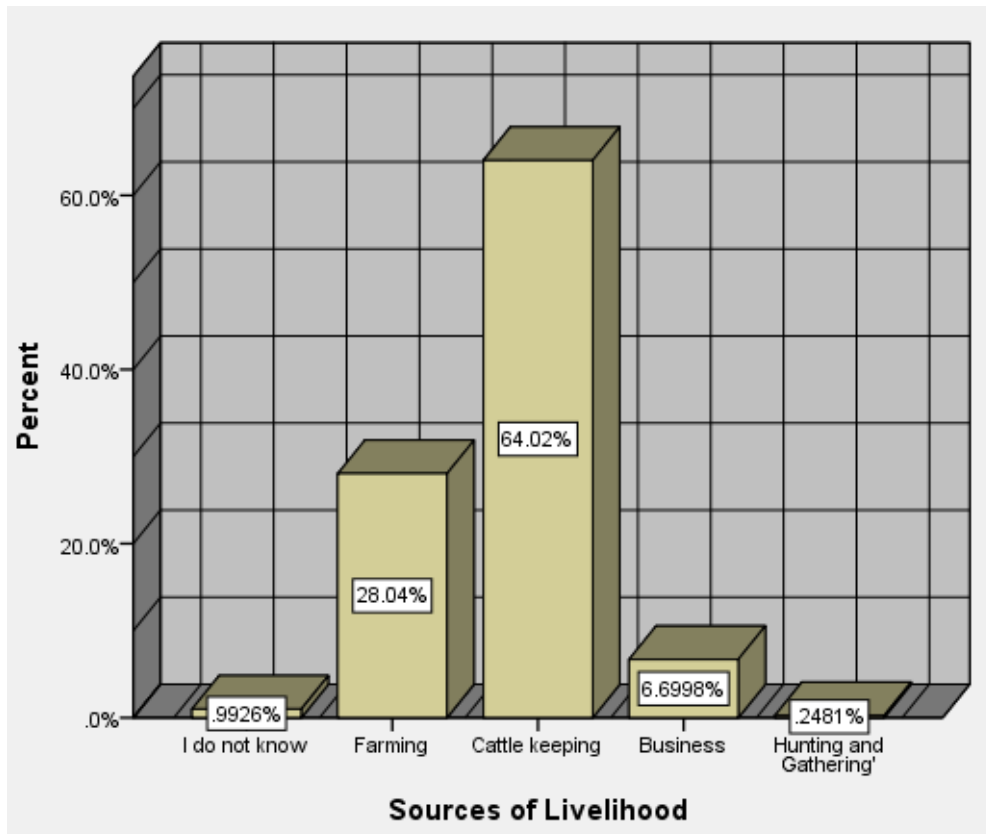


Figure 15: Main Source of Livelihood.

To this end, it is worth noting that sedentary lifestyle is a recently adopted lifestyle in the two communities, and they are yet to master or fully embrace it as a full-time occupation. Commercial activities are concentrated in trading centres, the leading ones being Sigor, Kainuk, Turkwell, Alale and Nauyapong. Regardless of one's type of occupation however, there was overwhelming evidence (Fig.16 below) that suggested that conflict had the undesired effect of adversely affecting the locals' means of livelihoods, as evidenced by 80.4% of the respondents who reported their livelihoods as having been adversely affected by conflict. Only 14.39% of the respondents felt that conflicts did not affect their sources of livelihoods. This percentage could be linked to business people concentrated within the main trading centres in the county which were reportedly relatively calm.

