

**An analysis of local perceptions of the role of drought in
exacerbating contemporary pastoral conflict in northern Kenya.**

A case study of Marsabit County

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CEO	-	Chief Executive Officer
EAC	-	East African Community
EARCPCCO	-	Eastern African Regional Police Chief Conference
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
FGDs	-	Focus Group Discussions
GOs	-	Government Organizations
IFRC	-	International Federation of Red Cross
IPCC	-	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IRIN	-	Integrated Regional Information Network
KRCS	-	Kenya Red Cross Society
KRDP	-	Kenya Rural Development Program
NGOs	-	Non-Governmental Organization
PISP	-	Pastoralist Integrated and Support Program
RCP	-	Representative Concentration Pathway
RECSA	-	Regional Centre of Small Arms
REGAL-IR	-	Resilience and Economic Growth in the Arid-Lands Improving Resilience
SADC	-	Southern African Development Community
UN	-	The United Nations
UNICEF	-	The United Nations Children's Fund

ABSTRACT

Pastoralists' communities in Kenya have been co-existed since their migration and settlement in the region. However, frequent conflicts have been experienced among these communities due to scarcity of natural resources and drought. Pastoralists in Kenya are concern with raising their livestock, moving the herds in search of scarce resources such as water and pasture. The root cause of pastoralist conflict in Kenya is scarcity of natural resources and drought. This has often been suggested to trigger conflict flare-ups and that there was a recent flare up in the year 2016.

Many descriptions of the conflict suggest that drought is an underlying driver, however other factors have also been suggested, i.e., politics, availability of arms, cultural values, population, governance, and lack of income (Adano et al., 201. Hence this research project explores the local perceptions of the main drivers of conflict. While studies have been conducted on the effects of droughts on pastoral communities and their coping strategies in the County, little is known of the perceptions of the locals on the role of drought in exacerbating inter-ethnic violence among three main pastoral communities in the region i.e. Borana, Gabra and Rendille.

The main objective of this study was to establish the local perceptions of drought in exacerbating contemporary pastoral conflict in Marsabit County. Though there have been several studies on vulnerability to drought conducted in the area, all of them tend to neglect the conflict between the three main clans in Marsabit County. Moreover, the pastoralist

communities in the region have experienced conflict flare-ups for many years despite availability of institutions that ought to have solved it. Therefore, the study specifically aims to analyze the different causes of conflict in Northern Kenya with an eye to determine the perceptions of Borana, Burji and Rendille clans and government and non-governmental on role of drought in increasing conflict in the Marsabit County. The study also examines different interventions used by government and non-governmental organizations in dealing with conflict in the area.

The population of the study comprised 100 randomly selected community members from nine villages in Marsabit County and 15 government and non-governmental employees in Marsabit County. The study draws on data gathered through a questionnaire designed to meet the objectives of the study. The quantitative data was coded, processed and summarized into frequencies, percentages and graphs. The qualitative information from the interview is narrated as a report. In the questionnaire presented to participants, the extent to which each factor contributes to the conflict in the region is given in numerical categories i.e. (4-5) meaning agreed to a very high extent, (3) moderate extent or unsure and (1-2) agree to a very low extent or not at all.

The study found that both locals and NGOs in the region perceive scarcity of resources which leads to drought as the main factor that influences the conflict in the region as compared to other factors i.e. cultural values, politics, population increase and cultural values. According to respondents, the drought caused a deficiency in natural resources i.e. water and pasture, which contributed to the conflict to a great extent. The study also found that locals in Marsabit County perceived different factors such as poverty, politics and cultural resources as influencing inter-ethnic conflict in the region.

The study recommends the following-:

- There is need for the government and other non-governmental organizations to come up with more strategic ideas for climate change adaptation, ideas that could go hand in hand with the changing environment.
- There is also a need to broaden and spread the livelihood and entrepreneurship projects to all the sub-counties where the climate change impact is harsh.
- The county government needs to increase its budget allocation for pastoralist communities. This will promote sustainable development and create more jobs for the youths in the county.
- County government, politicians and community elders should come up with a clear approach to tackle conflict in the region and prosecute the perpetrators of inter-ethnic conflict in the region.

CHAPTER ONE

This chapter focuses on the background information about climate change and conflict in general. The second and third section discuss the aims, objective of the studies and the research questions. The importance of the study is mentioned in the fourth section.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study.

Conflicts are widely recognized as a major source of distraction to economic growth of pastoralist communities in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALS). The major source of these conflicts is scarcity of natural resources (Reuveny, 2007). According to Leff et al, (2009), one of the main factors that contributes to the conflict in Africa is harsh climate conditions that force many pastoralists to migrate in search for pastures and water.

Climate change poses a threat not only to the environment but has become a threat to global security Hamro-Drotz (2014) . According to Pachauri and Meyer (2007), climate change has impacted natural and human systems, especially changing precipitation patterns. This caused persistent drought which increased the strain in the already existing natural scarce resources which perpetuate conflict. According Leif et al., (2009), the pastoralist communities experience harsh environmental conditions, which force them to travel around in search of water and pastures. Inter-tribal conflict starts when pastoralists from one tribe enter the grazing land of another. According to Baqe (2012), as the population continue to increase, the resource competition between different communities remains high, thus perpetuating conflict in the region.

In many regions, pastoralists have experienced the effects of climate change, which have led to desertification of their areas, and a reduction of the pastures on which their livestock production depends. As population increases, demand for arable land increases, which leads to conflict (Omolo, 2010). According to Bevan (2007), the major systems within which pastoralists operate are: the natural resource system and geo-political system. These systems are correlated with each other; changes in one system affects the capacity of the people to adapt to social political and environmental shocks.

The majority of previous studies on pastoral conflict in different parts of Kenya, including those by Otieno (2016); Schilling et al. (2012), (Kipkemoi et al., 2017), Cheserek et al. (2012) and FEWS, (2005), have shown that a scarcity of natural resources contribute to conflict in the area. The authors also argued that the availability of illegal firearms in the community increased the intensity of cattle rustling.

The global surface temperature by the end of 21st century (2081-2100) is likely to exceed 1.5°C for Representative Concentration Pathway (RCP4.5), RCP6.0 and RCP8.5 with high confidence. However, warming is likely to exceed 2 °C for RCP6.0 and RCP8.5 (Pachauri et al., 2014) . The least developed countries are expected to be more affected by climate change than developed countries. These least developed countries will mostly face floods, degradation of land, health, food security threats and inadequate supply of fresh water resources (Reuveny, 2007).

East African countries will continue to experience extreme weather events such as droughts and floods. The 5th Assessment Report of Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCCAR5) stated the frequency of drought has been increasing in Eastern Africa (Field et al., 2014).

Pastoralist communities are known for their movement in search of fresh pasture and water which are scarce. The extreme weather events such as drought has changed the structure of natural resources in the region. The use and control of resources accelerated by greed and grievances coupled with inequitable distribution of natural resources has been the major cause of armed conflict (Salad B, 2015). In recent years conflict among pastoralist communities has been perpetuated by different factors such as political marginalization, cultural values and population increase.

According to Azar et al, (1978), termed conflict in Marsabit County as protracted social conflict. Since protracted social conflict is caused by the struggle of the communal group for basic needs. This mostly happened when fragile government cannot provide the same.

Pastoralist conflict have become widespread throughout much of the horn of Africa. According to Mkutu (2001), there were inadequacies in the government and security forces in Africa's approach to combating the escalation of inter-pastoralist conflict. The reaction by state law enforcement bodies has been ineffective and slow in this region. For example, the police in some countries like Uganda and Kenya are often complicit in the violence. There are no proper policies to address insecurity in these regions (Mkutu, 2001).

In Kenya, the negative effects of conflicts have been widely felt especially among pastoralist communities. According to Moyale's conflict assessment reports that a number of livestock have been lost and many human lives were lost. In addition to human fatality, the assessment reports that the violence among these communities has left a trail of destruction, including the destruction of properties, trauma, death of livestock, psychological disturbance, and a displacement of people

In Kenya, the negative effects of conflicts have been widely felt especially among pastoralist communities. According to Moyale's conflict assessment reports that a number of livestock have been lost and many human lives were lost. In addition to human fatality, the assessment reports that the violence among these communities has left a trail of destruction, including the destruction of properties, trauma, death of livestock, psychological disturbance, and a displacement of people (Scott-Villiers et al., 2014). During 2013, the number of injuries reported from mid-July to mid-December was 71 and the total number of deaths reported from 4th to 8th of December the same year was 20 (Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS), 2013). This has led to human displacement as many people migrated to nearby counties. Those who lost their livestock started engaging in cattle raids in order to grow their herds again, while others who still possessed some livestock started moving to nearby regions in search for pasture. Hence, natural resources were diminished, leading to competition and conflict. This presents the question was the conflict and competition caused by severe droughts?

The actual year 2013, the intensity of the drought was much worse and this led to a depletion of water resources and pastures in the region. Between 10 to 13 April 2017, clashes over water resources in the region left several people dead. Three children (one 10 year old and two 17 year olds) and six men were killed due to resource based conflicts over accessibility to water points in Marsabit County (The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2017). There is a widespread perception that conflict flare ups are triggered by drought in Marsabit County (Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS), 2013).

In Marsabit County there are number of NGOs that work together with government organizations to offer humanitarian aid and are directly involved in the conflict resolution process in the region. These organizations play a role in fostering resilience against drought

engage in peace building interventions and livelihood programs and assist with the recovery and return of stolen livestock.

1.2 Aims and Objectives of the study

A study carried out by Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN) (2009), revealed that droughts which led to a scarcity of natural resources was the main cause of the conflict in Marsabit County. Witsenburg (2015) noted that higher numbers of violent conflict in Marsabit County occurs at times of severe drought and greater scarcity of natural resources. According to research conducted in the northern part of Kenya, the root causes of conflict in pastoral regions of northern Kenya are mainly competition for limited pasture and water resources (Witsenburg and Adano, 2009). During the dry months, all the resources that communities depend on become scarcer. As natural resources become scarcer, conflict among the pastoralist communities tends to increase (Adano et al., 2012).

Many descriptions of the conflict suggest that drought is an underlying driver, however other factors have also been suggested, i.e., politics, availability of arms, cultural values, population, governance, and lack of income. The aim of the study is to analyze the locals' perceptions of the role of droughts in exacerbating contemporary pastoral conflict in Northern Kenya and different interventions by the government and NGOs in addressing the conflict.

1.3 Research Question

The questions below were pursued in order to meet the objective of the study.

- How do pastoralist communities in Marsabit County perceive the role of droughts in exacerbating inter-ethnic conflict in the region?

- How do government and non-governmental organizations in the region perceive the role of droughts in exacerbating conflict in the region?
- What are the different interventions used by government and non-governmental organizations to address the conflict in the area and how effective have they been?

1.4 Importance of the research.

The research is very important for academia and different stakeholders to be able to come up with different strategies to solve the conflict which was driven by the drought in the Marsabit County. The research examines the perceptions of communities, NGOs, and governmental organizations on the role of droughts in exacerbating inter-ethnic conflict in Northern Kenya. Many studies done by other scholars in Marsabit County did not focus on these areas. Therefore, this research will expand the intellectual horizon of existing studies with an eye to contributing more insight into inter-ethnic conflict among the communities in Marsabit County.

The research findings give recommendations for policy around looming pastoralist conflicts, in terms of how different stakeholders could support a reduction in escalating conflicts and identifies alternative ways to find a long-lasting solution to conflict in the county.

Chapter Two

This chapter will provide literature on the research topic. The chapter is divided into five sections, and the first three sections provide general overview of conflict in different regions. Section four and five focuses on pastoral conflict

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review for this research covers the areas related to the study. It discusses the theoretical framework, and theories related to extant relevant studies, as well as the role of climate and other factors in contributing to conflict. The literature review draws on local and international studies.

Some of the pioneers of collective violence studies, such as Stephen Brush and Ted Gurr, have presented a wide variety of theories of collective violence, including theories about revolutions, rebellions, riots and social movement (Gurr, 2015). These sociologists explained collective violence as behaviour which disturbed the normal stable equilibrium of the society. This theory of collective behaviour relied on the premise that any kind of disruption is to be considered a threat to society (Brush, 1996).

The studies used the theory of protracted social conflict. Social protracted conflict is a situation characterized by the prolonged and recurrent violent struggle among communal groups struggling to get basic needs such as security, recognition, economic acceptance and fair access to political institutions (Ramsbotham, 2005). According to the pioneering scholar of conflict resolution, Edward E. Azar, the underlying source of protracted social conflict is denial of human needs and that the conflict is greater when the satisfactions of community needs are not met (Ramsbotham et al., 2011). Azar saw poor governance as the critical factor

that frustrates individuals or groups' abilities to acquire basic human needs (Nishikawa, 2010). Many countries that experience protracted social conflict tend to be characterized by fragile governments that cannot provide basic human needs (Azar et al., 1978). For various reasons, Marsabit County, having more than five ethnic groups, has been experiencing violent struggle. It is appropriate to use Azar's protracted social conflict framework for this study, since the violence in Marsabit County is communal. Azar identified four variables in studying conflict: communal content, human needs, the role of government, the role of NGOs (Reimann, 2002). Since protracted social conflict is caused by the struggle of the communal group for basic needs, the four clusters of variables are important when dealing with such violence. Other scholars such as (Horowitz, 1985) and (Tilly, 1978) also explained more on social conflicts.

2.1 Conflict

Conflict is an unclear concept, and has diverse meanings because conflict occurs in many different settings. Jehn and Bendersky (2003) defined conflict as "perceived incompatibilities or discrepant views among the party involved" (p.189). It may refer to some sort of behavior in which parties involved perceive a threat to their own needs and concerns (European Council, 2015). Conflict tends to involve a disagreement: maybe due to some form of scarcity, two or more parties to a conflict cannot live together in harmony. According to de la Roche (1996), collective violence sometimes arises where law is lacking, weak or absent.

Since the end of the Cold War, the nature of armed conflict has undergone fundamental changes. Wars between states are diminishing, while the form of armed struggle that has become predominant is the war within states. According to Van Creveld (2009) in

his book *Transformation of war*, violence has continued and war is fought for different reasons using different methods, regardless of the failing of the national-state. Kaldor (2013), refers to these wars as new wars. Some of the characteristics which differentiate new wars from earlier wars are: how they are financed, the methods of warfare, and their goals. According to Kaldor et al. (2007), the new war is everywhere and is rarely conducted on battle fields, but is rather demonstrated as political violence . The new war is more often directed at civilians, and involves getting rid of different identities in the population and killing civilians (Kaldor, 2013). The difference between the war and crime has become blurred, and is based on the identity politics (Peterson, 2013). Organized group conflicts and terrorism have also become more common, lethal, and are spreading around the globe. For their own purposes, such groups identify themselves with each other and against those outside the group. Group conflicts always occur due to differentiation to another group for different reasons.

Some of the major group conflicts due to differentiation across the globe are: ethnic differentiation, especially in Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda and Zimbabwe. In the Republic of Haiti, there was conflict between the masses and the elite (Stewart, 1998). In Somalia and Afghanistan, clans were the source of group differentiation (Stewart, 1998). In Liberia and Sierra Leone, liberation groups were fighting against the government (Stewart, 1998). According to Denen (2013) countries like Libya, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone and Democratic Republic of Congo, have been blighted by instability, poverty and corrupt government institutions.

The Green War Hypothesis states that inequality, religious cleavages, and environmental degradation are the main contributing factors of conflict (Howard et al., 2012).

Scarcity of natural resources such as water, land and forests, which are caused by an increase in population, has negative effects for many people (Humphreys, 2005). Other scholars, like Homer-Dixon (2010), argue that environmental scarcity has caused ethnic clashes and other forms of conflict, especially in developing countries.

2.2 African Conflict

Conflict in the African continent has affected many people in different ways. Many people have lost their lives, mostly through the effects of diseases and malnutrition, which are aggravated by displacement. Many basic requirements such as education, healthcare systems, transport and infrastructure have been shattered (Williams, 2016). A majority of scholars have argued that boundary conflicts and the dynamics of boundary conflicts are major factors in African conflicts (Starr and Most, 1983). According to Ikome (2012), poor demarcation and delimitation of Africa's borders are still potential source of African conflict.

There is a broad literature on the causes of major conflicts, specifically African conflicts. Conflict in Africa is categorized as: (a) political and ideological conflict, (b) boundary and territorial conflict, (c) internal conflicts and civil wars, (d) the movement of pastoralists in search of pastures (Abdalla, 2002). Many scholars focusing on African conflicts have thought of them as a political conflict, especially war between the states, armed rebellions fighting against governments, and military coups. These are the only type of conflict in Africa that have been given much attention internationally (Abdalla, 2002). The present and upcoming conflicts, which are ethnically based, are the major conflicts the Africa continent is facing.

Proliferation of small arms and light weapons is another factor that contributes to the pastoralist conflicts in Africa. According to Mkutu (2001), pastoralist communities provide

the largest market for small arms. The relative cost of acquiring these illegal firearms enable pastoralist communities to guarantee a sustainable market. So, the threat posed by them in escalating contemporary violence is enormous. Meier et al. (2007) mentioned commercialization of cattle rustling, which is increasingly linked to a proliferation of small arms and provides added incentives for the pastoralist communities to engage in raiding.

Several international organizations have agreed in reducing the movement of arm across the borders, for example Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS) convention, UN programme of action, South African Development Community (SADC) protocol on control of firearms, ammunition, Nairobi Protocol of small arms, Regional Centre of Small Arms (RECSA), East African Community (EAC) and Eastern African Regional Police Chief Conferences (EARPCCO) have shared information which reduce movement of weapons into the pastoralist hands.

