THE STATE, IGAD AND CIVIL SOCIETY
ORGANIZATIONS IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF TURKANA DISTRICT,

BY
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C50/7487/2002

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2009
DECLARATION

This is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university

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I dedicate this work to my parents Mr. and Mrs. Haroun Chemelil for taking me to school and for their moral and material support throughout my school time.
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This work is a product of concerted effort of many people. Although I cannot exhaustively mention them all, a few are worth mentioning. First I would like to thank my supervisors Prof. Henry Mwanzi and Dr. Edwin Gimode for their invaluable advice and patience throughout the period of writing this work. Their constant willingness to read, edit, comment and provide a thorough analysis is highly recognized. Secondly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to members of the Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies for the support they accorded to me throughout the period of my post-graduate study at the Kenyatta University. Thirdly, I wish to thank my classmates, Gordon Onyango, Eliud Lubanda and Geoffreyson Khamala for the moral support and the shared academic experiences throughout the period of our post-graduate program. I won’t forget my siblings Komen and Naomi, my wife Susan for tirelessly typing this work, God bless you. Finally, of special mention are Vincent Kiptoo, Lucas Kiplagat and all my friends that I cannot mention because they are many. May God bless you abundantly.
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DEFINITION OF TERMS

Development- Process through which an entity can reach its maximum potential, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The Horn of Africa- Eastern Africa Sub-Region countries that include Somalia, Sudan Uganda, Eritrea and Djibouti.

Regional Co-operation- Any inter-state activity with less than universal participation designed to meet commonly experienced need. The need can be military, political, and economic or it may be of social technical residual public interest.

Regional Integration- An interstate union where the high contracting parties surrender their sovereignty to the union.

Rural- Countryside lifestyles where people mostly live in villages close to their relatives, with the predominant economic activities being agriculture and pastoralism.

Poverty- Poverty is multi-dimensional. It includes inadequacy of income and deprivation of basic needs and rights, and lack of access to productive assets as well as to social infrastructure and markets.

Community- A social group with a sense of common and shared interests. Members of a community residing in specific geographic area, utilize common institutional machinery, and carry on a volume of social transactions large enough to create consciousness of common interests.

Social transformation- Eradication of poverty by enabling the people to access necessities of life, such as food, healthcare, education, shelter, clean water, security and sources of income.
Security- A sense of well being. Absence of physical, economic, political and psychological threat.

Abyssinia- Modern Ethiopia.

International Organization- Is a formal continuous structure established by agreement between members (government and/ non governmental) from two or more sovereign states with common interest of membership.
# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td>African Development Bank.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>Arab League.</td>
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<td>ALADI</td>
<td>Association Latino America de Integration.</td>
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<td>APEC</td>
<td>Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation.</td>
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<td>ASAL</td>
<td>Arid and Semi Arid Lands</td>
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<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of South-East Asian Nations.</td>
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<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<td>CAEU</td>
<td>Council of Arab Economic Unity</td>
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<td>CARICOM</td>
<td>Caribbean Community and Common Market</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community Based Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEAO</td>
<td>Communaute Economique del Afrique de l’ Quest.</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMESA</td>
<td>Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
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<td>EAC</td>
<td>East African Community.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECA</td>
<td>Economic Commission for Africa</td>
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<td>ECOMOG</td>
<td>Economic Community Cease-fire Monitoring Group.</td>
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<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>Economic and Social Council.</td>
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<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States.</td>
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<td>EEC</td>
<td>European Economic Cooperation.</td>
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<td>EPC</td>
<td>European Political Co-Operation</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union.</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAL</td>
<td>Final Act of Lagos.</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of the Red Cross.</td>
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<td>IGAD</td>
<td>Inter-Governmental Authority on Development.</td>
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<tr>
<td>IGADD</td>
<td>Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISECC</td>
<td>International Symposium of the Episcopal Conferences of Churches.</td>
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<tr>
<td>KADU</td>
<td>Kenya African Democratic Union.</td>
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<tr>
<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kenya African National Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>LAIA</td>
<td>Latin America Integration Association.</td>
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<td>LPA</td>
<td>Lagos Plan of Action.</td>
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<td>MAP</td>
<td>Medical Assistance Programme.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MNCs</td>
<td>Multinational Companies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAFTA</td>
<td>North America Free Trade Agreement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization.</td>
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<td>NEPAD</td>
<td>The New Partnership for Africa’s Development.</td>
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<td>NGO’s</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations.</td>
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<td>NIEO</td>
<td>New International Economic Order.</td>
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<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organization of African Unity.</td>
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<td>OCAM</td>
<td>Organization Commune Africaine et Mauriciene.</td>
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<td>OCPD</td>
<td>Officer Commanding Police Division.</td>
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<td>RBO</td>
<td>Religious Based Organization.</td>
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<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>Regional Economic Co-operation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAARC</td>
<td>South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern Africa Development Community.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programme.</td>
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<tr>
<td>UAM</td>
<td>Union of the Arab Maghreb.</td>
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<tr>
<td>UDEAC</td>
<td>Union Dovaniere et Economic De l’Afrique Central.</td>
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<tr>
<td>UMA</td>
<td>Union du Maghre Arabe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commission for Refugees.</td>
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<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America.</td>
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<tr>
<td>WFP</td>
<td>World Food Programme.</td>
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ABSTRACT
At independence and in post independent period, the people of Kenya had a vision that would guide them to pursue radical socio-economic changes for the common good. But after forty years into independence majority of the people living in Turkana District still lived in abject poverty. This study therefore attempted to examine the roles played by the State, the IGAD and the Civil Society Organizations in the socio-economic development of the people of Turkana District of north-western Kenya. This study therefore, examined the historical factors that militated against the achievement of meaningful socio-economic development in Turkana District, demonstrated the shortcomings of the state approach to socio-economic development in Turkana District, examined the extent to which the multi-sectoral approach of State-the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development and Non Governmental Organizations led to tangible change in socio-economic lives of Turkana District residents and assessed the overall performance of region-based approach to socio-economic development. The neo-liberal approach as expounded by Kegley and Wittkopf (1997) and Keohane (1995) was adopted as its tool of analysis. The theory advocates that the state should accommodate an array of NGOs, transnational, supra-national and transgovernmental relation and coalition building in an effort to uplift the socio-economic status of the people. This study obtained data from both primary and secondary sources. Interviews were conducted after a purposive sampling. This was preferred so as to target respondents who are IGAD officers, government officials and employees of other specialized organizations, such as Civil Society Organizations and Voluntary Agencies. It was discovered in the course of the study that the general lagging behind in socio-economic development in Turkana District is a function of historical factors( ecological and human), the post-colonial initiated socio-economic development in the district was bound to fail, the synergizing of effort between the State, Civil Society Organizations and IGAD has great potential of unleashing forces and processes of socio-economic development in the District and lastly the regional approach to socio-economic development may have unique challenges to surmount, but holds the promise of transforming the socio-economic status of the people of Turkana District. Several recommendations as to how the socio-economic development in Turkana District can be advanced are suggested. The recommendations are based on the role the Public Service, the role of women in development, poverty eradication strategies, pastoral sector, HIV/AIDS, education, security and tourism. It is believed by the researcher that if the recommendations are followed by planning that involves the locals in implementation, Turkana District will eventually attain the much anticipated socio-economic transformation.
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

Four decades ago, Nkrumah pointed out that policy makers in Africa should keep in mind the need for self-help group programmes, which can only be produced and implemented by integrated planning (Nkrumah, 1963: 150). Since independence, most African nations have experienced decades of national and regional conflicts. Some Africans view regional integration and co-operation with other players such as the NGOs as a tool of ensuring convenient solution to African problems and facilitating social transformation (Momoh, 1999). There are in Africa several regional and sub regional organizations that work in partnership with the concerned states and NGOs (Oyejide, 2003:98) These organizations include African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) the East African Community (EAC) and the Union of the Arab Maghreb (UAM).