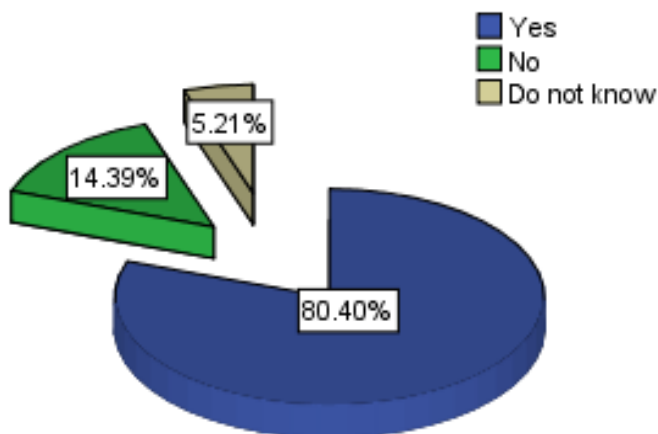


Figure 16: Conflict affecting livelihoods.

### Groups of the communities most affected by loss of economic opportunities

At 23%, (Fig.17), women and children tended to bear the disproportionate burden arising from conflict situations, despite not directly causing or actively participating in them. Members of the business community and youth follow at 13% and youth/*morans* at 8.9% respectively.

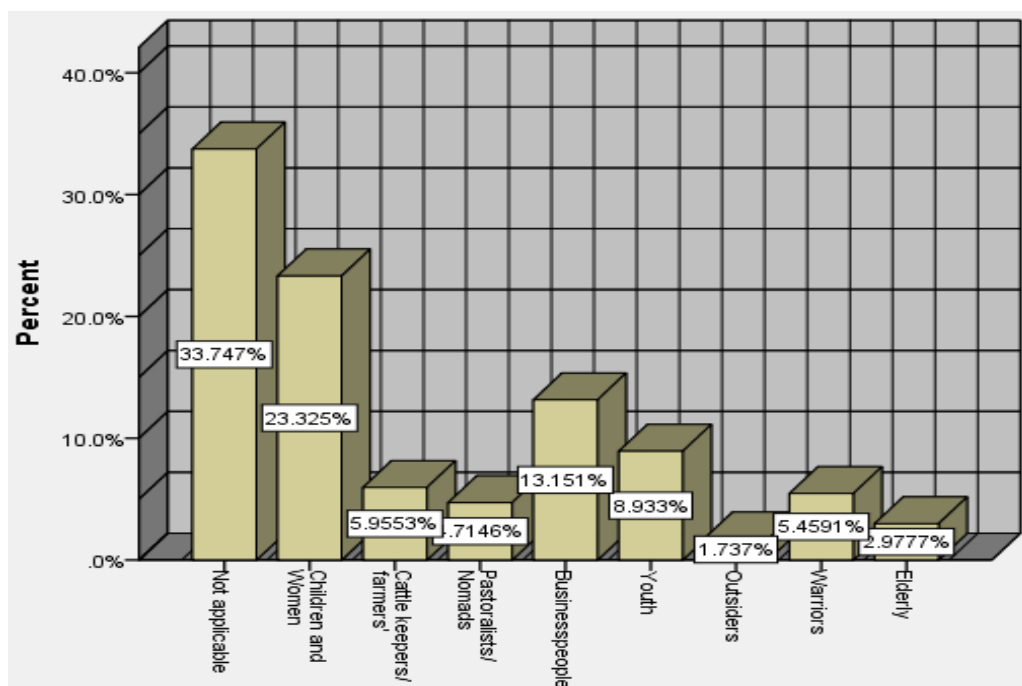


Figure 17: Community groups most affected by loss of economic opportunities as a result of conflicts

### Effectiveness of various actors in spearheading peaceful co-existence in the Region

Political leaders, women and youth leaders were viewed as being the most ‘ineffective’ in championing peaceful co-existence in the area, while the primary duty bearers – the police – ,



(25%), other National Government Administrative Officers (NGAO) at 16% and civil society organizations (CSOs) at 24% were favourably rated as being ‘ineffective’ in that order.