2.3 Conflict in East Africa.

There are many pastoralist groups in Eastern Africa; they are in Northern Kenya, the northwest regions of Uganda, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and the southern part of Ethiopia bordering Kenya. The conflicts that have been experienced in these areas are part of the larger conflict across the globe. According to the research conducted by William (2016), among the 30-40 million people who live in arid and semi-arid regions and depend on livestock, 50-60 percent of this number live in Africa. East Africa comprises 70% of the total land area, thus making it the largest group of pastoralists in the world. Livestock generates 70% of their income (Mkutu, 2003). The primary asset for sustaining their daily needs is livestock (Mkutu, 2003).

These pastoralist communities experience harsh environmental conditions, which force them to travel around in search of water and pastures. Inter-tribal conflict starts when pastoralists from one tribe enter the grazing land of another (Leff et al., 2009). Between 1994 and 2005, more than 460,000 livestock were lost in Kenya and Uganda through conflict and raiding, and many people were displaced. In 2007, more than 54 people were killed in Sudan. Similar conflict patterns are experienced in different parts of the countries (Mkutu, 2003). The research conducted by the Swiss Federation and the government of Kenya suggests that the high mortality rate in pastoral communities is due to armed violence (Bevan, 2007).

One of the main factors that contributes to the conflict in Africa is harsh climate conditions that force many pastoralists to migrate in search for pastures and water (Leff et al., 2009). During these times, the pastoralist conflicts emerge over herding territory. When drought conditions became worse, pastoralists look for ways to replace the loss of cattle, hence conflicts become more intense and frequent. Traditionally, raids undertaken to replace the lost stock are accepted, but due to the availability of high-powered arms, the conflict has taken a turn for the worse, with an increase in fatalities and indiscriminate attacks (Bevan, 2007).

The commercialization of cattle theft is another factor that fuels conflict among the pastoral communities. The availability of markets for cattle meat has facilitated the conflict, as the stolen stocks are sold directly to meat processing businesses (Mkutu, 2003). The local businessmen and even some politicians pay some groups of warriors to raid, and the stolen cattle are then transported to the cities or even out of the country through the black market (Leff et al., 2009).

Widespread proliferation of small arms in the region has also contributed to the conflict, unlike before where pastoralists practiced cattle rustling using bows and arrows. The conflict dynamic has totally changed; the use of sophisticated arms has increased fatalities. A survey conducted by Claire Mc and Ryan (2008), suggests that 97 percent of cattle rustling in Kenya and Sudan involves the use of small arms. The political instability in the region since early twentieth century, has enabled weaponry circulation among pastoralist communities (Mkutu, 2007).

Pastoral communities have been neglected by the Kenyan state. State policies have tended to marginalize pastoralist communities, so that pastoralists can come to view the state as an enemy. The needs of pastoralists, for example boreholes, infrastructure, communication technologies, and security have been neglected by the government (FEWS, 2005). Raiders are not prosecuted, due to lack of state security, so the pastoral communities have no option but to protect themselves and their stocks from the enemy (Claire Mc and Ryan, 2008).

Pastoral conflicts in the region have increased mortality rates. Research conducted by FEWS (2005), shows that large numbers of the population died as a result of armed violence. A survey conducted by Powell (2010) suggest that 26% of households had died or suffered from violence that involved small arms. Lack food and essential amenities due to conflict have caused many deaths among the communities.

Conflict has destroyed social life in pastoral communities. For instance, conflict in the Kisumu area, which caused the deaths of many men, fundamentally changed family

dynamics and the role of the family in the community. Women, for example, are now responsible for providing for the family (Powell, 2010).

The conflicts have disrupted relations between communities and the wider kinship system. The traditional governance system that was used to settle disputes and other coping mechanisms have collapse due to conflicts that target civilians, since to regain a livelihood after its loss can take many years. Those who are not able to retain their livelihoods will start involving in other actions (Shah, 2010).

Pastoralists in many areas have turned to other income-generating activities. Those who lose their stock from raids and are unable to regain the cattle, turn to other activities, such as making charcoal and woodcrafts. These pursuits also have negative impact on the environment, since the work involves cutting down trees (Joe, 2010).

In many African countries, measures to reduce pastoralist conflict have failed. There are no appropriate policies developed by the government and other agencies to reduce the violence (Mkutu, 2001). Due to increase of pastoralist conflict in recent years, the government, NGOs and local elders have come up with mechanism to manage the conflict. The government has implemented a disarmament program and as well as peace building initiatives to reduce pastoralist conflict (Huho, 2012).

2.4 Conflict in Kenya.

Although conflicts in Kenya are many different kinds, Juma (2000) classified into four different groups: (a) conflict among the pastoral communities, (b) conflict linked to the presence of refugees, (c) ethnic clashes and (d) conflict between pastoralists and farmers. According to Huho (2012), harsh environmental conditions have changed the conflict behavior. For example, the Turkana community lost all their livestock during 1999-2001

droughts, which forced them to raid to replace their lost stock. Julies also observed that in the year 2000 a drought caused water shortages in the arid and semi-arid regions in Kenya.

The north-eastern regions of Mandera, Wajir and Garissa had 23,022 m³, 29,769 m³, and 29,529 m³ of water per day respectively in the year 2000 (Salad, 2012). The eastern regions of Kitui, Tana River, Samburu, and Turkana have 49,495 m³, 17,916 m³, 12,710 m³, and 35,816 m³ of water per day respectively. Inadequate water and pastures have triggered conflict, as the communities must compete for these resources. International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2011), report stated that the 2011 drought caused a depletion of natural resources such as water and pasture. This increased the conflicts between the Burji and Borana clans. Seven people were killed in Moyale town.

Table 1: Previous studies on conflict in Northern Kenya, their main conclusions, and the evidence they use.

Authors	Evidence used in studies	Conclusions
Otieno, 2016	In studies conducted in North Rift Region of Kenya: Pokot, Turkana, Marakwet, Tugen, Samburu and Ilchamus, the violence among the pastoralist communities is caused by the following factors.	The key driving factors of conflict are a scarcity of natural resources, cattle raids and land boundary disputes. Different organizations have helped to introduce alternative livelihood activities through which

	<p>Livestock raids cause 33.3% of the conflict, land and boundaries cause 31.90%, pasture and water scarcity 25.40% and negative perceptions of ethnicity causes 9.40% of the conflict.</p>	<p>reformed warriors were supported in developing income generating activities.</p>
<p>Schilling et al. (2012)</p>	<p>The majority of interviewees from the Turkana and Pokot Communities in North-western Kenya stated that the motive for violence among them was drought and hunger.</p>	<p>Reduction in pasture, water and livestock has made raiding the only alternative to depending on relief aid. Therefore, hunger and drought were identified as the main motive for raiding.</p>
<p>(Kipkemoi et al., 2017)</p>	<p>The majority of Tana River members in North-eastern Kenya (77.8%) indicated that inadequate access to natural resources was the main cause of the conflict in the region, while 22.2% indicated lack of access to</p>	<p>The study concluded that the main cause of conflict in Tana River County was the natural resource factor.</p>

	markets as the cause of the conflict.	
FEWS, (2005)	The Turkana and Pokot communities have clashed over the control and ownership of pastureland around Dodoth, Jie, and the Turkwel argued that Turkanas strive to chase them away from their ancestral lands.	According to the study, there were direct links between changing climatic conditions, natural resources and livelihood prospects, and conflict.

2.5 Pastoralist conflict

Pastoral households are estimated to reach close to 200 million with approximately billion herds of livestock worldwide (Neely et al., 2010). Pastoralist systems occupy 25% of the world’s land area and supply 10% of the global meat production (Meier et al., 2007). However, despite their significant role in producing food, pastoralist communities, with a migratory herding culture, often find themselves in a state of crisis. Prolonged droughts and diseases have threatened their livestock. The pastoralist population continues to escalate, and labor markets in rural and urban areas are failing to absorb the young generation for employment. This means that pastoralist communities remain some of the most marginalized groups (Nori et al., 2005)

Pastoralist conflict have become widespread throughout much of the horn of Africa. According to Mkutu (2001), there were inadequacies in the government and security forces

in Africa's approach to combating the escalation of inter-pastoralist conflict.. The reaction by state law enforcement bodies has been ineffective and slow in this region. For example, the police in some countries like Uganda and Kenya are often complicit in the violence. There are no proper policies to address insecurity in these regions (Mkutu, 2001).

According to Thébaud and Batterbury (2001), pastoralist conflict is the result of a composite set of closely inter-connected problems such as drought, poverty and insecurity. Mkutu (2001) highlighted that, cultural songs and dances, which drift from generation to generation accentuate the existence of cattle rustling. This has encouraged pastoral communities to engage in cattle rustling culture as a way of expanding their herds and obtaining cattle for paying bride prices.

2.6 Pastoralist conflict in Marsabit County.

In the Northern Kenyan area of Marsabit county, conflict continues to occur among different ethnic groups. Communities such as Borana, Rendille, Burji, Gabra and Samburu fight over scarce water resources and pasture for their livestock. According to Baqe (2012), scarcity of natural resources, cattle rustling, highway banditry, poverty, availability of illegal arms and illiteracy are common in the county. Zakharia and Bartlett (2014), found that many children and youths who are blocked from attending school due to conflict remain illiterate, which perpetuates hatred and contributes to further conflict. Pragya (2015) argued that cattle raids, inter-communal resource conflicts, illegal firearms and banditry are common in the area.

The county continues to experience conflict. For example, the Turbi massacre which occurred on 12 July 2005, where Borana and Gabra fought, has left many people dead and many livestock were stolen. This has triggered conflict, as the affected community then

retaliated. According to Government of United Kingdom (2015), the conflict between Gabra and Borana is based on competition for natural resources. Later a fight between Borana and Rendille erupted, and it was believed be based on water and pasture.

In the 2013 elections, Gabra, Rendille and Burji formed a coalition for a political party. This left the Borana community politically marginalized, which caused rivalry among the tribes (Government of United Kingdom, 2015). Research conducted by Baqe (2012), shows that the coalition between Gabra, Rendille and Burji tribes has implied greater political power over Borana, which has fuelled conflict in the region. According to a survey conducted by the County Government of Kenya (2013) Marsabit county is expected to face a high risk of violent conflict before the August 2017 elections. Two of the core factors that were considered to be drivers of the conflict in the county are severe droughts and poor distribution of resources among the communities. The shortage of boreholes in some regions of the county has also fuelled conflict.

A study conducted by the County Government, (2017), highlighted some conflict-drivers in the county. Poor distribution of national resources has contributed to the conflicts. The availability of boreholes and pasture in some regions i.e. Hula-Hula village where only one tribe resides has generated endless conflicts with the neighbouring Gabra and Borana communities. This made the Hula-Hula villagers vulnerable to attacks. During the dry seasons, all the communities are on constant confrontation at the main water points.

According to Pragya, (2015), lack of rain in the area has caused death for many livestock and has thus increased conflict and entailed cattle raiding.

Cross border attacks from neighbouring Ethiopian communities have increased conflict in the area. The Borana, Gabra and Garre communities migrate to the Kenyan-Ethiopian border in search for water and pasture. The Oromo from Ethiopia cross the border and attack Kenyan communities (Mwangi, 2006).

2.6.1 Factors influencing inter-clan conflict in Marsabit County

This section presents factors influencing inter-ethnic conflict among the pastoralist communities in Marsabit County as presented by other authors.

2.6.1.1 Scarcity of resources and conflict

Conflict in the northern part of Kenya always revolves around competition for scarce resources. There are disagreements over access and control of limited natural resources such as water and pasture. According to research conducted by Bevan, J. (2007), competition for natural resources is the greatest source of inter-ethnic conflict in the area. Conflict arises when pastoralists compete to maximize their share of limited resources (Opiyo et al., 2012).

The scarcity of natural resources in the area forces communities to venture into others' territory since they are unable to cope with insufficient water and pasture to feed their herds. On the other hand, the owners of the territory in which the resources are located deny other communities access to resources and so conflict erupts (Bevan, 2007).

In many cases there exists a positive relationship between insufficiency of natural resources and inter-ethnic conflict in Marsabit County. However, according to research conducted by Adano et al. (2009) there exists a negative correlation between conflict and scarcity of natural resources. In that report, there was clear indications that twice as many people are killed from violence during the rainy season than were killed during the dry

season. In the years 1960 to 2006, the Marsabit County shows that wetter years saw more people killed in violent raids, 50, compared to the number killed during drier years, 23 (Adano et al., 2009). The wet season is a period when livestock are stronger and therefore able to walk long distances, making it more convenient for pastoralists to restock after devastating droughts.

A previous study conducted by Diba (2015) on inter-ethnic conflicts between the Gabra and Dassenetch communities of Marsabit County argued that competition for scarce resources was a major cause of violent conflict between these two communities. The resource-based conflicts in the region have been linked to increasing intensity and severity of droughts. The study of rainfall patterns shows that rainfall levels have declined remarkably for decades in the region (Lekapana, 2013).

Competition over limited natural resources remains the main threat in Marsabit County. As the population continues to increase, the resource competition between different communities remains high, which leads to conflict in the region (Baqe, 2012). Schilling et al. (2012) conducted a study to understand the motives behind the raiding in Northern Kenya. The authors argued that the reduction in pasture, water and livestock implied that raiding was the only alternative to a reliance on aid.

2.6.1.2 Climate change and Conflict

Climate change refers to the long-term trends and processes in weather change which are attributed directly or indirectly to human activity, and is reflected in hotter temperatures, also known as global warming, and more severe weather patterns, unlike inter-annual changes in weather patterns (Messer, 2010).

Many countries in Africa have already experienced the threat of inadequate water and face water shortages due to insufficient and unreliable rainfall. According to Bates (2009), many African countries are likely to face additional pressure in terms of water accessibility and availability.

In Northern Kenya, the impact of climate change is highly destructive, considering that people rely mainly on natural resources, and food security is already threatened (The Conservation Development, 2009).

There exist potential connections between climate change and conflict in the northern part of Kenya. According to Tänzler et al. (2010) 28 major droughts have been recorded in the past 100 years, of which four occurred in the last decade. The increase of rainfall variability and decrease in predictability due to climate change (combined with increasing evapotranspiration) implies negative effects for pastoral communities. Increase in scarcity of natural resources such as pasture and water is likely to lead to increased conflict among the pastoralist communities as each community struggle to control and access to the limited resources i.e. water points and pastures (The Conservation Development, 2009).

In periods of climatic stress, the migration of pastoral communities in search for water and pastures increases. These communities will take their herds as far as possible to find water and pasture. The migration across the region will lead all the migrating pastoralist to meet at one point and this can lead to inter-ethnic conflict. Some pastoralist will also find themselves grazing their herds in private areas such as ranching areas and private property (Tänzler et al., 2010).

Climate change tends to cause more limited, unequal and unpredictable distribution of rainfall. Adaptive strategies by pastoralist communities are likely to be generative of conflict and also make dealing with conflict more difficult.

2.6.1.3 Availability of guns and gun violence

Availability of small arms have different effects on the diverse types of violence. According to Felson et al. (2014) the availability of guns has increased the likelihood of gun violence. The availability of these firearms may hinder individuals or communities with less effective weapons to defend themselves from the attacks. Therefore, availability of guns plays a very important role in the conflict.

In Kenya, the effect of the availability and misuse of guns among pastoralist communities has been felt throughout the society. The pastoral communities in the Northern part of the country are most affected by the availability of guns because there is with little or no police presence (Wepundi et al., 2012).

The 2007 general elections in the country contributed to the eruption of unprecedented levels of armed violence. According to a post-election violence report, a total of 1,133 people died due to unrest, over 100,000 private properties were destroyed and more than 3,500 people suffered injuries. From gunshots 405 people, while 557 were injured (Wepundi et al., 2012).

Communities in Northern Kenya create a demand for modern arms as inter-ethnic conflicts over scarcity of natural resources erupt. The inter-ethnic rivalry that exists among the clans in the region forces communities to self-arm in order to protect their livestock and livelihoods. According to Mkutu (2008), the increase of guns among pastoralist communities

is caused by poor policing and governance in the region; he also argues that other secondary factors such as a weakening of customary law, high bride prices, and unemployment have contributed significantly to gun conflicts in the region.

Research conducted in Northern Kenya indicates that the availability of guns that fuelled gun violence among pastoralist communities has displaced more than 160,000 people by 2003, and by 2005 the people who had been internally displaced by gun violence were more than 200,000 (Wepundi et al., 2012).

2.6.1.4 Cultural Values and Inter-ethnic conflict

In Northern Kenya, social cultural values and beliefs tend to lead to conflict. According to research conducted in Marsabit county by Kimokoti and Ating'a (2014), different cultural practices such as high bride price combined with cattle rustling and a drought induced decline in livestock numbers has contributed to conflict among pastoralist communities in the region. Marking the passage from childhood to adulthood is mostly demonstrated by an acquisition of livestock via raids and killing other members of groups seen as enemies. Such cultural practices clearly put more pressure on Morans, young warriors, and force them to acquire arms which they will use during raids (Wepundi et al., 2012). Wamuyu (2014) notes that polygamous marriages in the region coupled with expensive dowries forces Morans to raid their neighbours to obtain the herds required for dowries.

Other studies on conflict in Northern Kenya conducted by Alio (2012); Adan et al. (2005) and Khisa (2016), have cited livestock raiding among the communities has fuelled the conflict in the region. Schilling et al. (2012) argue that pastoralist communities in Northern

Kenya use raiding as a cultural practice for regaining their herds which have vanished during the periods of disease outbreaks or prolonged droughts.