The majority of these organizations were formed after independence, such as Organization of African Unity (OAU) and Southern Africa Development Cooperation (SADC). It is worth noting that regional organizations in Africa were formed for three major purposes: political, economic, and military. Most of those formed for political purposes collapsed due to lack of firm foundations, political conflicts and ideological wrangles internally and externally imposed during the Cold War. OAU which was basically political became obsolete when all states in Africa attained independence because it was formed primarily to liberate Africans from colonialism. Those formed for economic
and military purposes such as Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and Economic Community Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) respectively have been promising although they have encountered obstacles (Nyong’o, 1990:3-12). African states have learned from global trends that integration among states and bringing on board other non-governmental stakeholders is a viable vehicle for foster development, with a multiplicity of benefits to their population (Agubuzu, 2004:58).

It was these expected benefits from regional co-operation that gave Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda the impetus to come together and form Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD). After a long period of common problems in the region, these Eastern African States realized that multisectoral approach to socio-economic transformation should be pursued as an urgent strategy to confront common challenges to development. In addition, it was envisaged that multisectoral approach would ensure that they adjust to the highly competitive movement towards globalization. Consequently, multisectoral approach to development was paramount in ensuring a positive move in improving the living standards of the Eastern Africa citizens (Maher et al, 2001). The IGADD was thus established with the following objectives; to coordinate and supplement the efforts of the member states to combat the effects of drought and other related disasters, appraise the international community on the severe problems, to appeal for and mobilize resources for social development among member states, to identify and project sub-regional interests, promote peace and stability in the sub-region, creating mechanisms within the sub-region for prevention and management of conflicts and assist member states and existing bodies in the sub-region in securing funds for their individual programmes. The organization was inaugurated in 1986 with its headquarters in Arta, Djibouti. IGADD was later transformed to Inter-Governmental
Authority on Development (IGAD) in 1996 so that it would focus on a wider scope of socio-economic transformation in partnership with the State and NGOs rather than limiting itself to combating the effects of aridity and desertification, as was the case initially.

A survey of available literature has shown that no empirical research has been undertaken to study the impact of its collaboration with the Kenyan State and NGOs as a vehicle of furthering socio-economic transformation to the communities living in Turkana District. The media has focused on the IGAD only when heads of states and governments, Councils of Ministers or when peace talks are being held under its auspice. As a result, it is understood that IGAD’s role is to facilitate negotiations for conflict-resolution in war ravaged member states, such as Somalia and the Sudan. Hence, Kenya seems to play a key role in the IGAD, especially in hosting peace negotiations among warring parties. Yet no research has been done on the other crucial activities performed by the NGOs, State and IGAD, such as joint efforts to combat the effects of aridity desertification, humanitarian activities, social transformation and environmental protection.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Kenya played a vital role in establishing IGADD and later IGAD as an inter-governmental authority in the Eastern African region following decades of several anthropogenic and natural catastrophes (Griffiths, 1995, 136-143). Some of the calamities include civil strife in Somalia, Ethiopia the Sudan and Uganda. Also witnessed in the region were the inter-state wars, such as the Somalia-Ethiopia war, Ethiopia-Eritrea war and the state of belligerence between Sudan and Uganda over the south Sudan and northern Uganda region occupied by rebels (Ibid). The natural calamities include drought
and famine in the region over the decades, thus driving communities’ living in arid semi-arid areas into abject poverty.

The IGADD was thus formed to have a common front among states to address and solve the many problems in the region in partnership with NGOs who were called in to participate in the transformation of communities in Eastern Africa especially those in marginalized areas. The communities were alienated by their respective states from decision-making process affecting their socio-economic life (Hass, 1971; 156). As a result, the state was no longer trusted as an agent of social change and development. As the IGAD states realized that they could not solve the challenges faced by communities in these areas coupled with the meagre resources, they had no option but to allow NGOS and donors to pool resources for the development of arid and semi arid areas of Eastern Africa (Gimode, 2004:303-307). Since the formation of IGADD, Kenya has engaged itself in the activities of the organization by providing its share of both moral and technical support at the diplomatic levels. Kenya is also remitting material support in terms of money and facilities which are sourced from the taxpayers and donors.

Yet like other ASAL regions in Kenya, Turkana District has lagged behind in several areas of socio-economic development which include poor road network, low education standards, lack of clean water, insecurity, cattle rustling and banditry, ethnic warfare, cross border grazing disputes, poverty, HIV/AIDS, gender inequity, drought and famine. This is contrary to the mission and vision of IGAD. This study interrogated the State, IGAD and NGO activities in an attempt to facilitate the socio-economic transformation of the peoples in the ASAL regions of Kenya, with specific reference to Turkana District during the period 1963-2006.
1.3 Research Questions

This study attempted to answer the following specific questions

(i) What historical factors contributed to the lagging behind in socio-economic development of Turkana District of Kenya?
(ii) Why was the state/government based approach to development unable to make a meaningful socio-economic impact among the people of Turkana District?
(iii) How successful has the State-IGAD-NGO interplay resulted in socio-economic transformation among the Turkana people?
(iv) How suitable is the IGAD and partners as a vehicle for overcoming regional problems and socio-economic development?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study set out to

(i) Examine the historical factors that militated against the achievement of meaningful socio-economic development in Turkana District of Kenya.
(ii) Demonstrate the shortcomings of the state approach to socio-economic development in Turkana District.
(iii) Examine the extent to which the multi-sectoral approach of State –IGAD-NGO has led to tangible change in socio- economic life of the Turkana people.
(iv) Assess the overall performance of region-based approach to socio-economic development.
1.5 Research Assumptions

(i) The general lagging behind of development in Turkana District is a function of historical factors (ecological and human).

(ii) The post-colonial state initiated socio-economic development in Turkana District was bound to fail.

(iii) The synergizing of efforts between the state-NGOs and IGAD has great potential of unleashing forces and the processes of socio economic development in Turkana District.

(iv) The regional approach to socio-economic development may have unique challenges to surmount, but holds the promise of transforming the ASAL regions of Eastern Africa.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study gives a historical analysis of the development of the concept of regional integration and NGO participation as popular vehicles to socio-economic transformation. It examines the state’s approach to development in Turkana District since independence in 1963-2006. The study is located in Turkana District of north-western Kenya. While demonstrating how prior initiatives were undertaken and how they impinge on the present and later processes.

1.7 Justification and Significance of the Study

It was imperative that a historical study be conducted to assess the successes or failure in the State-IGAD-NGO approach to socio-economic development in Eastern Africa. It examines and analyzes
the role played by the State, IGAD and their NGO partners in assisting member states to deal with the thorny issues, such as poverty and how these partners can come up with policy formulation to ensure maximum attainment of intended socio-economic transformation in Turkana District. In this way, the study makes a departure from other analyses of social transformation in Kenya. The study therefore gives recommendations that will greatly assist in the attainment of the much needed socio-economic transformation in Turkana District.