Those rated as being ‘fair’ and ‘outstanding’ in the promotion of peaceful co-existence were again led by NGAO, police service, CSO as well as National Drought Management Authority (NDMA), which the researchers found was better known simply as ‘ASAL’, its precursor programme. The rating of politicians and youth leadership nosedived to close to 10% at ‘outstanding’ level, meaning in effect that that the two groups are viewed with a sense of apprehension by the communities, presumably based on their perceived selfish and self-preservation interests in peace-building and conflict resolution processes.

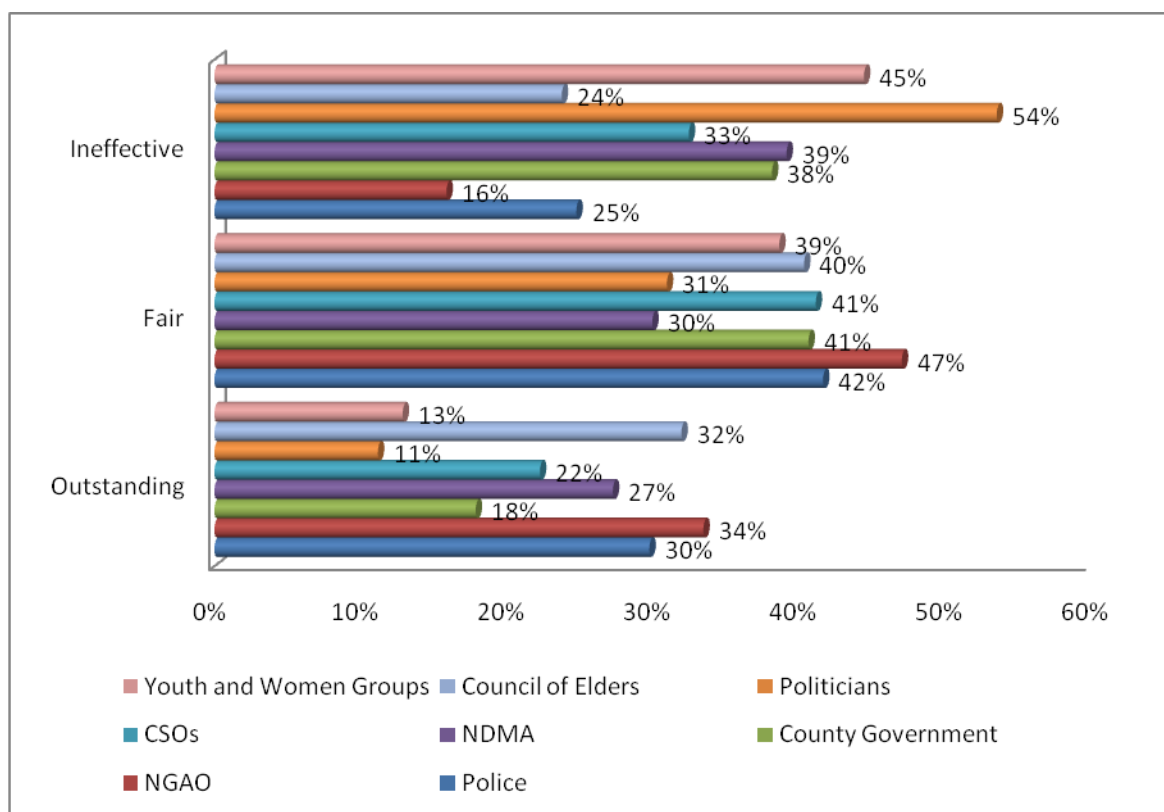


Figure 18: Effectiveness of actors in spearheading peaceful coexistence in the region

**On whether residents were aware of projects initiated by NDMA in the region in promoting peaceful coexistence and people’s livelihoods**

Respondents identified many developmental and humanitarian, or drought-mitigating projects in their areas that either had been funded by NDMA or its predecessor, the now-defunct ALRMP, as listed below. The main area of intervention by NDMA was identified as drilling of boreholes, dams, water pans and cattle dips. Given the semi-arid nature of most areas covered by the study the researchers felt that this is a very important intervention which falls at the centre of the livelihood concerns of the communities in the area and it should, therefore

be expanded to reach as many households as possible. The introduction of alternative livelihoods such as bee keeping and poultry, though not yet widespread (only 9.7% identified it), should also be priority due to its potential to improve community livelihoods and shifting focus from overreliance on pastoralism.