2.6.1.5 Political dominance and inter-ethnic conflict

Political competition between different elites is presently shaped by a new structure of devolution of power in the county. This has afforded communities the opportunity to be represented in the county government. However, competition for political power in the county has contributed to conflict among the different tribes. According to Scott-Villiers et al. (2014), the communities whose candidates lost the election were affected by their loss. This has promoted conflict as other communities refuse to accept the leadership of another tribe. During the 2013 elections, three communities, the Gabra, Burji and Rendille had a governor, a senator and a woman representative, respectively. This was strongly opposed by other communities such as Borana and contributed to conflict in the region.

Manipulation of the regional population, by changing the size of voting block during the election period, is another factor that contributed to conflict in the county. During the election period, a series of counter attacks forced thousands of people to flee from one area to another. It was widely noted that some politicians had been contributing to the disruption of the voting blocs in attempts to win the election (Scott-Villiers et al., 2014). A study conducted by Carrier and Kochore (2014) argued that political candidates went to great lengths to ensure that the population from their own region or ethnic groups were maximally represented. Little et al. (2008) contended that Marsabit County violence has been incited by politicians seeking to debilitate political opponents and their followers, in order to achieve formal political power. Thus, the tension surrounding the region during the election escalated into conflict.

2.6.1.6 Poverty and Inter-ethnic conflict

Poverty is a complex problem that goes beyond economics. It includes social, political, and cultural aspects. According to Burton (1997), Gurr (1970) and Nathan (2004) t poverty is a result of a lack of basic human needs and is generative of conflict

Kristjanson et al. (2010) conducted research on poverty dynamics in Kenya. According to figure 1, an analysis of poverty dynamics through livelihood potential such as agricultural and rangeland potential of the land in different zones is given. The study found that Marsabit County is a pastoral region and that across the pastoralist zones which comprised northern and north-eastern Kenya (Marsabit, Wajir, Garissa and Tana River districts), the worse poverty dynamics seem to be occurring, 61% of the population were poor in 2005, compared to 34% in 1990 (see figure 2). The authors also suggested that the prolonged drought might be the cause of poverty in the region. Elhadi et al. (2012) stated that a high dependency on food aid among the poor pastoralist communities has contributed to transient poverty in the region. This is due to an unavailability of alternative sources of livelihood, which is different to other areas in Kenya.

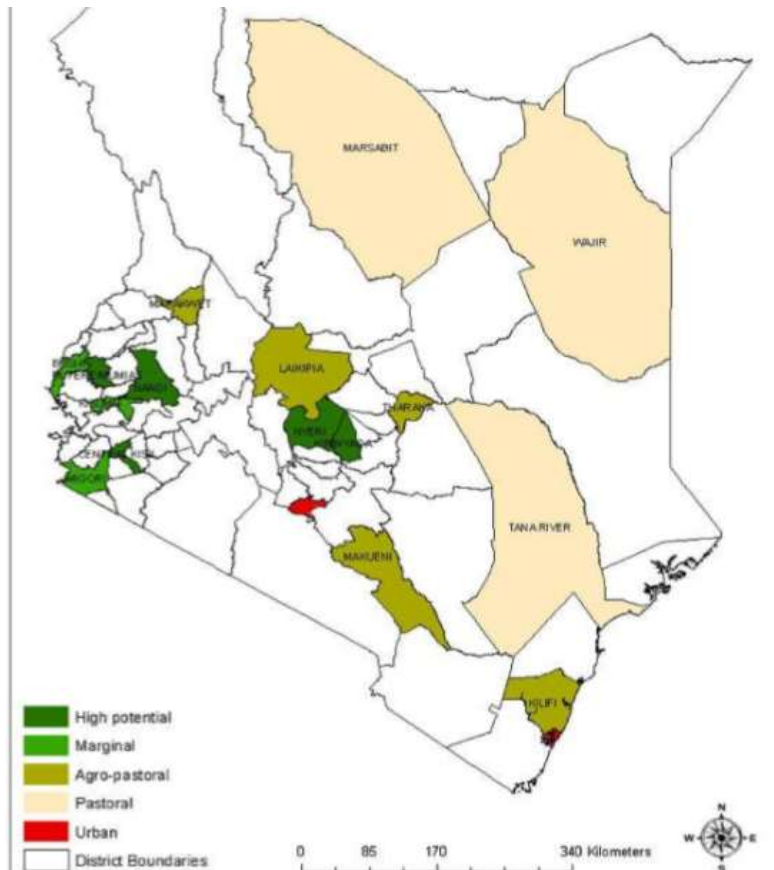


Figure 1: poverty dynamic map: Source (Kristjanson et al., 2010)

Per cent of households 15 years to now (1990–2005)

Livelihood zones	Remained poor	Escaped poverty	Became poor	Remained non-poor	% Poor at the beginning	% Poor at the end	% Net change in poverty
High potential	27	16	15	42	43	42	-1
Marginal	21	9	18	53	30	39	9
Agropastoral	38	12	19	31	50	57	7
Pastoral	28	6	33	32	34	61	27
Urban	39	18	17	25	57	56	-1
National total	30	12	20	38	42	50	8

Note: The negative sign indicates a decrease in the per cent of households living in poverty; overall our data show an 8 per cent increase the per cent of households living in poverty.

Figure 2: Trends in household poverty in different zones in Kenya (Kristjanson et al., 2010)

In spite of the fact that poverty and conflict influence each other, poverty is considered to be a contributing factor to the conflict in the northern part of Kenya. For example, in Todonyang village (northern Kenya), frequent raids from the neighbouring Dassenech people

forced Todonyang villagers to relocate their village to another region called Lowarengak. The poverty among the displaced people is clearly visible and forces them to engage in conflict for survival (FEWS, 2005).

2.6.1.7 Population and inter-ethnic conflict

Population density is another core factor in inter-ethnic conflict in the Marsabit County. According to Haro et al. (2005), the population of the County has doubled over the last 30 years. This has increased competition over limited resources in the region, and has affected resource sharing in the region (Fratkin and Roth, 2006). According to Berger (2003), a population increase in an environment with limited resources to support it results in competition for resources, thus exacerbating conflict. Lack of employment opportunities due to increasing population has left many youths jobless, thus frustrated unemployed youths make ends meet by turning to cattle raiding (Wamuyu, 2014).

2.6.1.8 Governance and Inter-ethnic conflict

In Marsabit County the governing of pastoralist communities is blamed for the escalation of inter-ethnic conflict. The government in Kenya tends to ignore the pastoralist communities, who are inadequately represented in decision making processes in the county. Goodhand (2001) argues that the government tends to neglect the interests of the pastoralist communities thus limiting the use of official structures in preventing and settling disputes among the communities. Government also tend to undermine and weaken the traditional governance systems thus demoralizing the communities in terms of preventing conflict among themselves.

Pastoralist communities in the Marsabit County lack good infrastructure i.e. adequate roads, markets, schools and health facilities. Diba (2015) notes that pastoralists in the

Marsabit County often lack the capacity to access basic needs due to their relatively smaller contribution to the GDP. Therefore, by enforcing inappropriate policies and undermining the pastoral communities, the country plays a major role in fostering pastoral conflicts.

The government lacks the capacity to provide security to pastoralists. This is because the government often considers conflict among the pastoralist communities as a local issue, thus refusing to recover stolen livestock. This has fuelled insecurity and the likelihood of self-defence and retaliation (Kennedy, 2001).

2.7 Role of government and Non-government organizations in dealing with conflict

The government and NGOs involve themselves in different activities relating to conflict resolution and peace building. Some of the activities that are geared towards peace building interventions and conflict resolution processes include the construction of dams, provision of health care facilities, distribution of famine relief, livelihood activities to alleviate poverty and hunger, facilitating peace meetings, and the recovery of stolen animals.

2.8 Recommendations made by other studies about reducing pastoralist conflict in Northern Kenya.

Some scholars who have conducted their studies of the region have come up with different recommendations as to how to reduce inter-ethnic conflict in the region.

According to Philip Kiprotich Chebunet (2013), the government could come up with policies that encourage formal education among pastoralist communities. This would help them to overcome some cultural practices that might led to conflict among the communities.

Mapu and Wanyonyi (2012), recommend that government and NGOs formulate and implement policies that could provide frameworks for understanding some of these conflicts and how to manage them.

Eyassu (2013), recommends that the government NGOs develop and implement climate change adaptations strategies. According to Koske (2014), drought resilience programs should be introduced. It is very important for the government and NGOs to introduce livelihood activities that could save lives and reduce inter-ethnic violence among the communities. He also recommends that the government to dig more boreholes and introduces emergency water supplies in the region. This would to some extent reduce conflict over water scarcity.

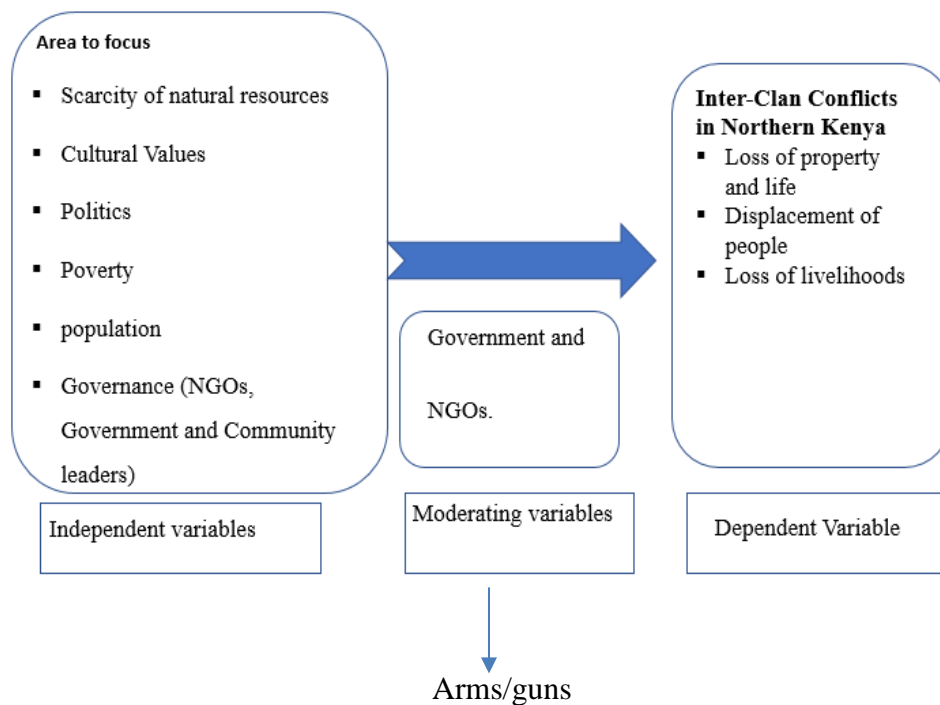
According to GAKURIA (2013), government and NGOs should promote inter-community peace building activities such as community festivals and sports. These activities bring different communities together which should include inter-community mediations over controversial issues.

According to Sharamo (2014), unemployment among the youth in the region is another factor that contributes to violence among pastoralist communities. The government and NGOs should prepare youth to develop different skills (i.e. entrepreneurship and technical etc.) in order for them to benefit from the existing opportunities in the region. Youths should also benefit from the Constituency Development Fund and the Uwezo Fund and come up with alternative livelihood projects.

2.9 Conceptual Framework

According to Maxwell (2005) a conceptual framework is a visual or written product that explains the main things to be studied, either graphically or in narrative form. As per the

literature review, there are certain factors that influence inter-ethnic conflict in Northern Kenya. Some of the factors mentioned in the literature review are: a scarcity of natural resources, cultural values, political dominance, poverty, and governance. Though several studies have been conducted on inter-ethnic conflict in northern Kenya, very little information is available on conflict among the Rendille, Borana and Gabra and therefore my study focusses on this gap in the literature.



NB: Arms/guns is not really a driver, but presence of guns acts to increase the chance of a greater violence when there is conflict.

Figure 3: A diagrammatical Framework representation of the variables that guide the study (Maxwell, 2005).

CHAPTER THREE

3 METHODOLOGY.

3.1 Methodology

According to Rajasekar et al. (2006), a methodology is a standardized way to solve a problem or it is a science of studying how research is to be conducted. This study employs mixed methods which helps for conducting a survey, and it utilizes a questionnaire that comprise of multiple closed-ended questions and open-ended questions (Kothari, 2004).

The research was conducted using a case study research design. Thomas (2010) defined case study as an “empirical inquiry that investigate[s] the present phenomenon within its real-life context” (p.309). A case study uses more than one method of data collection and can be informed by quantitative and qualitative data.

3.1.1 Overview of the study area, Marsabit County

Marsabit County lies 550km north of Nairobi and 350km south of the Kenya-Ethiopia border as shown in figure 4. On the left is the location of Marsabit Town in Kenya. On the right, Marsabit County, with two main ethnic areas and three wards where research was conducted, is shown). The county borders three other counties: Isiolo, Turkana and Wajir. It is the largest county in Kenya, covering 70,961 square kilometers. The county has a population of 292, 000 people as per the 2009 National Census (Scott-Villiers et al., 2014). The county is populated by different ethnic groups including the Nilotic Samburu, Turkana and Cushitic Rendille, Gabra, Borana, and Burji. All the ethnic groups in Marsabit County

are pastoralist. As per the tradition of all these ethnic groups, men are responsible for taking care of animals, while women stay at home and perform day to day household duties. The Nilotic groups in the region are few and only occupy the small region around Lake Turkana. The Nilotic group mostly fights with Pokot communities in the north-western part of the country.

The Turbi, Korr and Burbisa sub-counties are found in the arid part of Marsabit County, where the Borana, Gabra and Rendille communities live, and whose main sources of food and income comes from livestock. However, due to harsh climatic conditions, the traditional sources of food and income are increasingly becoming unsustainable.

The study focusses on the three main regions where Rendille, Gabra and Borana reside. The region consists of the Korr Ward, the North Horr Ward, and the Turbi Ward, as shown in figure 4. I traveled to three villages in each ward for data collection.

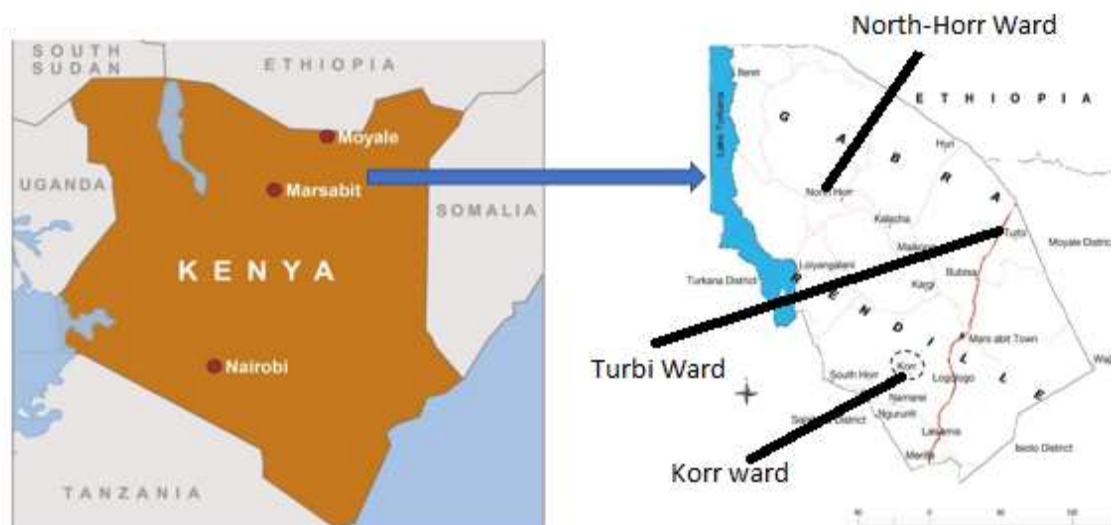


Figure 4: Area of study Source: Survey of Kenya 2014

3.1.2 Research Design

A research design is a plan that is used to give answers to research problems. This research was conducted by collecting qualitative data from focus group discussions as well as quantitative data from household survey. The research employed four instruments which include:

1. Interviews with individuals from households
2. Focus group discussions with community members in the region
3. Focus group discussions and interviews with government and representatives from NGOs.

The reason for choosing the case study approach is to determine and report the perceptions of the population under study. This design assists in reducing information bias and maximizes the reliability of the data collected. Household surveys and focus group discussions were used to gather information from the residents of the Korr, North-Horr and Turbi Wards. The cross-section of the households that participated in interviews and group discussions were selected by the area chiefs and based on their knowledge about the subject. The interviews were conducted using structured questionnaires with both open-ended and closed-questions. Representatives from the government and NGOs were also interviewed. The regional coordinator of each organization was able to select the individuals to participate in the interviews.

3.1.3 Samplings Techniques

Marsabit County is one of the districts in the northern region of Kenya. Most of the villages in the county were not easy to access due to political pressure from different ethnic groups and poor infrastructure. The researcher was able to select a convenient and feasible

sampling method together with the district commissioner in the county. This idea emerged when the researcher found some remote areas inaccessible due to poor road connections, especially during the rainy season. In most cases the researcher used motorbikes to access the remote areas. See Figure 5 and 6.

However, there were drawbacks accompanying the sampling method. If the researcher appealed to people to voluntarily participate in a survey, the responses could be distorted and unrepresentative.