1.8 Literature Review

Literature on regional and sub-region organization in Africa is quite substantial, but those on the State-IGAD-NGO activities in Turkana District are scanty. Most works mention the IGAD as an example of African sub regional inter-governmental organization and probably move a little further to outline some of its activities. This implies that no in-depth work has been done on the IGAD and NGO activities in Kenya. A review of those related to this study especially the inter-governmental organizations and NGO’s in Africa are attempted below.

1.8.1 Literature on Regional Organizations

Mutahaba and Jide, (1992) argue that the main reason for establishing intergovernmental organizations in Africa is economic. They appreciated that virtually every sub-region of Africa has at least one major economic grouping. They perceived the trends as an effort by African states to realize the “Objectives” of New International Economic Order (NIEO). To them the main movers of Intergovernmental co-operation in Africa were the intellectuals and several of Africans progressive leaders (Ibid; 109). They further contended that the main advantage of sub regional intergovernmental co-operation in Africa will be the attainment of the opportunity to maximize internal capacity for self
reliance as well as collective invitation of Non Governmental Organizations (*Ibid* and also Martin, 1992; 69). Similarly, analyzing Kenya’s interests in Eastern Africa, Orwa (1994) points out that Kenya’s objectives in the sub-region has been traditional. He contended that Kenya emphasizes the preservation of territorial integrity and the creation of an atmosphere where it is guaranteed national economic development and political stability. He puts it succinctly that this behavior was clearly manifested in the 1980’s (1994:319). These arguments were relevant to the study because they shed light on the Kenya’s foreign policy on the Eastern Africa sub-region.

Nyong’o, (1990) observes that the main causes of African failure to integration were flawed conception, poor policy, prioritization and mediocre implementation of these policies. He critiqued weak African states for trying to integrate without solid development strategies. His argument is that integration in Africa offer very little and what is needed is rational management of limited resources based on the principles of economics of scale. He is optimistic that African’s have the ability to transform themselves for the better only if they played their part by confronting challenges with informed decisions. His arguments were relevant to this study when analyzing challenges faced by the State in trying to implement its policies.

Calvocoressi, (1985: 50) asserts that African states recently formed after independence are in awkward position in terms of political and economic progress. He emphasizes that these states should form regional and sub regional associations or union of states for the purpose of building roads, financing modern farming and training men and women to work and understand land. He regrets that this should have happened immediately after independence, but for now it is more than urgent. The reason is that many African governments are courting bankruptcy, anarchy and even revolution. He
advises that new policies on the participation of non governmental actors and new institutions are needed for the noble purposes of not industrial innovation, but to maintain the living standards and fend off famine. This argument assisted in reviewing the trends of the formation of the IGAD in 1986. Yet giving a close insight to the sub regional integration, Joffe, (1996) looked at North Africa particularly former Maghreb states, such as Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. He observed that the Union du Maghreb Arabe (UMA) adopted the classical functionalist approach, that economic co-operation and co-ordination among states within the sub-region gradually encourages political co-operation and even integration.

Gordon and Gordon (1996) believe that African countries resorted to multi-sectoral approach to development because of a firm belief that “there is strength in numbers”. They underscore the fact that for African countries to effectively compete with others in the international economic system, they should band together and pool resources for collective purposes. The objective according to them is not only to access a bargaining power in dealing with global economic super-powers like Japan and the USA, but also powerful regional economic entities, such as the EU and the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) zone. But Hass (1971) critiqued African sub-regional organizations. He regretted that although the objectives of these Inter-governmental organizations were noble and laudable, little has been achieved. On economic development, he argues that achievement has been minimal. He identifies an obvious reason for this to disagreements among members over relative shares of actual or potential gains of co-operation. Other reasons are differences in ideologies towards NGOs, extra-regional powers and failure to rebuild supra-national institution with regional rather than parochial national outlook in matters of benefit sharing and
development planning (1971:156). To him, the consequence has been stagnation rather than achievement of the development goals in Africa’s sub-regional associations.

Kurgat, (2000) appreciates the role played by the IGAD in the facilitation of peace negotiations. To him, the IGAD has taken lead among the sub-regional intergovernmental organizations in an effort to broker peace in conflict-ravaged African States. Another regional organization that deserves credit also is the Organization of African Unity (OAU) now AU. He appreciates the role played by the EU and great powers, such as the USA, Japan and Russia. He says that these countries have taken a leading role in conflict resolution in Africa.

Tordoff (1963) compares the African Inter-government associations. He categorizes them into two; those formed primarily for (i) economics and (ii) political purposes. His observation is that those formed for economic purposes have fared better than sub-regional political co-operations. He does not dispute the fact that they too, (the economic unions) have had a chequered history. He focused on ECOWAS as an example. He observes that since its inception in 1978, it has made progress in many areas. For instance a common customs nomenclature was drafted, an energy program was formulated and partly funded, a major communication project was launched and the first phase of a comprehensive trade liberalization and promotion program covering a ten year period from May 1978 was completed in 1981 (Ibid:226-229). Although much has been achieved, economic cooperation among ECOWAS member states have faced several challenges. He identifies some of them as linguistic and ideological difference, poor communication between member states, proliferation of currencies, foreign exchange restriction and controls, political instability in most

Asante, (1991) is happy with the efforts shown by African states in forming sub-regional and regional economic associations against the background of political fragmentation. To him, the main issue is not the imperatives of economic integration, but the approaches that best suits the African conditions towards the process of integration. He advises that the best and widely accepted process will be the most ultimate benefits of its population (1991:93 see also, Akumu *et al*, 2003). The arguments will assist the study when examining the approaches adopted by the State, IGAD and NGOs in realizing its development goals.

### 1.8.2 Literature on Voluntary Agencies and CSOs

Chepkwony, (1987) argues that in many instances, NGOs have initiated new programmes before government is able to undertake them; they have experimented with programmes that may have risks attached to them; and they have even provided expertise to the government and the United Nations agencies. She goes ahead to explain that some NGOs have assisted in promoting public understanding and public participation with respect to specific development programmes; and have contributed significantly to national, regional and international seminars and training courses. When there is a national disaster, they are usually the first to enter the scene and arrange emergency relief services. These ideas were of great help to the study especially on assessing the role of NGOs in the mitigation of ecological and anthropogenic disasters in Turkana District.
Carew, (2000) contends that the IGAD is one of the pioneer sub-regional inter governmental organizations to establish mechanisms for conflict management among its member states. She notes that regional and sub-regional associations, such as the IGAD and AU have become most active in seeking peace. She is happy that these organizations did this after realizing their financial and military limitations. Another aspect she notes was their change from traditional approaches of peace keeping operations and conflicts prevention to conflict resolutions (2000:203) She advises that other sub-regional groupings, such as the COMESA and EAC should initiate mechanisms for conflict management. For the sub-regional organizations to succeed in their efforts, external parties cannot be downplayed. She condemns the atrocities committed during armed conflicts in Africa. Some of the atrocities are the abuse of human rights, especially those of children who are exposed to high levels of insecurity within national boundaries and the biological and man made environmental hazards. She mentions some of the IGAD’s collaborators as United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations International Children Education Fund (UNICEF), World Food Program (WFP) and the Security Council being UN agencies and organ respectively. Others are international voluntary organizations, such as the ICRC and NGO’s such as Medicines san Frontiers, Save the Children and Oxfam. Some religious organizations and NGOs include the MAP, and AACC. These examples and arguments were of great help to the study of the State IGAD and NGO role in social-economic development in Turkana District. The foregoing literature is not exhaustive. The attempt has shown that no specific research has been done to shed light on the state IGAD and NGO roles to socio-economic development in Turkana District.
1.9 Theoretical Framework

This study employs neo-liberalism or institutionalism as its tool of analysis. Before engaging the arguments of both its proponents and critics, it is imperative to summarize other theoretical approaches that have also featured in the analysis of world politics. This is because neo-liberalism emerges as contradistinction to these paradigms, even as it borrows some elements from them. The theories include: dependency, structuralism and post-structuralisms. Dependency and under-development theory as a tool of analysis of international politics emerged after the economic experience of the Latin American States. Dependency as expounded by Rodney (1972) in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* is a situation in which the economies of certain states are dictated to by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected to.