<b>Projects</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
1. Not applicable	199	49.4
2. Disbursement of loans to reformed warriors	15	3.7
3. Building of hospitals	6	1.5
4. Build of schools - primary school in Takaiwa	29	7.2
5. Drilling of boreholes/ dams/ water pans and cattle dips	115	28.5
6. Introduction of alternative livelihoods such as poultry projects/ Carmel keeping/ bee keeping - Cheppra	39	9.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>403</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Table 7: NDMA projects commonly known by the residents.*

According to key informants and participants of focused group discussions, NDMA was supporting a number of programmes in the two counties aimed at promoting development and peaceful co-existence of the two communities, especially along the border. Some of the projects identified included construction of a boys' dormitory at Nauyapong primary school, construction of one (1) tuition block consisting of two classrooms in the above school, construction of public toilet, a project for a reformed warriors and water tank around Alale areas dating to 1990's.

Respondents were asked to identify projects that they think NDMA and any other agencies should implement in the two counties as a way of reducing conflicts and promoting peaceful coexistence between communities. Water points, introduction of alternative livelihoods and building and equipping more schools were prioritized as evidenced by table 8 below. Other projects cited were construction and equipping of more health centres, creation of common livestock markets, building of social halls and funding civic education programmes on the importance of peace. Table 8 below presents the list of suggested projects that should be implemented.

<b>Projects</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
1. I do not know	75	18.6
2. Build water points and cattle dips	94	23.3
3. Alternative livelihoods - Irrigation schemes for people to shift to farming	84	20.8
4. Relief food to the famine-stricken communities	6	1.5
5. Common livestock markets	11	2.7
6. Build social halls for community recreation	15	3.7
7. Compensate/ restock raided communities	3	.7
8. Increase grants to reformed warriors	9	2.2
9. Fund civic education on importance of peace	19	4.7
10. Build and equip more schools	64	15.9
11. Assist community members build churches and mosques	4	1.0
12. Build hospitals/ health care centres	19	4.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>403</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Table 8: New projects NDMA can initiate/ support in promoting peaceful coexistence and people's livelihoods.*

Going by the above list of active or planned NDMA-sponsored projects, it is clear that the authority is well-placed to play a leading role in catalysing development in the two counties, which are classified as ASALs. In particular, NDMA needs to breathe life into the recently launched multi-sectorial EDE framework to scale up development activities designed to mitigate and ultimately manage the adverse effects of drought in a concerted and coordinated manner, thereby contributing significantly to the development of this and other conflict ravaged and under-developed regions in Kenya. To this end, investment in peace and security, which is an enabling service in the 6-pillar EDE is considered an indispensable ingredient.

Based on the EDE CPF which deliberately adopts a PESTLE (Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Legal and Environmental) approach to development, NDMA is best placed to orchestrate efforts aimed at achieving the range of the projects and activities proposed above.

### **Challenges faced by security agencies in securing lasting peace**

Respondents were further asked to identify what they believed were the challenges faced by security agencies in securing lasting peace for the communities in Turkana and West pokot

counties. As table 9 below shows, poor roads and lack of effective transport was cited as the major challenge. This is understandable given the vast, mountainous terrain that covers the area under study. As noted earlier, there are no all-weather roads in the area and when cattle raiders strike, it is often extremely difficult for security agencies to pursue them owing to difficult terrain and poor roads. Harsh climate and presence of armed warriors was cited as other significant challenges. Table 9 below provides a list of the identified challenges:

<b>Challenge</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
1. Do not know	159	39.5
2. Disrespected/ disliked NPRs by the public	20	5.0
3. Poor roads/ lack of transport	82	20.3
4. Attacks by armed raiders	25	6.2
5. Lack of effective weaponry - guns and ammunition	19	4.7
6. Militarized/ armed/ armed community members	14	3.5
7. Presence of armed warriors or militia groups	24	6.0
8. Bad terrain and harsh climate	24	6.0
9. Political interference	17	4.2
10. Poor/ complete lack of housing facilities	4	1.0
11. Death/ loss of life	15	3.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>403</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Table 9: Challenges faced by security agencies in addressing armed conflicts*

From the analysis, gauging community perception of the police and other LEAs, it emerged that there was an appreciable thawing of relationship between the two partners. Based on this welcome sense of camaraderie, respondents identified a raft of operational drawbacks that cumulatively hindered security agencies from operating at their optimum capacity. Those bottlenecks can be summarized as ranging from resource/budgetary constraints, transport and logistics, environmental/infrastructure limitations and, tellingly, political interference.

## **Conclusion**

The West Pokot/Turkana borderline, spanning an estimated 250 kilometres of remote and rugged terrain from Nyang'aita in the south to Nauyapong in the extreme north, has always evoked images of a desolate region, a veritable poster card of all the bad things in society: underdevelopment, perennial waves of inter-communal armed conflagrations, lack of heuristic infrastructure investment, bandit breeding and hide-out and debilitating poverty. While the findings of this study confirmed some of those assumptions and stereotypes, it was also established that the region can be socially and economically transformed into a space for peace and development if the two levels of government work together with other stakeholders to effectively address the challenges facing the region.

On the effect of conflict on access to social services and also means of livelihoods, this study established that conflicts have affected the communities' access to social services and means of livelihoods such as schools, health care facilities, watering points, shopping centres, and mining sites and so on. In terms of social services, education was the most affected as there were so many schools which had been closed down or abandoned as a result of conflict followed by watering points and finally health care facilities. The study also established that social amenities were further apart such that their access was also a challenge to the communities owing to the harsh climate and the poor terrains experienced in the areas covered.

The study also noted that places of worship were also not spared as some had been closed down or totally abandoned as a result of conflicts. Closure of all these facilities in sum total not only affected peoples' economic activities, but also an unwanted contributor to the underdevelopment status of the region. Projects in the region had been abandoned and therefore denying the communities access to employment opportunities. It can thus be concluded that conflicts have affected the socio-economic wellbeing of the communities living along Turkana – West Pokot border.

There is no doubt that the introduction of the devolved system of government has heralded a pervasive and palpable sense of renaissance within the local residents who now yearn to discard retrogressive cultural practices and embrace a modernity in which the defining values include pursuit of peace, education and better health. This is the universal message that reverberates in the region, as captured in this report.

### **Policy Recommendations for conflict management in the two counties**

The fourth objective of the research was to seek recommendations to strengthen conflict management in the two counties. From the various categories of respondents the following recommendations were proposed:

#### **National and County Governments**

1. IEBC, NLC should demarcate and harmonize borders. The responsible governmental departments and agencies should undertake immediate and comprehensive boundary demarcation between the two counties, while ensuring that the process is as participatory as is practically possible;
2. Equalization fund allocation for these areas needs to be increased. National and county governments should work in a coordinated manner and allocate more financial and other resources to these and other marginalized areas under affirmative action approach;
3. Government should enforce the law on compulsory education and sanction leaders and citizens who condone the practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) which remains a leading cause of poor education among Pokot and Turkana Girls. In the past, FGM had been treated casually, yet in the far flung areas of West Pokot and Turkana, it thrives, with catastrophic consequences on girl education;
4. Politicians and leaders who arm and or incite citizens to violence against their neighbours should be apprehended, prosecuted and punished. The impunity with which some local politicians have gone around inciting their supporters to retaliate when cattle raids occur cannot be allowed to continue if peaceful co-existence between communities is to be realized. In addition, continuous sensitization of communities on the need to co-exist should be part of the county and central governments' agenda for peace in the entire region;
5. Peaceful disarmament and beef up security along the Turkana – W. Pokot border. The problem of proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) demands for a different approach to deal with it. Recent disarmament efforts by the Government have not succeeded to eradicate the problem, since illicit arming by communities is need driven. Insecurity and perception of insecurity are the core drivers for the proliferation of SALW. In this regard, arms will be rendered irrelevant once communities feel secure. If their cattle and other property are secure from raiders, if they can access basic services and livelihoods, then SALW will gradually disappear.