The study sites were selected together with the area chiefs. The regions with high numbers of conflicts, and the population distribution of the three major tribes, were considered when selecting the study sites. Once the study sites were identified, the area chiefs from these regions were able to select households to participate in group discussions, and people were selected according to their knowledge about the subject.



Figure 5: Marsabit-Korr road, during the rainy season



Figure 6: Motorbikes are the means to travel in some remote areas

3.1.4 Sample Size

The sample size of the study is 100 households and 15 government and NGO employees from across the region. The interviews with government and NGO officials were conducted separately in each region. Individual surveys and focus group discussions were conducted in each region. One focus group discussion was conducted in each village. All the villages were covered. Below are the sample sizes and the complete list of the interviewees.

Table 2: Number of households and the list of respondents

Conflict Prone Wards	Number of Villages	Villages selected	Total population in each village	Number of respondents	Sample Proportion
Korr	3	Namarei	11439	10	0.08742
		Ngurunit	1057	10	0.946074
		Ilaut	988	10	1.012146
North Horr	3	Kalacha	5477	10	0.182582
		Maikona	3233	15	0.463965
		Dukana	2456	10	0.407166
Turbi	3	Burgabo	8333	10	0.120005
		Burbisa	1255	15	1.195219
		Ashura	2356	10	0.424448
			36594		0.273269

Table 3: List of the interviewees from each Ward (Government and NGOs)

Organization	Number of respondents	Position held
Kenya Red Cross	1	Regional Coordinator
Care Kenya	2	Staff member
KEPSA	1	Manager

World Vision	1	Regional Coordinator
District Commissioner	1	Head of the district
NASCOP	1	Officer
County Government Officer	2	Officer
KARLO	1	Manager
PISP	1	Manager
BOMA Office	1	Manager
Marsabit Catholic Mission	3	Officers
Total respondents	15	

3.2 Data Collection Method

The data gathering process occurred between June 22 and July 24. According to Rajasekar et al. (2006) and Eyassu (2013), before obtaining information from the respondents, you need to know the respondent's motivation for sharing the required information, whether they possess the required information, and their familiarity with the questions. The researcher shared beverages with them two days before the date of collecting data. This is to motivate the respondents while getting some pre-data collection studies in order to meet the objective of the studies.

The questionnaires collected qualitative and quantitative information. Rowley (2012) states that the most appropriate instrument for collecting large amounts of information in a short is a questionnaire (see appendix 1). The questionnaires were divided into two parts,

including demographic questions and questions relating to the objectives of the study. It also includes group discussions to obtain further information.

The interviews of government and non-governmental representatives were conducted in county commissioner's office while the community members' interviews took place at the villages where pastoralists are located. The researcher was accompanied by four females during the interviews or group discussions which involved female participants in order to reduce negative cultural norms, where participants are rarely available to answer questions from the opposite sex. The interview process was successful because the area chiefs assisted me in all the areas.



Figure 7: Area chiefs, Marsabit County.

3.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are appropriate for this research because the researcher will be able to ask questions in response to the replies of the interviewees. According to

Bryman (2015), semi-structured interviews give the researcher more freedom to ask more questions in response to what the interviewees say in response to questions.



Figure 8: Interview with community members



Figure 9: Interview with community elder

3.2.2 Focus Groups Discussions

According to Bryman (2012), focus groups help in exploring a specific theme or subject in depth. The idea behind using focus group discussions was to give the participants a chance to share their thoughts and feelings about the topic under study. The discussion went well without any disruption or disagreement. The focus group discussion was conducted in all three regions. The Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) was held at Korr, North Horr and Kalacha respectively. All representatives from the nine villages were involved. Both female and male Group discussions were conducted differently to give chance for women and men to contribute much to the discussion. The focus group discussion questions were more likely related to the questions in the individual questionnaire. However, FGDs questions of community members was slightly different from that of governmental and non-governmental organization representatives. Some of the questions discuss with the members of the community were focusing on the cause of the conflict, the community satisfaction of government and non-governmental organization in dealing with conflict. While that of government and non-governmental organization were focusing on the cause of the conflict in the region, measures taken by their organization to adapt drought impact, if the adaptation projects were successful and their role in reducing the escalating conflict in the region (see appendix 3).

1st Focus group discussion- Korr Ward

The first focus group discussion was held in Korr ward at county social hall. Community representatives from the three villages i.e. Namarei, Ngurunit and Ilaut were involved. The

female and male group discussion were held separately to avoid any inconvenience that might occur due to cultural practices.

2nd Focus Group Discussion- North-Horr Ward

The second focus group discussion took place in North-Horr ward at the Kalacha primary school compound. Representatives from each village i.e. Kalacha, Maikona and Dukana were involved in this focus group discussion.

3rd Focus Group Discussion- Turbi Ward

The third focus group discussion took place in Turbi ward at a member of county assembly's office compound. The representatives from each village i.e. Burgabo, Burbisa and Shura were involved in this discussion.

4th Focus Group Discussion- Representatives from government and non-governmental organization.

The fourth focus group discussion took place at the county commissioner's office in Marsabit Town. The participants invited were officers from various sectors in government and NGO representatives. The focus group discussion had the same purpose and the same questions from the above focus group discussions were used.



Figure 10: Focus Group discussion in North Horr



Figure 11: Focus Group Discussion in Korr



Figure 12: Group discussion in Kalacha

3.3 Data analysis

Data collected from the three regions was coded and checked for errors and omissions. The responses to the questionnaires were analyzed using the Microsoft Excel, however, the responses from open ended questions, observations and note of quotes were reported by descriptive narrative, as a qualitative analysis. The quantitative data was analyzed using Microsoft Excel. All the questionnaires which had been presented for interview were returned for analysis and that translate to 100 percentage of the returns.

3.4 Likert Scale.

The answers from the respondents were categorical, the extent of which one factor contributed to conflict was given as high, moderate and low. For example, “Mr. Orre said lack of pasture is the most important cause of conflict”. On the other hand, Mrs. Garimeyo said lack of pasture is important, but actually it is lack of water that really drives conflict to

a very high extent. Therefore, I assigned the answers into different numerical categories. For example, (4-5) meaning agreed to a very high extent, (3) moderate extent or unsure and (1-2) agree to a very low extent or not at all.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

In any research that requires human participation, it is important that those providing the information are informed about the intention of the study. No one should be forced into providing the information; they should do so voluntarily and knowingly. According to (Kirby et al., 2006), ethical procedures protect both researchers and participants. Alan Bryman, (2012), considered four ethical principles: whether there is any harm to the participants, intrusion of privacy, whether there is deception and whether there is informed consent.

Before field work was conducted, the researcher received ethics approval from University of Cape Town Science Faculty Ethics Committee.

The researcher ensured that the group discussion, interview techniques and the participant observations would not harm the participants. The researcher also guaranteed confidentiality and assured participants that the information collected would only be used for the study. Where the respondents refused to have their pictures taken, the researcher collected, analyzed and reported on the data without using pictures of the respondents.

The interviews in each ward were conducted in the chief's office, and the area chief selected individuals to answer the questions and invited them to the meeting where there was good security. The researcher also made adequate preparations together with the area chief in order to protect ourselves and the participants against harm.

People had different views which sometimes caused quarrels among the members. In light of this, the researcher advised the participants to constructively appreciate differences of opinion and avoid negative conflict that might distract from or disrupt the discussions.

Many participants especially females felt strong emotions during the interviews which made them cry, became angry, struggle to regain control and abruptly change the topic. The researcher was able to take a direct approach and explored their feeling and asked why they are upset or uncomfortable. The researcher also gave them breaks for them to relax their minds and avoid topics that will close conversational space. The police camp administration is located near the chief's office and there were no injuries, though the medical facilities were available near to where the discussions were conducted.

The researcher's supervisor is experienced in conducting research in conflict-prone areas, and the researcher consulted with him before undertaking the data collection and was able to make regular contact with him about the researcher's safety.

Paid female research assistants assisted the researcher in conducting interviews with the female participants. They were interviewed alone, without receiving any interruption from men and to maintain religious prescriptions.

The research questions were not prejudiced against any tribe or community, which helped in avoiding conflict that might be caused by the questions. The three communities are also far away from each other; the researcher did not disclose any information from previous interviews to participants subsequently interviewed.

By avoiding conflict and negative associations, this research will have a positive impact on future research in the area, and other researchers will be able to use the findings for future research.

3.6 Limitation of the study.

The main challenge in this study occurred during the research period, some of the areas such as Kalacha and Maikona were not accessible due to political tension, and the researcher had to arrange security with the area chief and a police officer to conduct the research. Although we conducted our interviews, the presence of the security officers may have affected the responses from respondents. Most of the people are fear being associated with any meetings due to fear of political victimization, and it took me and area chief several days to make respondents understand that the research was meant only for academic purpose. The religious and cultural practices also affected the research as female respondents were not allowed to answer questions from a male. Female research assistants were present during interviews to overcome religious or cultural limitations.

Ensuring the researcher and respondents' safety was also a limitation, since threats could forestall or end the research. The research was conducted in June, which was a good time since the communities were celebrating 'soriyo', cultural celebrations to honor the ancestors, and hence there was no fear of war, beyond political tension.

There was limited time to conduct the data collection, since three regions across a large geographic area were covered in a month. The researcher managed to collect data in all three regions during that period.

CHAPTER FOUR

4 RESULT SECTION

In this chapter, the pragmatic findings in relation to the research objective are presented. All the information collected from the three wards which represent all nine villages namely Namarei, Ngurunit, Ilaut, Kalacha, Maikona, Dukana, Burgabo, Burbisa and Shura are presented here. In the first part, the demographic information of the respondents is covered. Perception of drought is mentioned in the second part. The causes of conflict and extent of which different factors are considered important in contributing conflict is mention in part third and fourth part respectively. The fifth part will present the findings from government and non-governmental organizations. Results and discussions are presented in the sixth part. Peace building interventions and recommendations from the members are presented in part seven, eight and nine.

4.1 Demographic characteristics of the respondents

This section represents the demographic characterization of the community members from 9 (Nine) villages across Marsabit County. The demographic categories were characterized by gender, occupation, age, marital status and level of education. The distribution of community members by their gender is given in figure 13.

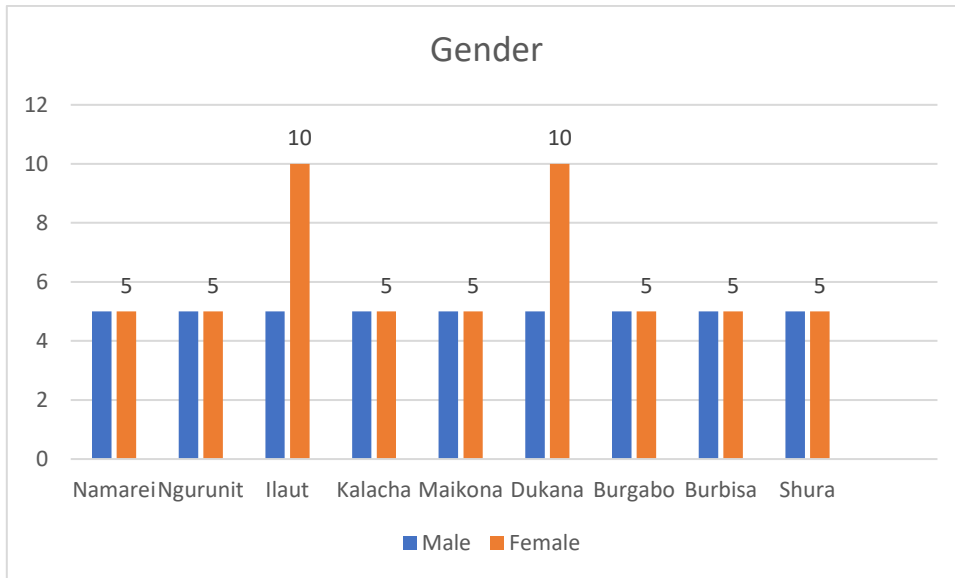


Figure 13: Number and Gender of respondents in each village

According to data shown in figure 13, the number of women who participated in responding the questionnaires are 55, while 45 were male. The areas where I conducted my interviews are market areas and villages where most of them were female. The researcher has opted to balance the respondents between pastoralists, farmers and other business people. This is because both have different view concerning the subject. According to cultural practices of these communities, men are always responsible of looking after the herds and most of the time females are left behind to take care of the children. Therefore, most of the time men are not available in the village. The distribution of the community members by occupation is given in figure 14.

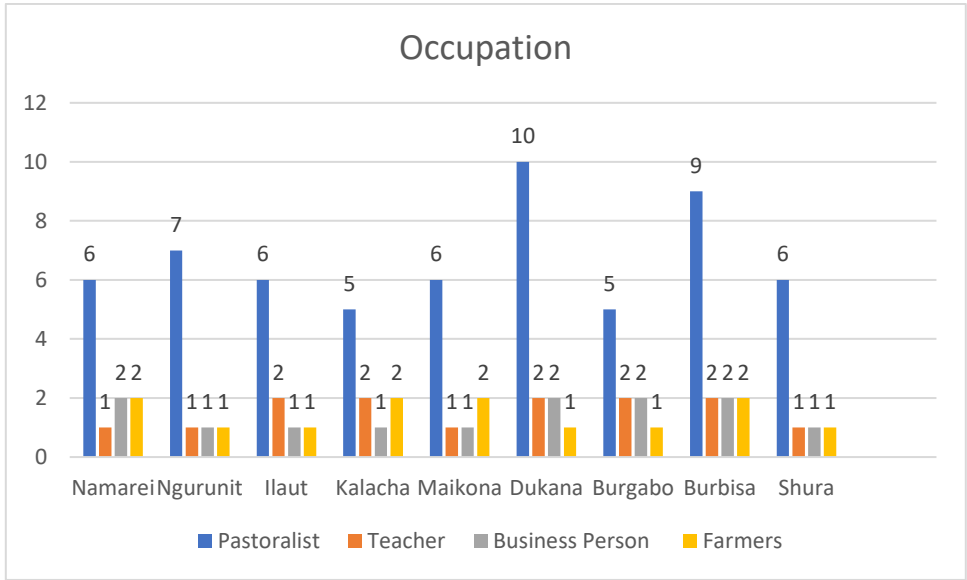


Figure 14: Occupation of the respondents

The result in figure 14 indicate that majority of Marsabit County community members are pastoralist. Out of 100 people interviewed, 60 people were pastoralist, 13 were teachers, 13 were business persons and 14 were farmers. The distribution of the community members by age is represented in figure 15.

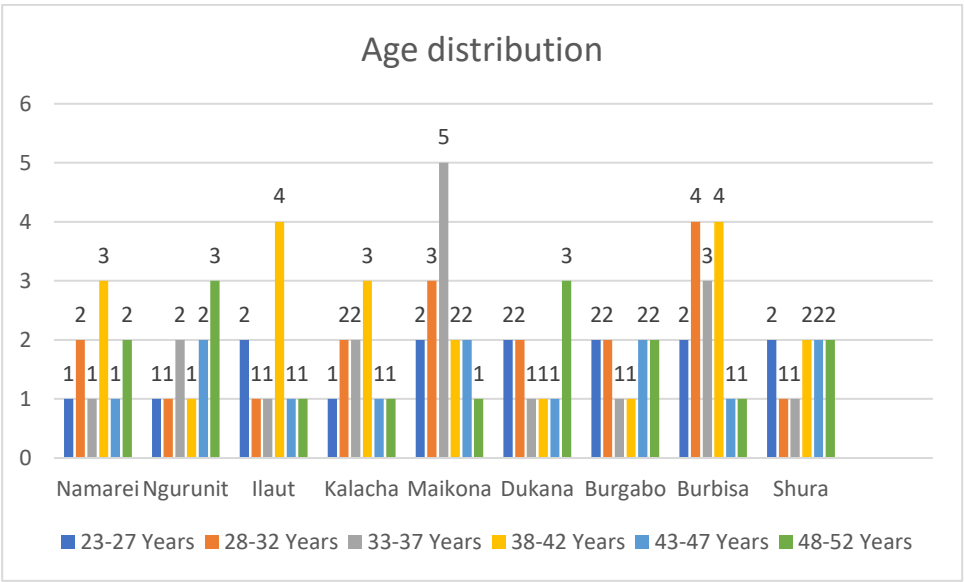


Figure 15: Distribution of Marsabit County community members by age

It is clear from the data shown in figure 15 that majority of the people who have been interviewed in Marsabit county fell under the age bracket of 38-42 years. Out of 100 people who have been interviewed in the region, 21 of them fell under the age bracket of 38-42, 18 were age 28-32 years, 17 were age 33-37 years, 16 were age 48-52 years, 15 were age 23-27 and 13 were age 43-47.

65 percent of the respondents were married while 20 percent were single and 15 percent of the respondents were either widows or widowers. The distribution of Marsabit County community members by level of education is given in figure 16.