In the case of Africa, the industrialized capitalist countries expand and maintain self sustaining growth while African countries grow as a reflection of the expansion of these powers (Bath and James, 1976:5). To come out of the predicament, dependency theorists suggested that African states should cooperate among themselves by forming regional and sub regional governmental associations; an argument shared by neo-liberals approach. Surprisingly therefore, dependency permeate within African organizations. These associations are viewed as launching pads for the struggle against the dependency imposed upon the continent by its historical experience (Mazrui 1977, Ojo *et al* 1985:13, Nyangoro, 1989, Bayart, 1999, Rodney, 1972). It is also worth noting that as dependency imposed upon the continent and under-development theorists’ advice African States to join together and form regional and sub-regional co-operations, the culture of dependency in the form of donor funding or development partnership as it politely known, still permeate. Thus, the maintenance of Africa’s
autonomy relies not only on its problem-solving abilities but also on the attitude and policies of the development partners. Ironically, this is the very problem they wanted to eradicate (Mathews, 1971:333).

As a result, neo-liberal theorists take issue with dependency theory’s concentration on economic factors of under-development and attaching it to one external source; the international capitalist system on economic stagnation or even retardation. They argue that instead or engaging in rhetoric, African states should strengthen entrepreneurship and efficiency in economic organization and innovation. In addition, they should create an environment where local institutions, NGOs, sub-regional, regional and international organizations participate in development. They conclude that dependency theorists concentrate on negative impacts of capitalists’ development overlooking the possibilities of internal dynamics (Fernandez and Ocampo, 1974:36). Neo-liberalists perceive dependency analysis to be too radical and unrealistic; for instance, on the idea that Africa should cut links with western world. Thus it is argued that neo-liberalism is in a better position to expound on the tricky situation the African countries are in than dependency analysis.

Under structuralists, the states still take the forefront specifically on matters of economic interests. Structuralists were inspired by Karl Marx’s arguments on international economics and politics. To them international co-operation is a struggle for power but quite different from the traditional realism which emphasized the anarchical character of international system where powerful states with capability should manipulate world politics. The pioneer of this approach was Kenneth N. Waltz (1979) who brought together the disjointed arguments of realists thoughts into a formal theory (Keohane, 1995). Structuralists believed that states remain the primary actors in international
relations according to the principles of self-help. As a result, the capability of the state defines its role in the system (Chang, 2001, see also Kegly and Wittkopf, 1997:29). They further contended that analysis should be based on foreign policies of states, which are driven by the same systemic factors (Harries, 1995:13) When states decide to co-operate for mutual benefit those that feel insecure should not relent in asking whether they will benefit and if it is there, (benefits) to what extent?. But the most important is, will both of us gain equally and if not then who will gain more? (Waltz, 1979:105).

This struggle between states is inspired by the quest to dominate others economically and thus the basic actors are simply classes. The argument shows that the states remain important because it is a tool used in furthering class interest even in the international arena. Structuralists conclude that international interaction is geared towards exploitation, imperialism and underdevelopment of economically weak states (Okoth, 2000:3). According to structuralists, neo-liberalists concern themselves with dynamic hierarchies of values in the international systems that are just but another form of core-dominance (Keohane, 1995). Structuralists vindicate their arguments by saying that in the contemporary world, the state still plays a major and leading role in the socio-economic and political dynamics which are responsible for influencing states through cooperation for mutual benefits to tolerate each other (Okoth, 2002, see also Czempiel and Rosenau, 1992). This perspective is contested by Neo-Liberalists who contend that structuralism is just but a good example of paradigms, which falsely claim to access the objective ‘truth’ about international politics. Neo liberalist thinkers argue that in Africa, the state plays an important role as a facilitator to social transformation but it should work put in place policies and legal framework that allow other institutions and organizations to participate in development and welfare (Keohane and Nye, 1972:98)
Post–Structuralism advocates for movement away from the assumptions of mainstream approaches. It rejects the grand narrative reductive methodology that claims to be a critical meta-language by which all text can be translated, arguing that neutral omniscient view outside the realm of a text is impossible. Instead, they pursue an infinite play of signifiers and do not attempt to impose or privilege one reading of them over another. Proponents of this approach include Michel Foucault (1970), Cynthia Weber (1995), Jens Bartelson (1995), Jacques Derrida (1976), Richard Ashley (1988) and others. Post-structuralism is fundamentally concerned with deconstructing and distrusting any account of human life that claims to have an absolute access to the ‘truth’ (Smith, 1997:181). They argue against dominant paradigms claims to have uncovered the truth about international politics. This is a key element also held by the post-colonial scholars. Foucault (1970) maintains that there is no such thing as ‘truth’ existing outside the regimes of truth. He wonders how history can have a truth if truth has a history? He further contends that truth is not something external to social setting but instead part of it. He asserts that statements about social world are only ‘true’ within specific discourses.

Derrida (1976) a post-structuralist perceived the world to be constituted like a text in the sense that interpreting it reflects the concepts and structures of languages. He terms it the textual interplay at work. He has two ways of explaining it, (i) Deconstruction and (ii) Double reading. Deconstruction was based on the idea that in some order; for instance the binary oppositions in language where one term is privileged over the other. He argues that deconstruction is a way of exposing the fact that all theories and discourses have relied on artificial stabilities generated by the use of seemingly objectives and natural oppositions in language big/small powerful/ powerless (Smith, 1997:182). Double reading shows how a text can be subjected to two readings. First, it shows how the dominant
reading achieves coherence and how the second exposes the internal fractures, a consequent of using natural stabilizations. His aim is not to arrive at an absolute truth but to demonstrate how several meanings can be drawn from a text. The idea is that several meanings can be drawn from world politics as opposed to what dominant paradigms suggest.

Neo-liberals bitterly accuse the post-structuralists for having nothing to offer to the ‘real world’. From their arguments (post-structuralists) it is evident that they just play with words and pre-occupy themselves with theorizing instead of addressing issues in international relations and development. In the light of a growing quest for the best way of dealing with international development, there emerged in the late 1990s the neo-liberalist approach which concerned itself with the methods that international institutions and other non-state actors use in participating in the international co-operation and development. The approach sought to build theories of international relations and development by giving the basic tenets of classical liberalism and post World War I idealism, a fresh examination (Keogly and Wittkopf, 1997:30). Neo-liberals perceived global dynamics as progressing as a result of co-operative efforts of governmental and non-governmental agencies. Keohane (1995) analyzed international development added another aspect to the Neo-liberalist approach. He came up with institutionalist approach which focused on methods of creating institutions in international development. These institutions are not only the formal ones like the UN but also other informal regimes that govern the inter-state relations in some specific issue areas.