Forceful disarmament reinforces community insecurity. Where practical disarmament has been undertaken (like the case Uganda), it has paid dividends for the communities involved;

6. Both levels of governments and CSOs should collaborate in supporting sustainable food security projects/ programmes to enhance food security, diversify household income streams and hence reduce over-reliance on pastoralist lifestyles;
7. Immediate efforts should be made to enact the necessary statutes and policies that directly regulate the extractive industry - including locally discovered oil and underground water—including contested aspects such as the determination of revenue-sharing formulae, land compensation regimes, corporate social responsibility (CSR), environmental impact assessments (EIAs), and policy relating to employment/contracting of locals;
8. The National Government should work with the National Assembly to expedite the enactment of relevant security laws that directly impact local livelihoods, including, but not limited to management of firearms, participatory disarmament, alternative dispute resolution (ADR) mechanisms and criminalization of cattle raids as a capital offence under the statutes;
9. The relevant county government departments, working in concert and collaboration with stakeholders such as CSOs, CBOs/ FBOs and corporate entities should promote activities and projects that help to challenge and dismantle ethnic prejudices by supporting exchange and learning visits;
10. Youth and reformed warriors as well as women groups should be identified and provided with vocational training on entrepreneurship prior to being provided with venture capital to start and run viable income-generating activities, including being awarded their rightful quotas of government tenders;
11. Since the mainstay of the majority of the communities' livelihoods is pastoralism, and given the attendant culture of cattle rustling, the county and national governments should establish alternative livelihoods for the communities especially in the far flung areas. Agriculture, mining, tourism and infrastructure development are some of the sectors that, if boosted, have the potential of creating alternative livelihoods for the citizens in these counties. Investments in wind and solar energy have worked to turn around lives of citizens in countries such as Tunisia, Spain and elsewhere. There is no reason why they can't work for the people of Turkana and West Pokot.

12. Both levels of government (national and counties) should appreciate the existence of security-development nexus, on the basis of which they should in-build conflict sensitivity into their respective development planning, with technical input from NDMA and other agencies and stakeholders where necessary.
13. Hold periodic joint meetings to promote inter-ethnic harmony and cohesion: this study established that, as much peaceful coexistence had improved, there were still deep rooted perceptions of community supremacy/ dominance among the Pokots and Turkanas. This narrative seemed to be so embedded within the communities that it was being passed from one generation to the other. There is therefore need for government appointed bodies such as NCIC to hold joint meetings bringing all community leaders together to promote cohesiveness and counter the existing narrative of dominance.

#### **National Police Service (NPS)**

13. Increase police presence along the borders: The study revealed that there was virtual “absence” of government presence along the borderline corridor, especially police, other LEAs and administrators. This was blamed for the arms circulation and insecurity along the borders. There is therefore, need to make every effort in improving government presence in these areas including stepping up recruitment and training of NPRs.

#### **Civil Society Organizations**

14. CSOs and other relevant agencies need to initiate sustained awareness-creation projects and programmes on the importance peace and amicable resolution of conflicts as and when they arise.
15. Communities should be actively encouraged to end retrogressive cultural practices by taking their children to school. On the other hand, the county and national governments should double their efforts to support the development of schools, including provision and equipping of mobile schools to community members who are still pastoralists;
16. CSOs need to encourage use of sports and other cultural events to promote interaction of the two dominant communities in the area, and hence reduce ethnic suspicion.



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