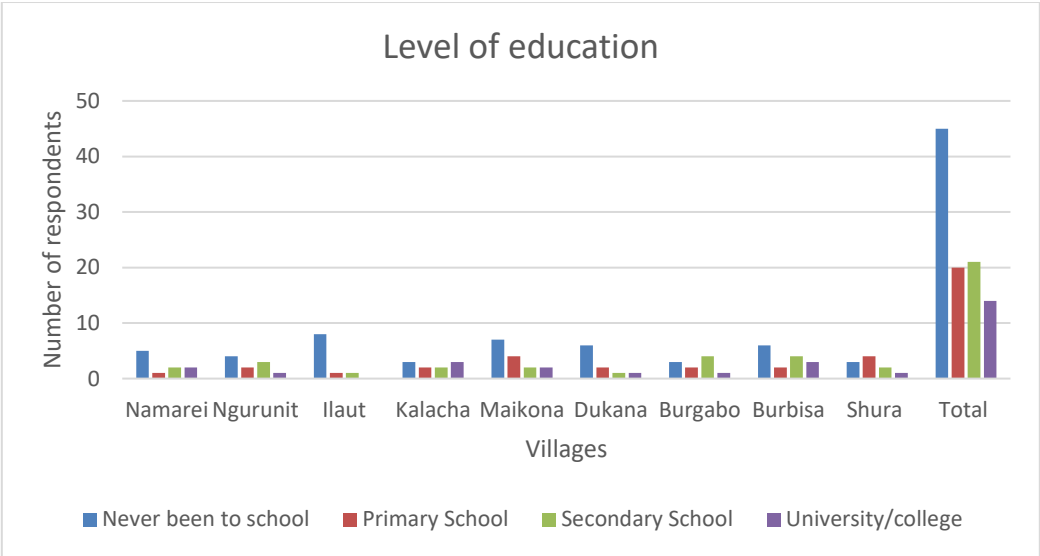


Figure 16: Distribution of level of education in Marsabit County

The results in Figure 16 indicate that, majority of the people in Marsabit County have not gone to school, this is also related to the community being pastoralist, they tend to move around in search for pastures, and hence they are not able to access education. Out of the 100-people interviewed, 45% have not attended the school, 20% attended primary school, 21% attended secondary school and 14% attained tertiary education. The result points out that majority of Marsabit County Members have not attained tertiary education.

4.2 Perception of Drought

In Marsabit County, communities understood drought in different ways, (Appendix 1,

Q.18 A. what is your understanding of drought?)

The table 4 summarizes the perception of community members on drought.

Table 4: Perception of community members on understanding drought

Perception on understanding drought	Percentage of the respondents
Scarcity of natural resources i.e. water and pasture	91
Punishment from God	5
Period of death and hunger	4

The table 4 shows that most respondents (91%) understood drought to be scarcity of natural resources i.e. pasture and water while others understood drought to be punishment from God (5%) and period of death and hunger (4%). From the group discussion, Rendille, Gabra and Borana referred to drought as *Nabhay*, *Khoot and Boon* respectively. These words describe drought as a period during which community experiences scarcity of pasture and water for their livestock.

Some members also described drought as a situation that severely affect the condition of every living thing. Some of the key informants by the names Garimeyo (female from Rendille tribe who is a pastoralist) and Abduba (Male from Borana tribe who works on his own private business) mentioned that:

Drought is a serious catastrophic that affect every living thing. Not only we lose our livestock during this period, but many people die to malnourished caused by

deficiency of food in the region. If government and other organization cannot save us, then we will all die.

Focus group discussion also revealed that some of the community members interpreted drought as a religious act. Respondents stated that when the community fail to follow the commandments of God and traditional values of the society, the consequences is always the drought as a punishment from the creator and this will continue until when people will ask for repentance and follow the traditional norms.

4.3 Possible causes of conflict in Marsabit County

The finding under this part will be presented under different categories to look at the cause of Conflict in Marsabit County. Some of the areas highlighted by community members are; Scarcity of natural resources, cultural factors, political dominance, population and governance.

The respondents from all the regions considered environmental challenge as the main cause of the conflict in the County. Almost 98 % of the respondents mention drought as the main cause of the conflict. According to one of the interviewee Mr Kililo (See figure 17), the scarcity of pastures and water during the dry season forces pastoralist to move with their livestock to graze in territory of other people. When these groups meet at the water and pasture points, they always involve in conflict.



Figure 17: Interviewee Mr. Kililo

Table 5: possible causes of conflict in Marsabit County

Causes of conflict (Response from all three wards in the County)	Low extent	Moderate extent	Very high extent
Governance	47%	32%	21%
Scarcity of resources (pasture, water and land)	0%	0%	100%
Poverty	10%	30%	60%
Cultural factors	12%	35%	53%
Population	3%	22%	75%
Politics	60%	10%	30%

The result in table 5 indicates that, majority of the community members in Marsabit County agreed that scarcity of natural resources is the highest possible cause of the conflict. Other factors which were also given high possible of causing the conflict are politics, population increase, poverty, cultural values and governance. The extent of which scarcity of natural resources such as water, pasture and land on conflict is indicated in figure 19.

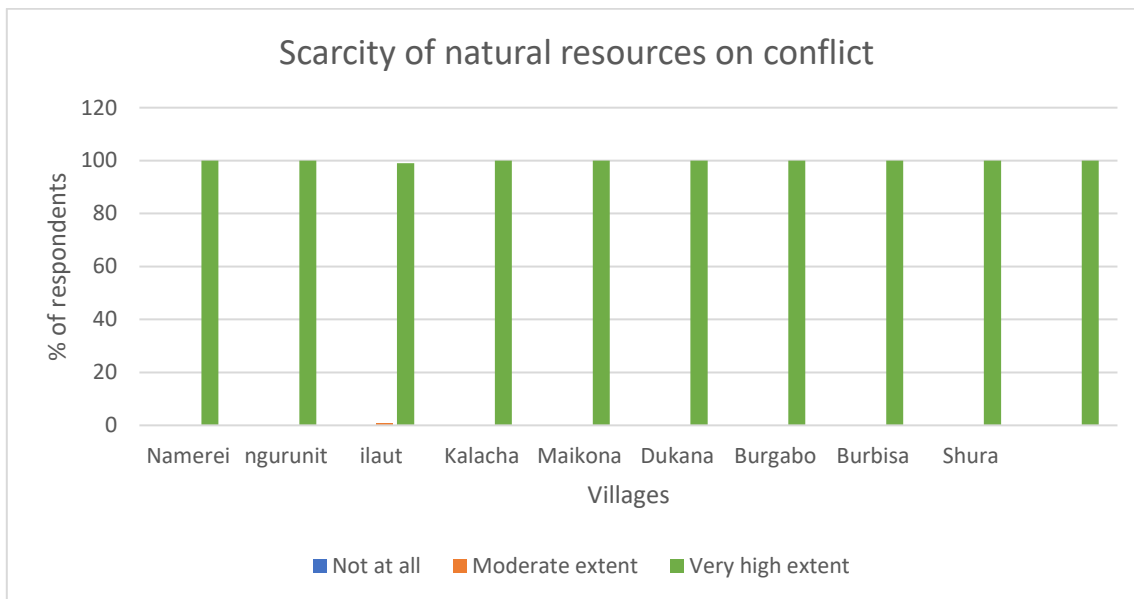


Figure 18: Extent of which scarcity of Natural resources influenced conflict in Marsabit County.

The result in Figure 18 indicate that, majority of the people in Marsabit County agreed to a very high extent (100%) that scarcity of natural resources influences conflict in the region. Almost all three wards agree (100%) scarcity of natural resource as the main factor, except Ilaut village in Korr ward with 99% to high extent and 1% t moderate extent. According to Mr. Sugutha, lack of sufficient grazing land, inadequate of water due to severe droughts in the area made them to move long distance in search for this resource. Sharing of resources with other community brings about conflict as some tribes wanting to control the water point. The summary of influence of political dominance on violence is given in figure 19.

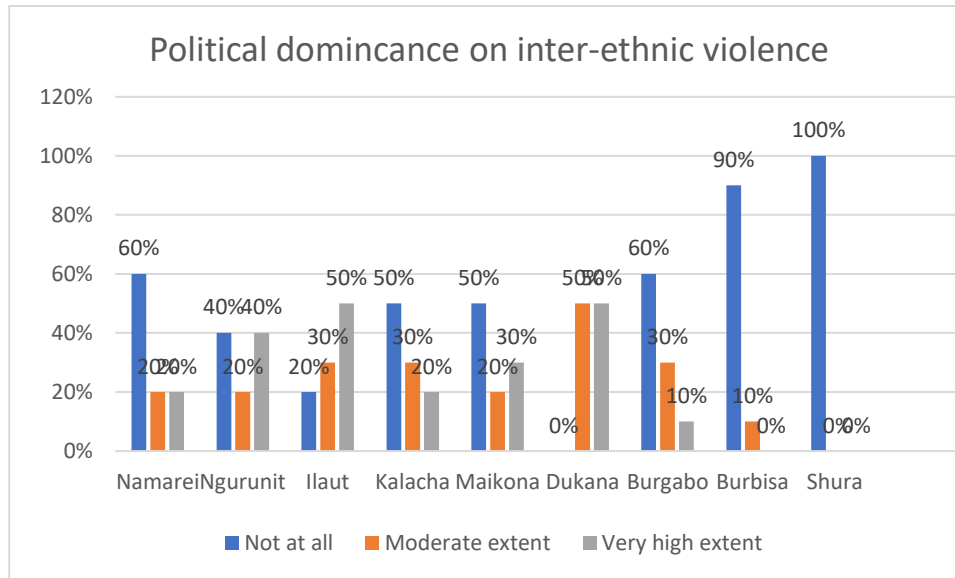


Figure 19: The extent of which politics have contributed to conflict in Marsabit County.

The results on figure 19 shows that almost (30%) of respondents in Marsabit County agreed that politics contributed much to the conflict in Marsabit County. According to Mr. Sulate and Mrs. Sarkhayo, politician who have been elected always favor their own tribes, hence hindering equitable distribution of resources and thus fueling conflict in the county.

This section looks at the influence of politics on Marsabit county conflict which is one of the factors stated by the respondents. Politics is an activity within the context of ethnicity that is used to gain or hold power in the government. If the politician elected in the parliament, the tribe which he or she comes from celebrate and show disrespect to other tribes since they are now in the government. During election period voter importation from one village to another by politicians has fueled the conflict in the region as all the tribes are fighting to gain the power over the other (Scott-Villiers et al., 2014). The attacks on the opposing ethnic groups who stay in other constituencies forced them to flee till the elections are done.

However, from the perceptions of the community members we can see that three villages i.e. Kalacha, Maikona and Dukana as shown in table 6 agreed to a very great extent that political dominance contribute to the conflict in the region. On the other side, other villages i.e. Ngurunit, Namarei, Ilaut, Burgabo, Burbisa and Shura agreed to a very low extent that politics contribute to the conflict in the region. Formation of new political alliance by Rendille, Gabra and Burji left out Borana and other communities out of the political positions. The Boranas and other communities which felt politically marginalized fought with the new political alliance.

During the last election, the Rendille, Burji and Gabra formed a political alliance named REGABU to secure top seats from the majority Borana clan. Because of this alliance, the REGABU won all the political seats in the County. Therefore, most of the respondents in areas where Borana community dominate agreed to a very high extent that political dominance contribute to the conflict in the region. This is because Borana community were surprised and disaffected by the scale of their loss during the elections, hence they never felt safe under the ruling of the current governor. According to Mr. Guyo Liban, an informant from Borana community stated that,

“This is the first time that we are losing an election, all three other community formed a coalition to vote against us, they attacked us from every corner and they think they control the county as their own. We will make the county ungovernable”

The summary of influence of administrative boundaries and governance on Marsabit county conflict is given in figure 20.

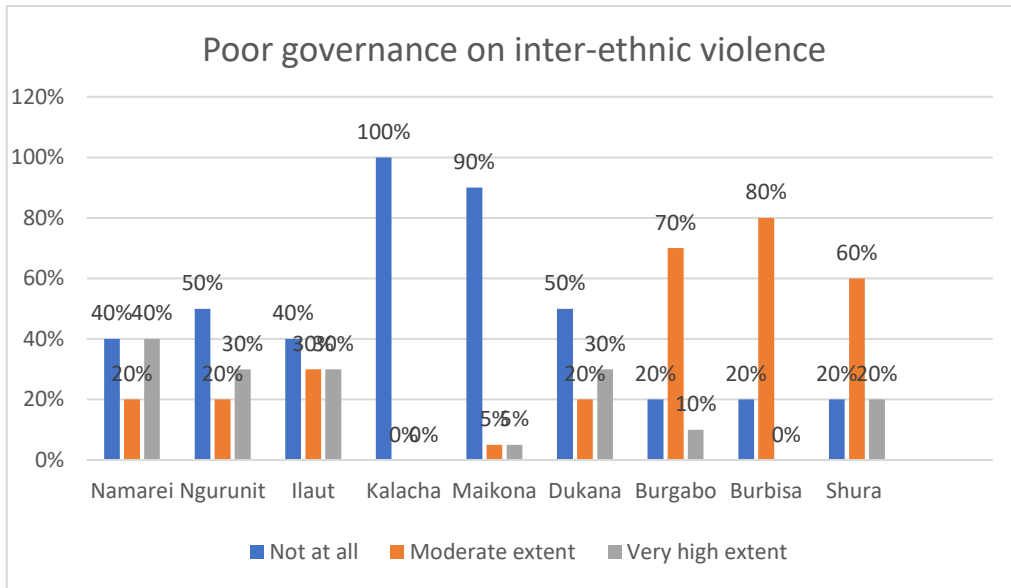


Figure 20: Influence of poor governance on conflict (% across the County)

The figure 20 reveals that Most of the Marsabit County community members agreed to a very low extent that poor governance contribute much to the conflict in Marsabit County. However, villages such as Namarei, Ilaut and Dukana villages agreed to a very high extent that poor governance influences inter-ethnic conflict in the region.

According to respondents, the government have never implemented policies that address the needs of pastoral communities in Marsabit County. The respondents felt that privatization of grazing lands and failure to distribute resources fairly are the main issues that fuel the conflict in the region. However, this was not the case for some of the community who are represented in the top seats of the County government. Some statements from the people shows that even if the government failed to implement policies that address the needs of the local communities, the communities who are represented in the County government did not complained much since they want to protect the image of the community by protecting their leader.

Some of the respondents like Mr. Karaba Sahado, Mr. Musa Okola and Mr. Abdulahi Arbele, explained the failure of the government to consider conflict of Marsabit County a national one has contributed more to the conflict. Government response to this conflict is always slow and provocative. According to the respondents, anti-stock theft unit from the police department always bit everyone in the village, thus causing more tension in the region. This gave the culprits a chance to conduct the attacks freely without any fear from the government. Mr. Khobocha who is a young armed warrior, see figure 21, explained to me during the interview, the army conduct very harsh operations during the disarmament in which they punished them indiscriminately, rape and violate human rights. This damages relations between the government and community.

The failure of governing the area has contributed inequalities among the tribes. The tribe which is more affected by this is Borana since they don't have representative in the top seat of the County government. In some cases, the politicians armed their specific tribes to counter attack or take control of the available resources. According to some respondents the government did not include pastoralist communities in the past, until when the constitution was changed and county government came in. The communities in the pastoral region remain underdeveloped and under-represented in political life. The new county government is now giving opportunity to all tribes in the County to take part in political decision-making process at all level. The respondents expressed the hope in County government to reduce the tribal conflict in the area. The influence of cultural values on Marsabit County conflict is given in Figure 22.



Figure 21: Mr. Khobocha, Marsabit community warrior

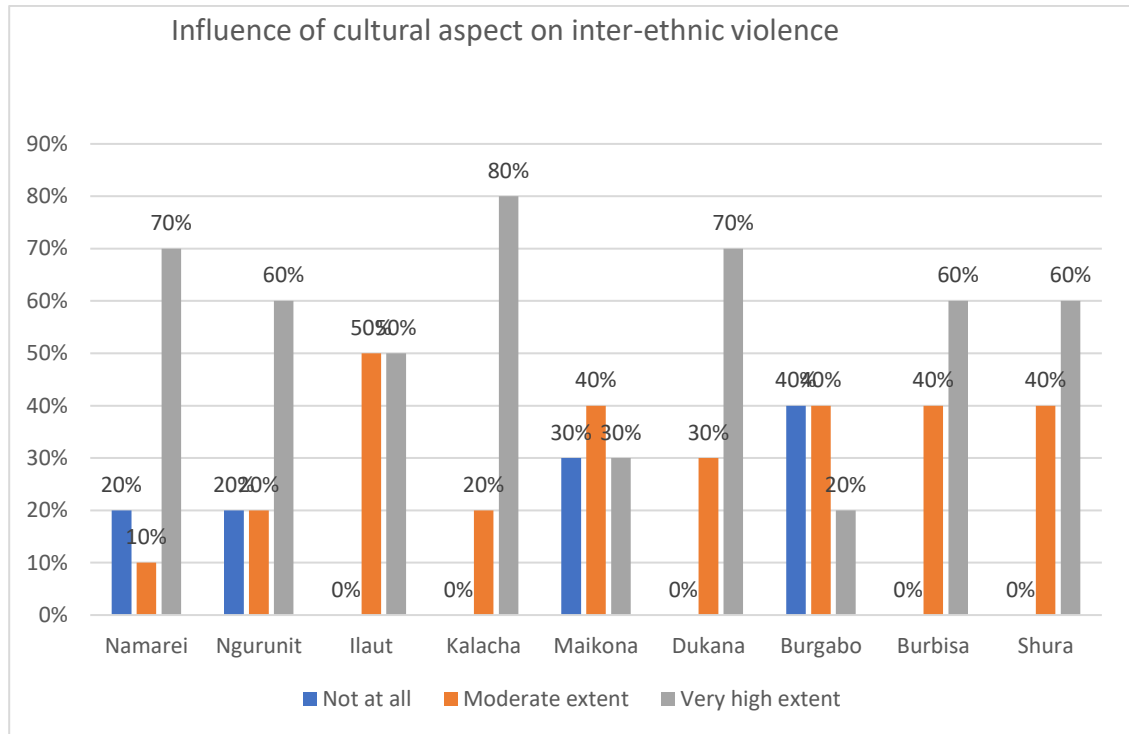


Figure 22: Influence of Cultural aspects on conflict

The findings on figure 22 indicate that majority of the respondents agreed to a very high extent that cultural practices influence inter-ethnic violence. According to Mr. Haloro, Mr. Abagada and Mr. Boru who are the leaders of Rendille, Gabra and Borana respectively, explained that community sees raiders and their leaders as heroes and men with great values in the society. Therefore, constant praise of heroes in cultural festivals and meeting encourages others to engage in raiding. The three leaders explained the difficulties in managing the conflict in this generation. The conduct and the activities of warriors in conducting their duties and responsibilities within and outside the community were governed by rules which are now diminishing. The young warriors conduct attacks and kill indiscriminately without any communication from their leaders and this fueled the conflict in the area.