Neo-liberals, therefore, are of the view that state-centric approaches produce distorted view of development by focusing exclusively on the inter-state relations (Ibid). According to Neo-liberals, other players such as the NGOs and religious organizations should be recognized. The approach
therefore emphasizes the observation of dynamics in contemporary inter-state relations on politics, social and economic issues. Neo-liberalists do not dispute the fact that the state still has some importance as an actor in socio-economic development, but it should accommodate an array of trans-national, supra-national and trans-governmental relations and coalition building (Rissa-Kappen, 1994:45; see also Keohane and Nye, 1972: Mansbach et al 1976, Morse,1976). This approach got more attention among scholars and students of history of international relations and development because it seemed to offer a richer understanding of interaction processes among States intergovernmental organizations and NGOs (Keohane and Nye, 1974:1977). In this study therefore, neo liberalism is used to analyze the involvement of national, supra-national entities and NGOs in an attempt to uplift the socio-economic development of the people of Turkana District in dealing with such issues as poverty eradication, HIV /AIDS, cattle rustling, banditry, desertification, drought, famine, infrastructure, and communication among others.

Their major limitation according to Post- Structuralists is that, in an effort to come up with paradigmatic explanations, they ended up being conservative. They gave an impression of open-mindedness, which was not the case in reality. The major question to neo-liberals is whether they can reinvent themselves as non-universalizing, non-westernizing political ideologists who uphold the basic plural value of human solidarity without underpinning diverse experiences, ideologies and cultures in world affairs (Smith, 1997). Despite all the accusations leveled against them, Neo-liberals have noble ideas on how international affairs ought to be and for our purpose studied.

1.10 Research Methodology
1.10.1 Data Collection and Sampling Procedure

This study obtained data from both primary and secondary sources. Interviews were conducted after a purposive sampling. Purposive sampling was preferred so as to target respondents who are the IGAD officers, government officials, and employees of other specialized organizations, such as NGOs and Voluntary Agencies. The primary data was extracted from Published Government Reports, beneficiaries of the IGAD projects, such as the pastoralists and special groups (women and the youth) from both the government and IGAD records. After enlisting, random sampling was done. The researcher then visited the selected communities and used purposive sampling to identify respondents targeting mostly leaders. In the course of the study, a tape recorder was used to record information from respondents. The interviewer also took notes. The study exploited the services of a research assistant who helped in translating responses from respondents who could not speak English or Kiswahili but could communicate using the indigenous language. A questionnaire was also used. In this study the open-ended questions as opposed to closed were used. This gave room for the respondent to give more information apart from the ones asked.

Secondary sources were sourced from the Kenya National Archives, IGAD archive in Nairobi, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kenya), and newspapers, such as the Kenya Gazette for data on government policies on the IGAD, presidential speeches and resolutions and reports by the Council of Ministries and ambassadors. More information were gleaned by interrogating the journal articles, published books, dissertations, seminar papers, reports, critical articles on newspapers and the relevant Magazines on the IGAD. The IGAD publications assisted a great deal in sourcing information about the organization and its historical development. These included Agromet Bulletin
(quarterly), the Annual Reports, *Food Situation Report* (quarterly), and *IGAD news* (2 a year). The study also sourced materials from the reports of UN agencies working in Kenya, Voluntary Agencies and funding institutions. Some of the libraries and institutions that were of good help included; Moi library at Kenyatta University, the University of Nairobi library, and Margaret Thatcher Library of Moi University. Others included the United Nations Information Centre, British Institute of Eastern Africa, the British Council Library, National Museums of Kenya, Institute of African Studies, the National libraries, and the internet.

### 1.10.2 Data Analysis

Once data was obtained, comparative analysis was initiated. In this respect, the merging of primary and secondary data was done. The main objective of doing this was to indicate compatibility and incompatibility of data collected by critically examining the assumptions and general trends so as to ascertain the roles of the state, IGAD and NGOs in facilitating socio-economic development in Turkana District.

### 1.10.3 Research Locale

The study was located in Turkana district of Kenya. The district is situated in the northwestern region of Kenya. It has three international borders with Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda. Nationally, it borders Samburu, Baringo and West Pokot Districts. It is the largest district in Kenya, covering on area of 77000square kilometers, which is about 42% of the area in the Rift Valley Province (See the maps in appendices 4 &5).

### 1.10.4 Challenges Encountered
The researcher had to overcome the following challenges in the course of collecting data in the field. Firstly most of the public servants and NGO officials were not willing to give information due to suspicion. They thought that the information collected would be used to harass or expose their weakness. Other respondents demanded some money before they could answer questions. A few government and NGO officials could not be interviewed citing a tight work schedule but those interviewed were of great help to this study. The weather was so hostile with temperature going to as high as $39^\circ$C. Another major challenge was poor roads; the researcher could not reach some areas because there were no vehicles to these areas.

**CHAPTER TWO**

2.0 Ecology and History: Underdevelopment in Turkana District in Pre-colonial and colonial Times.
2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines factors that militated against the achievement of meaningful socio-economic development in Turkana District of Kenya. It highlights the pre-colonial and colonial history of the Turkana people who are actually the ethnic group residing in the district. The historical factors that are examined in the chapter include: colonialism, post colonial marginalization of pastoralism, scarcity of pastoral resources, cattle rustling, raids and banditry, incessant drought and famine, cultural conservatism, Special District Administration Order Chapter 45 of the Laws of Kenya and pastoralist migrations in search for pasture. Furthermore, the study examines the punitive expeditions and measures against the Turkana pastoralists, locust infestation, illiteracy, low enrollment of children in schools and shortage of teachers.

2.2 Physiographic, Geographic and Demographic Description of Turkana District

Turkana District occupies the North Western part of Kenya to the west of Lake Turkana. It is one of districts of Rift Valley Province and it is geographically the largest district in the republic. It shares international boundaries with several countries. It also borders Ethiopia to the North, Sudan to the North-West, and Uganda to the West. Domestically, it lies to the west of Lake Turkana, to the South - east of Samburu District and to the south, Baringo and West Pokot Districts. It borders to the east Marsabit District. It covers a total of 77,000 sq km or 42.4% of the total area of Rift Valley Province. The district is predominantly a vast low lying plain from which emerge isolated mountains and ranges of hills, most lying in the north south direction following the general structure of the eastern Rift Valley. The plain slopes from an altitude of about 900 meters at the foot of the escarpment which marks the Uganda border to the west, to the shores of Lake Turkana, 369 meters in the east. The mountains rise between 1,500m and 1,800m whereby, the largest being Loima which forms an
undulating table land of some 65kms square. The mountains which form a contrasting environment in rainfall and vegetation are fairly well distributed except in the central area of plains around Lodwar and more especially the Lotikippi plain in the north. In the south east, the Suguta valley follows a tectonic trough bordering the Samburu uplands.

The main rivers include River Kerio, Tarach and Turkwel. Both Turkwel and Kerio rivers originate from the highlands to the south and sharing a delta on the lake. The Suguta is in the south east and the Tarach is in the south west. Of all these rivers, Suguta is permanent. It is possible to identify three different physiological features in Turkana; the Lotikipi plains in the north, the Kalokol/Turkwel/Kerio lowlands along the western shores of Lake Turkana and the Suguta basin in the south east. The larger part of the district is composed of unconsolidated materials which include sandy and clay plains, lake beds and mountain foot slopes. Volcanic rocks cover about a third of the district and are formed from wind varying complex of ash, cider and flow materials. Basement system outcrops are confined to the Uganda escarpment in the west of the district and to the mountains of Lokichar and Lodwar. The geological sequence starts with the pre-Cambrian metamorphic basement rocks. Pleistocene and recent deposits consist of lake beds deposited by higher levels of the lake and alluvial and Aeolian sediments.