Among the Marsabit community, livestock plays very important part in their entire socio-economic life. The social status in the community is determined by the number of livestock one poses, hence those without enough herds are forced to raid to overcome the condition of being called poor. According to respondents, the cultural practice of giving the dowry in terms of Cattles before marriage was cited as the major cause of the conflict in the area. Even though the livestock numbers have drastically reduced due to drought, no family will allow their daughter to marry a man who will not pay many livestock for dowry. To marry or protect your girl from being married by other men who possess many livestock, warriors are forced to go and raid from the neighboring community to get the livestock required. To qualify as a warrior, see figure 21, he must be circumcised, armed, mature and brave. This is based on the responsibilities that he is expected to undertake. From the interview, Kulamo, Faraya and Segelan agreed that the main duty of a warrior is to protect the community against their potential and actual enemies but another respondent by the name Namiricho explained that the warriors are used in the recent conflicts to raid and counter raid the other communities and he continued blaming them being the major source of the conflict in the area. The extent to which population increase influence inter-ethnic violence in Marsabit County is given in figure 23.

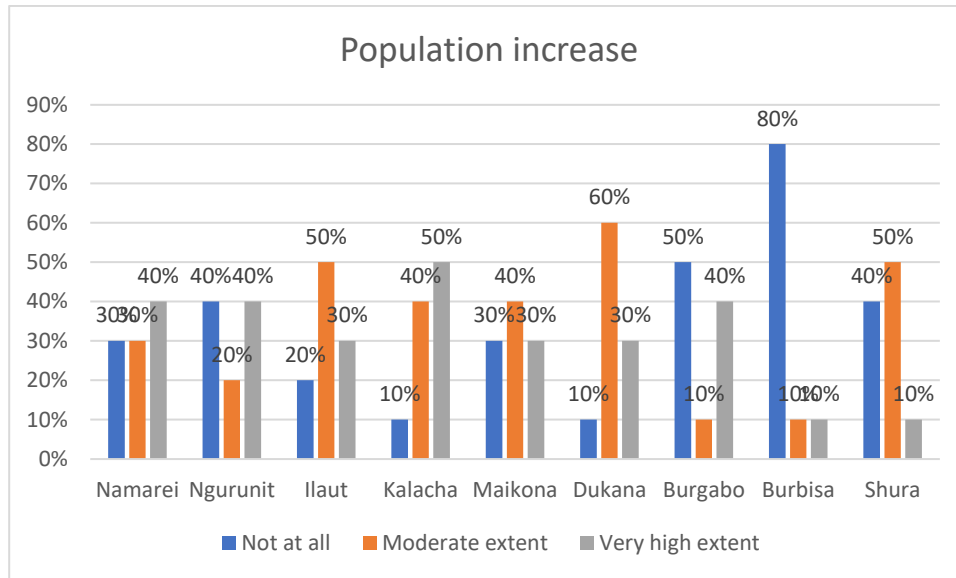


Figure 23: Population increase on conflict in Marsabit County

According to respondents across the county in Figure 23, expeditious population growth in the region has resulted into high competition for limited natural resources. High concentration of semi-permanent houses in many regions of the County has caused many people frustrated due to lack of alternative source of livelihood. This force some poor people to engage in violence to sustain themselves. However, half of the respondent did not consider it as the main cause of the conflict. They explain that the climatic condition forced many people to engage in violence. Halimo who was in the group said that, “if there is enough pasture and water for livestock, the population increase could not have led to violence in this county”. Though not everyone agreed to a very high extent that population increase has contributed to the violence, quite big proportion (40% to a very high extent and 40% to a moderate extent) considered it to be the major factor that contribute to the violence in the County. The extent of which the poverty has contributed to the increase in violence in Marsabit County is given in figure 24.

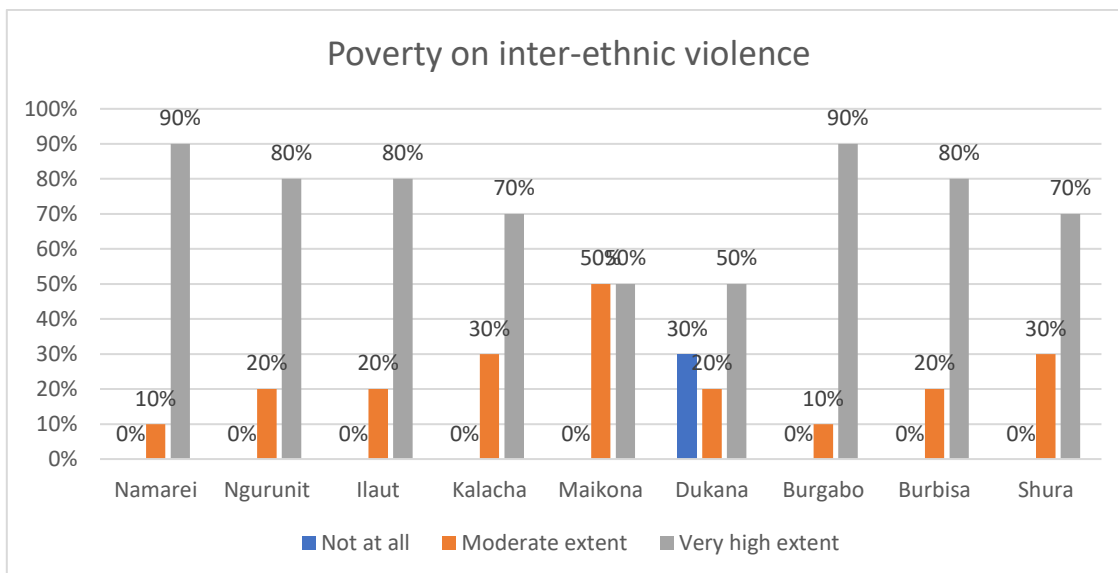


Figure 24: Poverty and Marsabit County Conflict

High widespread of poverty across the County is another factor that influence peace and stability among the pastoralist. The residents in this area have extremely limited access to basic needs search as food, water, shelter and health services. Furthermore, there has also been poor developed infrastructure which undermined the resource development in the region. According to the respondents, limited availability of basic resources in the region left many people with no viable economic activities. Many of young men who are left destitute start engaging in raids as their only way of acquiring source of living. One of the respondent by the name Laramoy, a villager of Korr ward clarified this scenario by grieving,

“We lived in this area for centuries and for all those days we are affected by the drought, poverty and other problems. We don’t have anything to feed our children since the small livestock we had was stolen by our enemies, we are unable to cope up with the situation hence our “morans” (warriors) get involved in cattle rustling to get back our livestock and that is the only way we survive”.

The findings from figure 24 suggest that poverty impacting on availability and access to basic needs are critical cause of violence motives among the pastoralist communities in Marsabit County. However, some respondents did not consider poverty as the main cause of the conflict, the suggested that the pressure from political marginalization, long lasting droughts and diseases are the main cause of the poverty in the region.

In terms of actions taken by the community members non-governmental organizations and government in resolving the conflict, all the respondents replied as it was not satisfactory, lack of coordination among the governmental and non-governmental organizations still need to be improved.

4.4 Extent of which different factors are being considered important by the community in contributing to the conflict in the region.

The research employed categorical values which are (1-2), (3) and (4-5). The values (1-2) means that the factor has contributed to the conflict to a very low extent, while people who are undecided whether the factor has contributed to the conflict in the area or not are categorized in (3) and (4-5) means that the factor has contributed to the conflict in the area to the highest extent.

This section will look extent of which the community members have considered two variables important at the same time in contributing to the conflict. The percentage of people who considered one variable important (4-5) at the same time choose other variable important (4-5) or least important (1-2) or undecided (3) is summarized in the tables below.

Table 6: Scarcity of natural resources and Poverty

		% of people who considered scarcity of natural resources important at the same time say poverty is low	% of people who are undecided if resource scarcity is important at the same time undecided whether poverty is important	% of people who considered scarcity of natural resources important at the same time say poverty is high
Nat Res Scarcity	4/5	3	14	82
	3	0	0	1
	1/2	0	0	0
		½	3	4/5
		Poverty		

Table 7: Scarcity of Natural Resources and Cultural values

		% of people who considered scarcity of natural resources important at the same time say cultural values is low	% of people who are undecided if resource scarcity is important at the same time undecided whether culture is important	% of people who considered scarcity of natural resources important at the same time say culture is high
Nat Res Scarcity	4/5	4	23	72
	3	0	0	1
	1/2	0	0	0
		½	3	4/5
		Cultural values		

Table 8: Scarcity of Natural resources and Politics

		% of people who considered scarcity of natural resources important at the same time say politics is low	% of people who are undecided if resource scarcity is important at the same time undecided whether politics is important	% of people who considered scarcity of natural resources important at the same time say politics is high
Nat Res Scarcity	4/5	23	14	63
	3	0	0	1
	1/2	0	0	0
		½	3	4/5

		Politics
--	--	----------

Table 9: poverty and cultural values

		% of people who considered poverty important at the same time say cultural value is low	% of people who are undecided if poverty is important at the same time undecided whether cultural value is important	% of people who considered poverty is important at the same time say cultural value is high
Poverty	4/5	2	20	61
	3	1	3	10
	1/2	1	0	2
		½	3	4/5
		Cultural values		

Table 10: Poverty and governance

		% of people who considered poverty important at the same time say governance is low	% of people who are undecided if poverty is important at the same time undecided whether governance is important	% of people who considered poverty is important at the same time say governance is high
Poverty	4/5	32	17	34
	3	6	0	8
	1/2	1	1	1
		½	3	4/5
		Governance		

Although all the factors are revealed to contribute to the conflict in the region, some factors are considered very likely together in contributing to the conflict. For example, the result in table 6 shows that community members agreed that scarcity of natural resources together with poverty contribute to the conflict in the region to a very high extent. The percentage of the people who considered scarcity of natural resources important and at the same time said poverty is high is 82%. We also clearly see in table 7 and 8 that scarcity of natural resources is considered important together with cultural values and politics. Another interesting result is shown in table 9 where percentage of respondent who considered poverty to contribute to the conflict to a very high extent while the same time said cultural value is high is 61%, while in table 10 the percentage of respondents who agreed to a very high extent that poverty contribute to conflict in the region and the same time agreed to a very low extent that governance contribute to the conflict in the region are 32%.

4.5 Finding from Governments and Non-Governmental Organizations Employees

This section presents the findings collected from local government representatives and NGOs in Marsabit County. The interview was conducted in county social hall in which five government representatives and ten representatives from NGOs in every ward were interviewed. The interviews have been based on a semi-structured interview guide, see appendix 2.

4.5.1 Demographic characteristics of the respondents

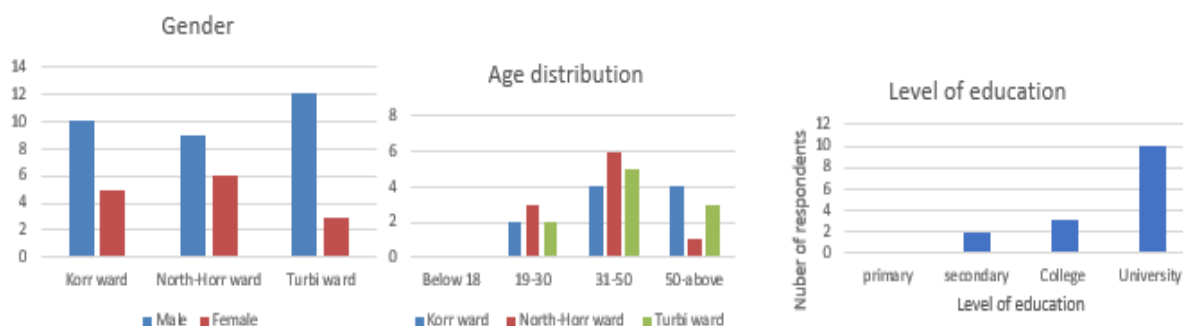


Figure 25: Demographic composition of respondents

According to figure 25, most of the respondents who participated in the study were male. This indicates that most of the top positions in NGOs and Governmental offices are held by men. It is also clear that, majority of the Governmental and Non-governmental organization were aged 31-50 years.

Moreover, majority of the respondents attained university degree, 10 out of 15 members of NGOs and government representatives attained university degree while 3 members graduated from college and 2 from secondary school. The respondent's high educational status helped the interviewer to interview them without the need of interpreting and the respondents understood the questions and the objectives of the study.

4.5.2 The causes of inter-ethnic violence in Marsabit County.

The findings under this part will cover the responses from the government and non-governmental representatives on the causes of conflict in the County. The extent to which scarcity of natural resources influences inter-clan violence is given in table 16.

Table 11: Scarcity of Natural resources on Conflict

Influence of Scarcity of natural resources on inter-clan Conflict	Frequency	% of respondents
High extent	15	100
Moderate Extent	0	0
Low	0	0

The results from table 11 shows that all the representatives from government and non-governmental organizations agreed to a very high extent that scarcity of natural resources contribute to the conflict in the region. County commissioner Mr. Michael Mwangi stated that:

“Most of these communities’ mode of living revolves around livestock, thus the scarcity of productive assets for livestock which is water and pasture due to severe drought in the region has contributed to the conflict”

The extent to which political dominance contributed to inter-ethnic conflict in the area is given in table 12.

Table 12: Influence of political dominance on conflict

Influence of Political dominance on conflict	Frequency	% of respondents
High extent	14	99
Moderate Extent	1	1
Low	0	0

The findings on table 12 shows that 14 representatives of the government and non-governmental agree to a very high extent that politics influence inter-ethnic violence. However, 1 (one) representative agreed to a moderate extent that politics influence conflict in the region. Extent to which cultural values influences inter-ethnic violence is given in Table 18.

Table 13: Cultural Values on inter-ethnic violence

Influence of cultural values on inter-ethnic violence	Frequency	% of respondents
High extent	10	67
Moderate Extent	3	20
Low	2	13

The table 13 shows that many representatives from government and non-governmental organizations (10 representatives, 67%) agreed to a very high extent that cultural practices among the community members contribute to the conflict in the region. However, 3 representatives (20%) agreed to a moderate extent that cultural values influence conflict in the region while 2 representatives (13%) agree to a very low extent that cultural values influence inter-ethnic conflict. The extent to which poverty influences inter-ethnic violence is given in table 14.

Table 14: Influence of poverty on inter-ethnic violence

Influence of poverty on inter-ethnic violence	Frequency	% of respondents
High extent	14	99
Moderate Extent	1	1
Low	0	0

Table 14 shows that majority of representatives from Government and NGOs agreed to a very high extent (14 representatives, 99%) that poverty influences inter-ethnic violence in the region.

According to Mrs. Kathleen Colson (CEO, BOMA), stated that:

“Youth unemployment in Marsabit County, have pushed young men into cattle raiding in order for them to survive”

The extent to which population influences inter-ethnic violence is given in table 20.

Table 15: Influence of population increase on conflict

Influence of population increase on inter-ethnic violence	Frequency	% of respondents
High extent	6	40
Moderate Extent	6	40
Low	3	20

Table 15 shows that several representatives 6 (40%) agreed to a very high extent that population influences inter-ethnic violence. Other representatives 6 (40%) agreed to a moderate extent that population influences inter-ethnic violence while 3 representatives (20%) agreed to a very low extent that population influences the violence in the region.

According to Peter Lotemu,

“The population increase among the pastoralist communities has increased the number of dependants in the families, hence forcing many people to engage in cattle rustling to support their families”

However, according to Henry Wambille,

“The population increase does not contribute to the conflict as long as the scarcity of natural resources is dealt with, when water and pasture are available, there will be plenty of milk and each family will tend to support their own dependants no matter how population increase”

The extent to which governance influences inter-ethnic violence is given in Table 16.

Table 16: Influence of governance on inter-ethnic violence

Influence of governance increase on inter-ethnic violence	Frequency	% of respondents
High extent	3	20
Moderate Extent	7	67
Low	5	33

Table 16 shows that few representatives 3 (20%) agreed to a very high extent that governance influences inter-ethnic violence. Majority of the representatives 7 (67%) agreed to a moderate extent that governance influences inter-ethnic violence while 5 members (33%) agreed to a very low extent that governance influences inter-ethnic violence in the region.

4.6 The main cause of the conflict in the area

Addressing question 9 of the survey, the opinion on the main cause of conflict in the region is presented in figure 26.

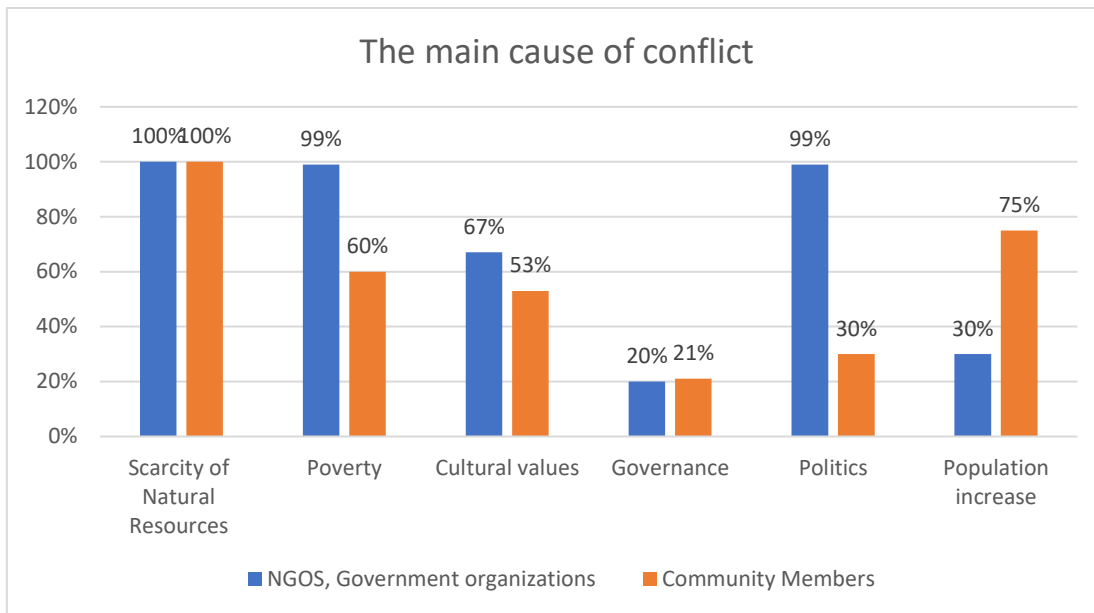


Figure 26: The main cause of the conflict in the region

The findings from figure 26 shows that both community members, NGOs and governmental representatives stated the main cause of conflict as scarcity of natural resources. Other factors such as poverty, politics, population increase, cultural values and governance was also mentioned.

4.7 Results of Focus Group Discussions

The findings from this section present the information collected from three community level and representative from Government and None-governmental organization focus group discussion in Marsabit County. Several questions came up in each group discussion. See appendix 3.

The participants in the focus group discussions mentioned the prolonged droughts which led to the scarcity of natural resources as the main factor that contributes to the conflict in the region. The local members have mentioned the above factor to increase the competition over limited scarce resources. Diminishing resources force pastoralist communities to fight with one another. The respondents also stated Lack of regulations in many water points has

contributed violence in the region. For example, one community wanting to monopolize the utilization of available resources in one place result to conflict with another community group to overtake the competing group out of the area.

The participants in the focus group discussions have also explain that high level of poverty in the county is the other source of conflict. The respondents stated that, many pastoralists in the county find themselves unable to escape from poverty, this may be due to the loss of livestock through droughts, diseases or violence. In order to survive, poor pastoralist target livestock of other tribes and keep themselves from poverty trap. Lack of employment opportunities and alternative livelihood for the poor households perpetuated inter-clan violence.

The respondents also agreed that poor family planning in the region had contributed to the population increase in the county. The practice of polygamy in the region gave men more privilege to bear many children even without thinking the existence of poverty in the household. This increased more pressure and hence violence among the pastoralist.

All of them agreed that the existing poor management of resources should be improved. They agree to implement more programs for example, digging boreholes, distributing grass to drought affected areas. The members of NGOs also agree to initiate other income generating activities that could help the communities to cope with the changing environment.

4.8 Peace building interventions by Government and NGOs strategies

The government and non-governmental organizations agreed climate change adaptation programs being very important in the County and they have it on their plans. Some of the NGOs like Kenya Red Cross, BOMA, Care Kenya, and Action Against Hunger had

started some programs like entrepreneurship, livelihood programs and training to the pastoralists. However, the respondents agreed some ongoing climate impact adaptation by local government are not addressing well the environmental challenges.

Livelihood programs, for example planting drought resistant crops in this area will help poor households to engage in agriculture and this potentially reduce violence among the communities. For example, Waldaa irrigation project in Turbi has benefited more than 600 households. This project is funded by The Climate Adaptation Fund and National Environmental Authority (NEMA) Kenya. As per now Kenya Red Cross Society has implemented this project in all three wards.

Another program which was implemented by Kenya Red Cross is Cash transfer programs. More than 41,000 drought-affected families received Kenyan Shillings 3000 (\$30). According to critical evaluation of the Red Cross drought program, families benefiting from this program are now eating more often and from more diverse menu. More than 60% of the population involve in the program have now reported to afford daily food compared to 20% before the program began. The program has curb the conflict which is always influenced by underlying poverty and prolonged drought. According to Kenya Red Cross Secretary General Dr. Abbas Gullet, lack of alternative source of livelihood forced many people to revert to raiding but since the program has started the conflict in the region was reduced by almost 90%.



Figure 27: Kenya Red Cross beneficiaries receiving a humanitarian cash grant of 3000 Kenyan shillings. Source IFRC, 2017.

The community members also agreed that the programs implemented by the Non-governmental organizations were satisfactory and is helping them to overcome challenges of prolonged droughts. However, they are not pleased with the actions taken by the government in reducing conflict in the region. The list of the projects, the organization which implement it and objectives of the project is given in table 17.

Table 17: List of projects in Marsabit County

Projects	Organization	Objectives

Waldaa Irrigation	Kenya Red Cross	To provide alternative and sustainable livelihood to residence in Turbi region.
Conflict Prevention, Peace & Economic Opportunities for Youths	Kenya Red Cross Society	The project is geared towards increasing peace and stability in Northern Kenya by supporting youth to engage in economic activities
Rural and Entrepreneur Access Project.	BOMA	Helping pastoral communities in northern Kenya to build a pathway out of extreme poverty
Kenya Arid Lands Disaster Risk Reduction	CARE Kenya	Aim to increase resilience to drought and increasing access to water supply and sanitation services in Marsabit County
Kenya Rural Development Program (KRDP)	KARLO	Develop new technologies, information and knowledge sustainable for Arid lands

		and enhancing resiliency to drought in Marsabit County
Resilience and Economic Growth in the Ari-Lands-Improving Resilience (REGAL-IR)	County Government of Marsabit	To increase the capacity of pastoralist communities to cope with and adapt to a greater prevalence of drought due to climate change.
Dam construction projects in Marsabit County (Badasa Dam, Korr Dam, North-Horr Dam and Bubisa Dam)	National government and County government	To make water available for the community in Marsabit County.
Peace building intervention and reconciliation	Catholic Mission Church	Initiate dialogue and peace building between communities.
Pastoralist Integrated and Support Program (PISP) projects	PISP-Kenya	Constructing animal watering centres across Marsabit, to facilitate shared husbandry practices and helping to train local

		people in different peace building sectors
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The respondents cited government projects take long period to complete. The government representatives acknowledged the opinions from the community members and they claim budget constraints from the national government but assured that County government will allocate budget for all these programs.

The government representative mentioned some of the projects that was given priority in the County budget i.e. Construction of dams, digging boreholes and distribution of grasses from green areas to all the regions of the county was another climate change adaptation strategy.

The government also deployed security forces in every sub-county and wards. This is to allow forces to patrol and act against the raiders. The forces also help the community to recover all stolen stock and return them to their owners. The recovered livestock were to be counted and identified by the owners and if some are missing, the people who are in charge are forced to replace and compensate the victims. Most of the time people who lost their livestock exaggerate the number of livestock stolen and this increased further conflict.

The government of Kenya has recruited Home guards in every village in the county as a means of protecting the communities from external attacks. The Home guards are selected from each village and trained by the government paramilitary unit. This will help in dealing

with the escalating conflict in the area since they understand the geography and tactics used by the raiders.

Local and international Non-Governmental Organizations have directly implemented different activities that contribute peaceful existence among the communities. List of the programs, the organizations who are working on this and the drivers of conflict of which initiative is aiming to address is given in table 18.

Table 18: Different programs and the drivers of conflict of which initiative is aiming to address

Activities	Organizations that work on this.	Drivers of conflict of which initiative is aiming to address
Drought resilience and Livelihood programs	Kenya Red Cross, CARE-Kenya, World Vision, Pastoral Integrated Support Program (PISP), County government of Marsabit and BOMA.	Drought, scarcity of natural resources and poverty
Peace building Activities	Kenya Red Cross society, Catholic Mission church, County government of Marsabit,	Political differences, governance, Resource scarcity, Revenge and

		hatred among the communities.
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4.9 Lacunas in the current peace building interventions

There were several lacunas identified in the current peace building initiatives. This section illustrates some of the lacunas identified in peace building initiatives in Marsabit County and the suggestions on how to improve the current initiatives.

Lacunae	Suggestions
Poor coordination among the peace building committees in the region. This has led to increase of conflict among the communities in the County since most of the time the committees tend to side their own tribe.	Work with county commissioner to improve communication among different committees in each ward
Lack of proper planning in reducing conflict in the region. Government and other stakeholders failed to reduce conflict in the region, hence this will give chance to perpetrators to conduct raids in the region	Build up strategic way to analyze conflict and proper planning to mitigate conflict in the region
Political leaders not committed in preaching peace in the county. Each political leader	Sensitize political leaders on peace building initiatives by sharing information with them

<p>wants to favor his/her own tribe hence the conflict among the communities will continue due to incitement from the political leaders.</p>	<p>and invite them on peace building dialogues in the county</p>
<p>Aiming wrong groups of people in conflict resolution process i.e. old people who lost command or not able to participate in peace activities. This did not resolve the conflict among the community since they involve wrong people in conflict resolution processes.</p>	<p>Involve those victims who lost their livestock and love ones through violence and active youth in the society</p>
<p>Peace and reconciliation is made with small section in the village rather than entire tribe. Many people felt isolated from the process hence making it had for the conflict to stop in the region.</p>	<p>Peace and reconciliation in the county should cover all the entire tribe</p>
<p>Area leaders and peace committees compromising with the criminals. The perpetrators are always released from jail by the area leaders. This fueled the conflict in the region as perpetrators know they will be</p>	<p>Area chief and community leaders must work together with county commissioner and take necessary action to arrest the criminals</p>

released even if they conduct raids from the other communities.	
Poor communication and coordination among NGOs and government organizations in dealing and responding to conflict. Government security officials always wait from their commander before responding to the conflict, hence this poor coordination between two bodies have failed to reduce the conflict in the region.	Improve communication among the NGOs and government institutions in the area to harmonize peace-building initiatives and strategies

4.10 Recommendations from the community members

The community members gave some recommendations for factors influencing inter-ethnic conflict in Marsabit County. These recommendations include:

4.10.1 Creating jobs for the youth

Among the community in Marsabit County, poverty is highly becoming the main origin of vulnerability. The community members suggested that government need to create jobs for the youth and those who have lost their herds from raids. Lack of employment and government failure to compensate those who lost their herds is cited as the cause of the conflict in the area. When government create more jobs to youth and compensate those who lost their livestock, the inter-ethnic conflict reduce since there will be alternative source of livelihood.

4.10.2 Distributing more forces

National and County security services have ignored to provide security to pastoralist communities in Marsabit County. Therefore, the community members have suggested that more police officers are needed in main conflict areas. This will reduce conflict that might arise from competition of natural resources and retaliation. The community members also want more policing, and policing that is independent and unbiased.

4.10.3 Provide shelter and other basic needs to the displaced households

Lack of compensation and basic needs by the displaced people would revert to conflict. The frustrated groups would revert to conflict since they don't have any other alternative to survive. The community members wanted the government to provide necessary aid to the victims to reduce inter-ethnic violence.

4.10.4 Support policies during the drought periods

The members of the community recommended government to increase more aid during the period of droughts. This will help to reduce vulnerability during the crisis hence will be able to reduce violence among the communities. For example, other organizations such as Red Cross provide capital during droughts. Thence the government need to come up with more programs such as providing capital to the affected families and restocking of herds after the droughts. This will reduce inter-ethnic violence that will erupt from cattle raiding.

4.10.5 Support from national government

The members of the community members suggested that conflict involving pastoralist communities is always not considered as a national threat. Therefore, it is important for pastoralist conflict to reach a level at which national government became involved. This will reduce conflict as the national authorities will take appropriate action to provide necessary resources to curb with the violence.

CHAPTER FIVE

5 DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter has five sections. The first section provides conclusions drawn from the study.

The second section gives the comparison between findings from the community members and representatives from government and NGOs. The ways in which community, government and non-governmental organizations perceptions map onto theory of community and inter-community conflict is mentioned in section three. The fourth and fifth section gives conclusion and recommendation.

5.1 Discussion of the findings

The findings from the study revealed that scarcity of natural resources influences pastoral conflict in Marsabit County. The major finding of the study was that scarcity of natural resources influences inter-clan conflict in Marsabit County to a very high extent. Other factors such as Politics, population increase, governance and cultural values were also closely linked to the conflict in Marsabit County.

The findings are in line with the previous studies such as Bevan, J. (2007), Baqe, (2012) and Atieno, (2016) who found that scarcity of natural resources has attributed to the conflict in the region. According Bevan (2007), the scarcity of natural resources in the area forces communities to venture into theirs' territory since they are unable to cope with insufficient water and pasture to feed their herds. On the other hand, the owners of the territory in which the resources are located deny other communities access to resources and so conflict erupts. Adano et al. (2009) also agreed that scarcity of natural resources has contributed to the conflict in the region.

The study found out that poverty widespread across the region is another factor that influence the pastoral conflict. According to respondents, limited availability of basic resources in the region left many people with no viable economic activities. This led to conflict among the pastoral communities in the region. The findings are in line with other previous studies conducted by Burton (1997), Gurr (1970) and Nathan (2004). The authors found that poverty due to lack of basic human needs has generated conflict in the region.

The study found that political dominance influences pastoralist conflict in the region. The major finding was that political dominance contributed to conflict to a very high extent. The findings are in line with other previous researcher such as (Scott-Villiers et al., 2014), Carrier and Kochore (2014) and Little et al. (2008) who noted that political competition among political elites as cause of conflict in the region.

The findings from the studies revealed that cultural values influence pastoral conflict in Marsabit County. The study results also revealed that different cultural practices such as high bride price has contributed to conflict among the communities in the region. The findings are in line with the previous researchers such as Wepundi et al. (2012), Wamuyu (2014), Kimokoti and Ating'a (2014) who found that cultural practices such as polygamous marriages in the region coupled with expensive dowries forces Morans to raid their neighbours to obtain the herds required for dowries. Wepundi et al. (2012) found that cultural practises such as marking the passage from childhood to adulthood is mostly demonstrated by an acquisition of livestock via raids and killing other members of groups seen as enemies. Such cultural practices clearly put more pressure on Morans, young worriers, and force them to acquire arms which they will use during raids.

The study found out that population increase in the region has contributed to the conflict in the region to a moderate extent. According to the studies high concentration of semi-permanent houses in many regions of the County has caused many people frustrated due to lack of alternative source of livelihood. This force some poor people to engage in violence to sustain themselves. However, half of the respondent did not consider it as the main cause of the conflict. The findings are in line with previous researcher such as Haro et al. (2005) and Berger (2003) who contends that population increase in the region in an environment with limited resources has contributed to conflict in the region.

The study found that poor governance in the region has contributed to conflict to a very low extent. Poor distribution of resources fairly to all the members of the community is the main issues that fuel the conflict in the region. However, this was not the case for some of the community who are represented in the top seats of the County government. Some statements from the people shows that even if the government failed to implement policies that address the needs of the local communities, the communities who are represented in the County government did not complained much since they want to protect the image of the community by protecting their leader. The findings are in line with previous researchers such as Goodhand (2001) and Diba (2015) who noted that poor distribution of resources by government and lack of capacity to access basic needs played are major role in fostering pastoral conflict in the region.

5.1.1 Key factors perceived to be the driving factors of the conflict in Marsabit County. Different factors that are perceived by respondents as contributing to the conflict in Marsabit County are a scarcity of natural resources, poverty, population, poor governance, cultural values and politics.

5.1.1.1 Average ranking of all the possible drivers of conflict in the region

The average ranking of possible factors of conflict in the region is given in figure 28.

Factor	Average Ranking
Scarcity of Natural Resources	100%
Poverty	79%
Politics	64%
Population	52%
Cultural Values	60%
Governance	20%

Figure 28: Average ranking of all the possible drivers

5.1.1.2 Findings of Scarcity of natural resources on inter-clan conflict

One of the objectives of the study was to establish how people perceive drought in terms of exacerbating conflict in Marsabit County. According to the interviews and focus group discussions, both community members and representatives from the government and NGOs agreed to a very high extent that prolonged droughts – which cause a scarcity of natural resources – play a significant role in exacerbating conflict in the region. The respondents in the county mentioned that an irregularity of rainfall in the region in the past few years has affected the livelihoods of people in the community. The scarcity of water and natural resources in the region resulted in poor livestock production, which compelled pastoralists to move in search of these resources. When the communities meet at water and pasture points it leads to conflict as everyone wants to take control of the scarce resources.

The government and NGOs have implemented livelihood programs which focus on climate change adaptation in the county. The local government also helped the community by digging boreholes and dams across the county. However, not all the regions in Marsabit County have benefited from the program. The Kenya Red Cross and other organizations introduced drought resistance plants and other sustainable development endeavors to help the community adapt to a rapidly changing environment.

The respondents considered the actions taken by the NGOs as satisfactory in dealing with prolonged droughts and conflicts in the region. However, they were not satisfied with actions taken by the government in addressing these issues.