The mountains are mainly volcanic features though some, such as Loriu and Lappur, have basement and/or sedimentary rocks underlying the lava. To the North of Lodwar, there are shining stretches of quartz gravel derived from conglomerates of the Turkana grits. Elsewhere, the mantles are mainly of lava fragments and brown chart. The Turkana vegetation is determined by topography and rainfall and especially in the low lying parts of the district. The district is characterized by light bush lands
with significant areas of dwarf shrub lands. The bush lands increase in density along the moisture and elevation gradient, and higher elevation have consistent high woody cover. In this case therefore, the vegetation is sparse except on the high mountain slopes. As a consequence of this, pastoralism remains the main economic activity and the Turkana’s dependence on the pastoral sector is an appropriate adoption to the district’s environment. Vegetation along rivers Kerio and Turkwel may form dense forests of up to six to seven kilometers wide which have a dominance of various free species, such as acacia tortillas, acacia sepal, cardagharaf, Banalites species, *dichrostachy’s cinerea* and *Salvador persica*. Away from the water courses the common species vary somewhat with the region and soil type. Cover is sparse, often less than five per-cent, bushes being typically thorny and rather widely spaced.

Due to the terrain of the district communication is difficult. Some of the accessible places are Lokitaung, Kibish, Kakuma and Lokichogio. However, most parts are inaccessible. Permanent settlements are mainly found in urban and market centers like Katili and Lokori where both irrigated and rainfall agriculture is practiced. The other areas in the district has sparse population because of its harsh climate which is arid and hot. The district is classified as an Arid and Semi Arid Lands region (ASAL). Rainfall varies with altitude whereby the lowest is recorded in the central plains around Lodwar, with an annual rainfall average of about 180mm. The highest is in the North West for example Lokichogio has an average of about 520mm. Lokitaung in the north east has an average of about 380mm and Kaputir in the Turkwel Valley further south has an average of about 360mm. There are no records for any mountain areas but vegetation would suggest averages of over 750mm at altitudes above 1350m. Distribution of rainfall is very unreliable. Annual figures for Lodwar, for
instance, vary from 190mm to 498mm. Rain usually comes in sharp thunderstorm in late afternoon or at night. Long rains falls around April to August, with short rains in the late November.

The temperatures are high and fairly uniform throughout the year with an average daily level of about 24 to 38°C (75-100°F) in the plains. In the central plains there are strong winds usually coming from the east or south east sweeping across the largely barren land and carrying large quantities of dust and sand. The plains are almost bare of ground vegetation from grazing and browsing. After rain, annual grasses and herbs germinate quickly producing a rapid flush of vegetation, which may, however, wither as quickly as it appeared in the absence of any further rain. There is a tendency for tree and grass species to be suppressed by browsing, grazing and cutting thus encouraging less palatable, often thorny species, such as the small acacias (Meteorological Department, Lodwar).

The 1969 census indicated that Turkana District had a total population of 165,225 with a density population of 2 persons per sq. km, and at the annual growth rate of 3.3 percent. The 1979 census indicated that Turkana District had a drop in population to 142,702. The 1989 population census the total population for Turkana District was 179,000, and 451,000 in 1999 respectively (Economic Survey, 1991). The table below shows that population growth between the years 1989-1999 was exponential.

Table 2.2: Population Distribution and Density by Division

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Density</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lokichogio</td>
<td>38,972</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaaling</td>
<td>25,905</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lopur</td>
<td>13,764</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokitaung</td>
<td>24,325</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kibish</td>
<td>6,523</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table below shows the administrative units in Turkana District by the year 2006. These units are headed by the public servants. It was the intention of the government that more administrative units be created in an effort to take government services closer to the people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Area (Km²)</th>
<th>Locations</th>
<th>Sub-locations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lokichogio</td>
<td>9126</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaaling</td>
<td>10,830</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lopur</td>
<td>4652</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokitaung</td>
<td>5208</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kibish</td>
<td>5127</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokichar</td>
<td>2913</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.1 Area of the District by Division, Location and Sub-location.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Sub-County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oropoi</td>
<td>5348</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokori</td>
<td>5008</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lomelo</td>
<td>5962</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katili</td>
<td>1187</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kainuk</td>
<td>2504</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>2099</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerio</td>
<td>2703</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalokol</td>
<td>3470</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkwel</td>
<td>3093</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loima</td>
<td>2174</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakuma</td>
<td>5596</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>77,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>56</strong></td>
<td><strong>156</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The table below gives a summary of the District’s physiographic, geographic and demographic description.

Table 2.3 District Fact Sheet 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land area</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total area</td>
<td>77,000 km square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arable land</td>
<td>25,000 km square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-arable land (does not include water mass)</td>
<td>37,440 km square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water mass</td>
<td>7,560 km square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban area</td>
<td>7,000 km square</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topography and climate</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td>highest 1800 mm above sea level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainfall</td>
<td>lowest 120mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average annual rainfall</td>
<td>Between 300-400mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temperature range</td>
<td>minimum 24 Degrees Celsius Max 38 Degrees Celsius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average temperature</td>
<td>30 Degrees Celsius</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic and population profiles</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population size (2002)</td>
<td>497,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of male</td>
<td>247,916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of females</td>
<td>249,863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female/male sex ratio</td>
<td>1:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population growth rate</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population density (average) persons per km square</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Highest density (Kakuma) persons per km square | 29  
Lowest density (Kibish) persons per km square | 1  
Primary school going age 6-13 | 115,989  
Secondary school going age 14-17 | 50,097  
Labour force (15-64) | 264,242  

**Source:** District Development Office Lodwar, (2006).

### 2.3 A Brief Pre-Colonial History of the people of Turkana District

Turkana District has a long record of human occupation, evidence of which comes from paleontology, archeology, and historical linguistics; these are augmented by oral tradition for recent time. For the earliest periods, fossils occur in lake beds in the vicinity of the present Lake Turkana while the area is not as rich in fossils as the sites around Koobi Fora. To the east of the lake, bones of Australopithecine hominids dating to the late Pliocene (3.7 million years) have been found at Lothagam and Konapoi respectively and are among the earliest hominids on record (KNA/DC/LOK/5/3, 1951). Almost any stony surface in the district yields a dense scatter of stone artifacts ranging in date from the early Stone Age to the present, the product of hundreds of thousands of years of human activity. The commonest historical monuments are burial cairns, heaps of stones of various sizes and shapes which cover graves. Some of these belong to the Turkana themselves but the majorities were apparently left by earlier inhabitants (*Ibid*).

Northern Kenya in general and the Turkana Basin in particular has been an area of contact and cross-fertilization between different cultural and linguistic groups for millennia. The Nilotes have interacted with both Eastern and Southern Cushites as shown by their language, vocabularies and cultural practices. The term Nilo-Hamatic was used to refer to the Turkana to indicate a mixture of Nilotic and Cushitic (Hamitic) but has now been dropped. The mingling of the population is likely to
have been even more pronounced than that of language. Thus the Turkana population and culture results from a process of mixing and acculturation (*Ibid*).

Today, the District is exclusively occupied by the Turkana people, strongly independent nomadic pastoralists closely related to the Jie and Karamajong of Uganda. Throughout the vast territory their culture is remarkably heterogeneous, the result of constant movement and continual interaction. It is argued that the Turkana descended into the country from Dodoth escarpment before 1800AD (Guliver: 1951:4). Why they migrated from their original homeland after differing with their ancestral family of Karamajong people is a matter of speculation. Their oral traditions indicate a breaking away from the Jie by following a wayward ox. They descended the escarpment to the Tarach river valley and spread along the Turkwel and Kagwalasi (or Nakwehe) River Valleys to establish a new homeland in the Turkana District of today (*Ibid*).

Like most other African traditions, it ends up demonstrating that the Turkana settlement in their present homelands is logically the termination of migrations which carried the Turkana from the grazing Karamajong area. Thereafter, the grazing and water needs of the stock dictated the settlement patterns and movements. This trend more or less persists up to the present. The Turkana are constantly on the move from the plains to the river banks, to the mountains and then back again. And so, on the whole, they build no permanent homes and settlements but live in temporary shelters. Because of the tendency to move wherever grass and water is available, the pastoralists are understandably in endless competition and conflict with the Karamajong, Toposa, Dadoth, Pokot, Rendile and Merille (*Ibid*).
Linguistic studies and the historical traditions of their western neighbours confirm the common origin of the Turkana, Jie, Karamajong and Dadoth. The current boundaries of Turkana District are therefore, artificial and restrictive as far as the Turkana economic needs are concerned as we shall see later. Although essentially settled by virtue of fixed boundaries, land disputes over water and grazing areas continued for along time in the past against neighbours like the Samburu, Merille, Karamajong and Pokot. Yet despite the recurring violent conflicts in pre-colonial and colonial times, the Turkana traded with neighbours including the Pokot and Karamajong who are known fierce raiders. The Turkana bought millet, maize, maize meal, tobacco, spears, iron, cooking pots beads and ostrich eggs and feathers (KNA/DC/LOK/5/3, 1951). By about 1850, Turkanas were still arriving at their present home in Turkana District. There are traces of people known as Elmolo who had preceded them and are thought to have possibly been the Samburu. The Swahili caravans from the Kenya coast are reported to have penetrated to Turkana. Similarly, from the north the ivory traders and slavers of Abyssinia raided up to as late as in the twentieth century (Ibid).

2.4 The Colonial State and Turkana District 1888-1947

In 1888-1889, the Austrians, Count Teleki and Von Hohnel were the first Europeans to arrive at Lake Rudolf (now Lake Turkana) and Stephanie. They were followed ten years later by Austin. After the latter’s second journey, the Uganda boundary was defined at 5° north, a line just south of the British fort at Lokomorinyang. At this time, the topography of the North Eastern frontier was very different. Sanderson’s Gulf of Lake Rudolf stretched between the Turkana of Labur and the Merille in Abyssinia and constituted a natural barrier. In the course of time, it filled up as much with the silt of Lake Rudolf. But behind these mountains, Lokwamor and Lorienatom, the Turkana lay more or less sheltered, while the Merille occupied the plains of the former Nile Valley down to the natural
boundary of Sanderson’s gulf (KNA/DC/LOK/5/3, 1951). It is maintained by some old Turkana that the territory of their fathers extended even as far as Tapeisi Hills and the North Shores of the Gulf (Abong’ai, 0.I, 2007) but there is no evidence to support this claim.

The Turkana were covered by the treaties of the Juba expedition (1887-1899) which the British Government organized to survey the limits of the British sphere of influence in connection with the exploration of the headquarters of River Nile. Turkana District became part of the British Uganda Protectorate before the declaration of the boundaries of Kenya colony, but the Northern regions of Turkanaland were for some time subject to a lot of pressure from Ethiopian expansion and were not finally considered part of Kenya until 1926. However, the Turkana seem to have occupied the northern region up to the point close to Lodwar, longer than other areas. Their southward expansion and settlement in earnest is comparatively recent and still continuing. And although they resisted through all their encounters with the British colonial power, the expansion of the Turkana outside their current district was checked in the past by police and military action (KNA/DC/LDW/1/1/66, 1932). As indicated above, it is known that Turkana District was administered by Uganda. Surprisingly the government’s records of that time do not exist. And whatever administration exercised then was of nominal character.

The Protectorate government of Kenya began an operation of conquest and disarmament of the Turkana in 1910. The exercise was laboriously completed while the rest of the world was celebrating the armistice in 1918 (KNA/DC/LDW/1/1/17, 1956). The Turkwel had been reached by the King’s African Rifles (KAR) in 1910 and two years later Lake Rudolf. In the meanwhile the boundary with
Sudan was modified by Order in Council in 1914 and the Uganda – Sudan frontier was defined on its present official position of $4^\circ 37'$, (KNA/LOK/5/3, 1951).

In 1915, the Turkana engaged the colonial government forces in battle. As a result the Turkana lost heavily in the war where 417 people were killed and 19,000 cattle, 215 camels, 1400 donkeys and 17,000 sheep and goats were confiscated by the military. Later on 30 percent of these animals were returned. But in 1917-1918 the fighting went north, 13,000 cattle were confiscated in two months alone. When the Labur Patrol went to the Lokitaung area, 25,000 spears and 1000 rifles were estimated to have been the strength of the Turkana and at once the disarmament began (Ibid). The administrative post of the Uganda government at Kolosia was too remote for the effective control of North Turkana. The forces engaged in the pacification were largely withdrawn, and the Turkana having lost heavily found their traditional Merille enemies too well equipped to be resisted effectively in the frontier. The KAR posts at Lodwar and Kakuma, though consolidating the southern tribes, was not equipped to undertake the defence of Uganda subjects against the Abyssinian subject tribesmen (KNA/DC/LDW/1/1/17, 1954).

There was no effective occupation or administration of the north, and the years 1924-1926 saw the Turkana defeated in their own lands and retiring before the onslaughts of the Merille. In 1926, however, the Merille patrol by Sir Vincent Glenday was undertaken and considerably enlarged the knowledge of a remote area. It was however regarded as a challenge by the Merille and Dongiru, and the Turkana were obliged to surrender as far as $4^\circ 20'$ Miles South of Lokitaung (KNA/DC/LDW/1/1/66, 1932). In 1926 the transfer of “Rudolf Province” from Uganda to Kenya was effected. In the following year an administrative post was opened at Lokitaung, and the first District
Officer sent. The KAR arrived at the post in 1928 and set up a military station simultaneous to the establishment of the Sudan Defence Force in Kapoeta (KNA/DC/LDW/1/1/17, 1954). Until 1940, the officer in charge of Turkana and Suk (Pokot) was responsible for Lokitaung affairs through the District Commissioner. With the coming of the World War II however, the DC became directly responsible to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Kenya. In 1947, when conditions were stable, the District of Turkana was transferred to the Northern Province with Provincial Commissioner was based at Isiolo (Ibid).

Uneven development was created by the colonial economy, when capital and modern technologies were brought together to create a new mode of production that is cultivation of export crops, in areas where suitable land, labour and water were available. The growth of an urban sector was promoted simultaneously to provide the required services and administration. Little was done elsewhere and nothing at all in the pastoralism domain in which Turkana District fell. The resulting unevenness translated into gross disparity in the development of the productive forces in different regions and in the standards of living of their inhabitants. Investment in infrastructure and social services was concentrated in areas of modern economic development and only nominal development appeared elsewhere (Weehace, Tavasi, 0.I, 2007, See also Manger, 2000). The fact that the colonial economy followed the capitalist model, not withstanding the prime mover in its development was the State. The State owned, managed, effectively controlled the modern economic sector. Accordingly, the state became the determining factor in the production and distribution of material and social resources. It was this function that endowed the State with overwhelming predominance in colonial society (Samatar, 1989:24). With the foregoing discussion, it is imperative examine the historical
factors that negated the achievement of meaningful socio-economic development in Turkana District during the pre-colonial and colonial times.