5.1.1.3 Findings of poverty on escalating conflict

A majority of respondents agreed to a very high extent that poverty influences inter-ethnic conflict. The respondents explained that limited resources in the region left many people with no viable economic activities. This left many young people destitute, thus forcing them to engage in raiding. However, not all respondents agreed to a very high extent that poverty contributes to the conflict in the region.

5.1.1.4 Findings of Cultural values on inter-ethnic conflict

A majority of respondents perceived cultural values as one of the factors that influenced inter-ethnic conflict in the region. Cultural practices such as high bride price is cited as the major cause of the conflict in the region. The high dowry forced youths to raid their neighbors' subjugated cattle to acquire livestock for dowries. The findings further reveal that the continuous praising of heroes in cultural festivals and other traditional meetings has encouraged others to engage in raiding. The respondents also mentioned that social status in

the community is determined by the number of livestock one possesses, so that those without enough herds are inclined to raid to avoid being called poor.

5.1.1.5 Findings of Politics on inter-ethnic conflict

Among respondents, a majority of the members in Kalacha, Maikona and Dukana regions in the County agreed to a very high extent that political dominance influences inter-ethnic conflict. The findings further reveal that other regions such as Burbisa, Ngurunit, Namarei, Shura, Burgabo and Ilaut agreed to a very low extent that political dominance influences inter-ethnic conflict. Voter importation and forming of political alliances by different groups has also bred conflict among the communities in Marsabit County.

5.1.1.6 Findings of Population on inter-ethnic conflict

In terms of population increase, most respondents agreed to a very high extent and moderate extent that population increases influence inter-ethnic conflict in the region. Rapid population growth has resulted into strong competition for limited resources. A lack of alternative livelihoods to support the increasing population drives many people to revert to raiding, thus fueling inter-ethnic violence in the region.

5.1.1.7 Findings of poor governance on inter-ethnic conflict

In terms of population increase, most respondents agreed to a very high and moderate extent that poor governance influences inter-ethnic conflict in the region. However, respondents in Kalacha, Maikona and Burgabo agreed to a higher extent than respondents from other regions that poor governance influences conflict in the region. The respondents mentioned favoritism of certain tribes for top political positions in the county government, and an unequal y distribution of resources as the main issues that fueled conflict in the region. The study reveals that government failures to implement policies that address the needs of the local people also contributed to the conflict in the region.

5.2 Comparison between findings from community members and representatives from government and non-government organizations

Both community members and representatives from government and NGOs agreed to a very high extent that a scarcity of natural resources and poverty influences inter-ethnic conflict in the region. The research also reveals that both government and NGOs and community members in Kalacha, Maikona and Dukana agreed to a very high extent that political dominance influences conflict in Marsabit County, unlike other community members from Namerei, Ilaut, Ngurunit, Shura, Burbisa, Burgabo and Kalacha who agreed to a very low extent that politics influences inter-ethnic violence in Marsabit County.

The political differences between the Borana and other communities was influenced by the political alliance formed by other tribes. During the last election, the Rendille, Burji and Gabra formed a political alliance named REGABU to secure top seats from the majority Borana clan. Because of this alliance, the REGABU won all the political seats in the county. Therefore, Borana community members who reside in Kalacha, Maikona and Dukana felt sidelined in terms of employment and access to resources in the county, hence possibility of violence in communities is high.

5.3 Ways in which community, government and non-governmental organizations perceptions map onto theory of community and inter-community conflict.

As discussed by Azar, formation of communal group always leads to cleavage over racial, political, religious and cultural lines. When a certain group want to dominate the available resources over the others, there is likely of frequent outbreaks of violence. Based on perceptions from the members of Marsabit County, one group or tribe may enjoy the satisfaction of limited resources in the region while others not. Outrage resulting from the need deprivation are expressed collectively among the other communities. Thus, mapping onto this theory of social conflict.

Azar also argued that lack of satisfaction from the government especially minority groups is likely to result in violent community. The perceptions of the members of Marsabit County i.e. Borana agreed that lack of satisfaction from the county government and nepotism have contributed to conflict in the region. Thus, mapping onto this theory.

5.4 Conclusion

This study aimed to analyze the perceptions of locals on the role of drought in exacerbating contemporary pastoral conflict in Northern Kenya. In order to meet the objective of the study, different questions were asked. These questions were:

- How do pastoralist communities in Marsabit County perceive the role of drought as well as other possible factors in exacerbating inter-ethnic conflict in the region?
- How do government and NGOs in the region perceive role of drought as well as other possible factors in exacerbating conflict in the region?
- What are the different interventions used by the government and NGOs to address the conflict in the area and how effective have they been?

With respect to the first question, the people of Marsabit County have different perceptions on the effects of the drought. A majority of the participants perceived the drought to entail a scarcity of natural resources, while very few respondent perceived droughts as a punishment from God and a period of hunger and death. Within each of the three ethnic groups, Borana, Gabra and Rendille, a majority of the participants agreed to a very high extent that a scarcity of natural resources due to severe droughts

in the region has influenced conflict in Marsabit County. A core reason that was mentioned for an increase in inter-ethnic conflict during severe drought periods was the migration patterns towards places where limited resources such as water and pasture is available. Sharing of resources within the communities brings about conflict as one tribe attempts to control the resources. Although a drought-induced scarcity of natural resources is considered to be influencing conflict in the region, other factors such as poverty, politics, cultural values, poor governance and population increase were also perceived by the community members as influencing conflicts in the region.

Regarding the second question, the government and NGOs agreed to a very high extent that a drought-induced scarcity of natural resources influences conflict in Marsabit County. The participant also agreed that other factors such politics, poverty, population, poor governance and cultural values influences conflict in Marsabit County. The study agrees with other studies conducted in the region that drought-induced scarcity of natural resources, politics, population, cultural values, poverty and poor governance have direct influence on inter-ethnic conflict in Marsabit County.

The study also agrees with the framing of protracted social conflict on the basis that one group or tribe may enjoy the satisfaction of limited resources in the region while others do not. Outrage resulting from the deprived needs are expressed collectively among the other communities. In Marsabit County, one community always wants to control the limited resources i.e. water and pasture and top positions in the county government are dominated by a single communal group, in this case Gabra and Rendille. Therefore, protracted social conflict in Marsabit County occurs when the authorities fail to address the grievances of a certain community, for example, the Borana.

Regarding the last question, government and NGOs have implemented several interventions to deal with the conflict in the region. The interventions have been predominantly emergency responses during the severe droughts. For example, cash transfer services, emergency food aid, livelihood-enabling activities, and coping and adaptation strategies. Other interventions currently undertaken by the organizations include peace building among the communities and the recovery of stolen livestock. The community members consider actions taken by NGOs to deal with conflict in the region to be more satisfactory than government interventions. The government representatives concede the opinions of community members and claimed that budget constraints from the national government hindered them in delivering more interventions in the region. However, some projects – such as digging boreholes in all of the sub-counties, the distribution of grass, and the construction of dams – were given priority in the county government budget.

In conclusion, despite many aspects discussed by this and other previous studies, the Marsabit County conflict is mainly characterized by the drought-induced scarcity of natural resources. However, there are different factors that exacerbate the conflict among the pastoralist communities in Marsabit County. For instance, poverty, population increase, poor governance, politics, and cultural values have been seen as influencing the existence of Marsabit County conflict.

5.5 Recommendations

Based on the identified drivers, the following recommendations are proposed.

5.5.1 Drought-induced scarcity of natural resources

The county government and NGOs need to come up with more strategic ideas of climate change adaptation that could go hand in hand with the changing environment, such as various interventions that will support pastoral production during the face of droughts in the region to sustain pastoralism, for example, distribution of pastures, veterinary services, and markets for the livestock which are affected by the droughts need to be implemented. This supports the recommendations made by some others who are working on this problem.

There is a need to increase the budget allocated to pastoralist communities. This will promote sustainable development and climate adaptation programs in the county. Adding more security forces to the wards and major points where clans meet for pasture and water is also recommended.

The government should come up with disaster risk management programs in the county, especially the areas where environmental threats are experienced frequently. Furthermore, the government should build proper infrastructure in the region to enhance easy distribution of food and other services to the affected community.

5.5.2 Poverty

Poverty in Marsabit County as a result of the loss of livestock is another trigger that leads to inter-ethnic conflict. Most of the time poverty and livestock loss occurs through the effects of severe droughts and raiding. When the situation is dire and the family can no longer acquire its basic needs, the youth may turn to raiding activities in order to restock the animal loss and support the family.

Therefore, there is a need to adopt the best approach to curb poverty in the county. Creating more jobs for the youth and training them to gain skills for income generating activities is recommended. This will reduce idleness among the youth and thus reduce conflict in the region. Providing alternative livelihoods for the frustrated people who lost their livestock is recommended. As recommended by other scholars who work on this problem such as (Sharamo, 2014), there is need for the government to empower youth with different skills so that they can benefit from existing opportunities in the region. Youth should also be encouraged to make use of existing Development Funds to start alternative livelihood projects.

Other recommendations: provide shelter and other basic needs to the displaced households, increase peace initiative talks in every ward, increase medical aid in all conflict prone areas, and enable the immediate distribution of food to the all wards in the county.

5.5.3 Politics

Government and other organizations should work together with the community leaders and youths to implement peace building initiatives across the county.

Immediate prosecution of conflict perpetrators and preventing politicians from manipulating political processes is recommended.

Government should empower legal institutions that monitor innocent killings, hate speech especially from the politicians, and eviction.

Devising different ways to involving the politicians in conflict resolution processes in the county is advised.

All the politicians in the region and other stake holders should be involved in conflict resolution process.

5.5.4 Governance

The devolution of power in Marsabit County should be used to strengthen the participation of pastoralists in project planning so as to ensure that projects are relevant and supportive of community needs.

The Marsabit County government should support traditional approaches of conflict resolution by involving leaders and elders of the community in the structures of governance in the county.

The Marsabit County government should ensure an equal distribution of resources among the communities in the region. Representatives from all the communities should be involved in decision making processes in the county.

The county government and NGOs should work together with national government to coordinate and harmonize the local governance system with present public administrations and legal systems.

5.5.5 Cultural Values

Government and NGOs should formulate different policies that promote the formal education of pastoralists. This will help pastoralists to change some of their cultural beliefs that promote conflict in the region.

The government should link traditional legal mechanisms to a formal legal judicature.

Peace building initiatives through cultural festivals in the county should be promoted, since this brings together different communities in a non-aggressive environment which makes inter-community negotiation over certain issue much easier.

5.5.6 Population

The government and NGOs should assist people with alternative economic activities to support the increasing population and end a reliance on pastoralism.

The community leaders should educate the members of their community about family planning. This will assist in reducing the population growth which results in competition for scarce resources.

Government should create more jobs and provide alternative livelihoods to the communities in the region.

5.5.7 Recommendation for further research

Although this study aimed to tackle the role of climate versus other factors in driving conflict in Northern Kenya, it only focused on Marsabit County. There is a need to conduct the research in the nearby counties in Northern Kenya to find out if the same drivers exist.

There is also a need to conduct similar studies in Marsabit County to find out the role of county government in dealing with conflict in Northern Kenya.

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Date.....

Code.....

Name of the

village.....

Demographic

1. Sex

(1) Male

(2) Female

2. Age

(1) Below 18 years

(2) 19-30

(3) 31-50

(4) 51 – Above

3. Marital status

(1) Single

(2) Married

(3) Divorced

(4) Widow

4. Number of dependents

(1) 1-5

(2) 6-10

(3) More than 10

5. level of education

(1) Never attended

(2) primary school

(3) Secondary

(4) University

6. Occupation

(1) Farmer (2) trader (3) pastoralist

(4) Unemployed (5) Other

7. Duration stayed in the community

(1) Since birth (2) 1-10 (3) 11-20

(4) 21-Above

Objective 1.

8. what is the main environmental challenges you faced so far?

(1) Drought (2) Flooding (3) extreme temperature

(4) Cannot say

9. In your opinion, what is the main cause of the conflicts in the area?

(1) Drought (2) political power (3) Cattle rustling

(4) Others.....

10. Is there possibility that conflict among the communities is more during drought periods?

(1) Yes (2) no

Objective 2 and 3

11. How often do the community experience conflict?

- (1) Rarely per year (2) twice per year (3) more than 2 times per year
 (4) cannot say

12. What season of the year do the community experience an uprising of conflict. Why?

13. have you ever involved or affected by conflict?

- (1) Yes (2) no

If yes, go to next question. If no go to question number 17.

14. What was the reason for the start of the conflict?

- (1) Scarcity of water and pasture influence (2) religion (3) political influence
 (4) other.....

15. has conflict posed any impact on your livelihood?

- (1) yes (2) no

If yes, go to the next question

16. On which way has the conflict affected your livelihood

- (1) water shortage (2) Health problems (3) loss of livestock
 (4) other.....

17. describe the relationship between conflict and poverty in your community.....

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

Objective 4.

18. A) what is your understanding of drought?

b) During the drought periods, what are the coping strategies due community employ?

- (1) Migrate to another place (2) check dump construction
 (3) Planting trees (4) other.....

19. In your opinion, what do you think the level of NGOs in solving the climate related impact?

- (1) Good (2) fair (3) excellent (4)
not at all.

20. in your opinion, how do you see the government reaction towards solving conflicts?

- (1) Excellent (2) cannot say (3) fair
 (4) not good at all

21. what are the roles of the community leaders in solving the conflict?.....

.....
.....
22. Have there been any conflict resolution mechanism in the area?

(1) yes

(2) no

23. in your opinion, how can conflict be terminated?.....

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

Appendix 2. Interview guide: Government and NGOs

Ward.....

Date.....

Name of interviewee.....

Name of interviewee.....

Demographic

1. Sex

(1) Male

(2) Female

2.Age

(1) Below 18 years

(2) 19-30

(3) 31-50

(4) 51 – Above

3. Level of education.

(1) Never attended

(2) primary school

(3) Secondary

(4) University

4. what are the main causes of the conflict in the region.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

5. To what extent the impact mentioned above contributed to the conflict?.....

.....

.....

6. how often do conflict occur in the area?

- (1) rarely (2) twice per year (3) more than 2 times
 per year (4) cannot say

7. in your opinion, what is the reason for the start of the conflict?.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

8. in what way do conflict affect the livelihood of the community?

- (1) water shortage (2) Health problems (3) loss of livestock
 (4) other.....

9. is there any adaptation strategies during the drought seasons?.....

.....

.....

10. what are the actions taken by the government in solving the conflict?.....

.....

.....

.....

11.a What are the actions taken by NGOs to reduce the conflict?.....

.....
.....

11.b how do NGOs help the community during the drought periods?

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

12.In your opinion, what should be done to solve the conflict in the area?.....

.....
.....

Appendix 3. interview guide: Group discussion.

Date.....

Ward.....

Group.....

1. What are the causes of the conflict in the region?
2. Have you experience any environmental challenges?
3. How could these challenges have related to conflict?
4. Have you ever experienced conflicts?
5. What are the main reason for the conflict?
6. What measure do you/organization/government had taken to adapt drought impacts?
7. Do you think NGOs and Government drought adaptation programs are successful?
8. What are the conflict resolution mechanisms followed by your village?
9. What is the role of the NGOs in reducing the conflict?

10. Do you think government has taken adequate action in solving the conflict in the area?

11. What is the role of community leaders in conflict prevention?

12. In your opinion, what should be done in solving the conflict?

Appendix 4. Different factors are being considered important by the community in contributing to the conflict in the region.

Nat Res Scarcity	4/5	3	14	82
	3	0	0	1
	1/2	0	0	0
		1/2	3	4/5
		Poverty		

Nat Res Scarcity	4/5	4	23	72
	3	0	0	1
	1/2	0	0	0
		1/2	3	4/5
		Cultural values		

Nat Res Scarcity	4/5	23	14	63
	3	0	0	1
	1/2	0	0	0
		1/2	3	4/5
		Politics		

Nat Res Scarcity	4/5	22	28	49
	3	1	0	0
	1/2	0	0	0
		1/2	3	4/5

		Population		
--	--	------------	--	--

Nat Res Scarcity	4/5	39	18	42
	3	0	0	1
	1/2	0	0	0
		1/2	3	4/5
		governance		

Poverty	4/5	2	20	61
	3	1	3	10
	1/2	1	0	2
		1/2	3	4/5
		Cultural values		

Poverty	4/5	21	11	51
	3	2	3	9
	1/2	0	0	3
		1/2	3	4/5
		Politics		

Poverty	4/5	18	26	39
	3	4	2	8
	1/2	2	0	1
		1/2	3	4/5
		Population		

Poverty	4/5	32	17	34
	3	6	0	8
	1/2	1	1	1
		1/2	3	4/5
		governance		

Cultural Values	4/5	14	11	47
	3	8	2	13
	1/2	1	1	3
		1/2	3	4/5

		Politics		
--	--	----------	--	--

Cultural Values	4/5	16	22	38
	3	4	5	11
	1/2	2	0	2
		1/2	3	4/5
		Population		

Cultural Values	4/5	28	13	32
	3	8	3	9
	1/2	4	1	2
		1/2	3	4/5
		Governance		

Politics	4/5	12	14	37
	3	4	5	5
	1/2	9	8	6
		1/2	3	4/5
		Population		

Politics	4/5	12	12	19
	3	4	13	10
	1/2	12	2	16
		1/2	3	4/5
		Governance		

Population	4/5	14	10	24
	3	12	3	16
	1/2	11	6	4
		1/2	3	4/5
		Governance		