2.4.1 Scarcity of Pastoral Resources

The natural endowment of Turkana District is meagre and unevenly distributed and large parts of it are not fit for settled habitation. Man’s adaptation to it was premised on movement, and the history of the area is marked by extensive migrations and population shifts, the constant jostling and shoving of people in search of land, pasture and water. Scarcity remains to date a harsh fact of life in Turkana District. Partly, this is due to the meagre natural endowment. The bulk of the district is arid with an average precipitation rate of less than 550mm and a moisture index of minus 50 (Odhiambo, Makau, 0.I, 2007). Nature’s parsimony in the district is accentuated with a pattern of recurring drought and inevitably results in massive famine. Population growth of both human and animal has led to combined pressure on already scarce resources in the district(Ibid).

As mobility was increasingly constrained, the need for it remained an economic imperative and they continued to shift about and press against their neighbours in a constant search for pasture and water. The restiveness of the pastoralists was aggravated by proliferation of constraints placed upon their movements by state borders, provincial boundaries, grazing zones, game parks, quarantine restrictions, scarcity of pastoral resources triggered mobility which in turn made conflict inevitable, and Turkana District has never been peaceful a place (Lipton, 1977). And in that case the district remained behind in socio-economic development. In addition to that, water was not otherwise a particularly limiting factor by Turkana standards and the main constraint was pasture and browse for the domestic animals on which the human population relied (Buwalda, Lokokisai, Jertsen, 0.I, 2007).
To maintain their existence in such a marginal environment, the Turkana’s ecology have to be finely tuned to take advantage of every resource, and almost all other factors had to be sub-ordinate to this. This is not to say that everything they did was dictated by the environment but it did impose constrains on most aspects of life (KNA/DC/LOK/5/3, 1951).

2.4.2 Cattle Rustling and Raids

The economic adaptation to the environment found in Turkana District was mainly based on herds of domestic animals, cattle, camels, sheep and goats for milk, meat, blood and hides, and donkeys for transport. The Turkana also practiced cultivation in the limited areas and limited periods when it was possible (KNA/DC/DW/1/1/113, 1948). The Turkana’s main aim and delight was the ownership of livestock especially cattle though for most of their region, camels and goats were more suited to the environment. Property was synonymous with stock and other possessions were simply conveniences (Ibid). It should be noted that, the district has a number of neighbours with whom she hardly lived a peaceful co-existence due to cattle rustling and raids. The most painful act that can be done to a Turkana is to take away his cattle. This exposes him to poverty which is responsible for misery and thus a draw back to the districts socio-economic status. These neighbours that constantly raided Turkana stock include the Merille of Ethiopia and Toposa of Sudan in the North, Karamajong of Uganda to the West, Pokot to the south, Rendile and Samburu to the East (KNA/DC/LDW/1/1/104, 1963). Cattle rustling and raids are considered as one of the main contributor of the lagging behind of Turkana District in socio-economic development. Because cattle is the main measure of wealth and source of livelihood, to the people of Turkana, cattle rustling and raids has been a nuisance even before the advent of colonial rule (Aseno, Williams, Wambui, Abdi, Weehance, 0.I, 2007). As a
result, no socio-economic development could take place in an environment where pastoralists are exposed to constant loss of their wealth and source of livelihood.

In an attempt to contain the problem of cattle rustling and raids, the Kenya colonial government obtained some concession with some neighbouring countries. One such country was the Sudan. No agreement was reached with the Abyssinian government in which the notorious Merrile raiders incessantly raided Turkana cattle rendering them poorer and poorer (KNA/DC/LDW/1/1/113, 1950). A good example is what happened in 1936 where the Merrile despite grazing their cattle on Turkana territory, past the consul’s Rock; they also engaged themselves in several raids (Ibid). In 1928, the Donyero and Merrile raided the Turkana in a combined force (KNA/DC/LDW/2/1/1, 1930). Earlier on in 1927, the Toposa of Sudan carried out a raid on 18 July at Mogilla and were able to escape with a lot of livestock from the Turkana (Ibid). Raids on Turkana have continued to the present with an increase in sophistication. After independence most African countries found themselves in conflicts that culminated in serious civil strife. It was tragic that all states that neighboured Turkana District were engaged in armed conflicts. These states included Uganda, Ethiopia, and the Sudan. As a result firearms landed on the hands of pastoral tribes including the Turkana who acquired them through trade.

There is no year that the Turkana neighbours failed to launch raiding expeditions on the Turkana to date. The situation has recently become more complicated when the neighbouring pastoralists not only raid with the intention of acquiring wealth but as a source of school fees. (Lodoket, Elman, Kiarie, Ikimat, 0.1,2007).In the southern parts of the district the large scale livestock raids launched
by heavily armed Pokot rustlers caused major displacement of Turkana pastoralists from Lokori and Lomelo Divisions (Opiyo, Lodoket, 0.1, 2007).

2.4.3 Drought and Famine

Turkana pastoralists live in the most arid region of Kenya. In most areas, the average annual rainfall is less than 300mm, and is concentrated in three to four month period with April the month which rainfall is most likely to occur. However, as is characteristic of arid areas, the rainfall is extremely variable from year to year, and there are periodic droughts during which there is little or no plant productivity and even the deep rooted trees along river courses shed their leaves. This lack of grazing and browse leads to low productivity of milk and blood, and also to high mortality in the livestock herds and causes great hardship to the people (Kiarie, Omathen, 0.I, 2007). Turkana District was hard hit by a drought in 1979. There has also been recurrence in 1984, 1990, 1994, 1999, 2000, 2003 and 2005 (Ibid). It should also be noted that drought and famine has been hitting the district since the time the Turkana settled in. This is also seen as the major contributor of poverty and lagging behind of social and economic development of the inhabitants. As indicated above, the district was very hard hit by a drought from 1979 into 1981. Between 1977 and 1981; there was an estimated loss of 72 per cent of the cattle, 59 per cent of the goats and sheep and 4 per cent of the camels. In October 1981, 65000 to 70000 people, an estimated 45 and 49 percent of the population were receiving food in famine relief camps mainly in the west and north of the district (Airey, et al 1981).

2.4.4 Cultural Conservatism
Socially the Turkana found themselves comfortable with their traditional mode of living. Any attempt to influence and challenge their social values was resisted even with the help of their local leaders and it appeared to the state or the government that it would take quite some time before the Turkana people accepted change for their social development. In 1975 for example efforts were made to have the Turkana buy and put on clothes like other people in the republic and very little was achieved due to the opposition and reactionary attitude from same local leaders who argued that the Turkana were too poor to afford clothes. But it was encouraging when a number of them could be seen wearing clothes in Lodwar town (Pedo, Kirye, 0.I 2007). The first development efforts since the attainment of independence have been to bring the district into the mainstream development in all the aspects and integrate it with the rest of the country. But given the conservative attitude of the people, their way of life imposed by the harsh, ecological conditions, very little development in a classical sense was achieved (KNA/DC/LDW/1/1/1966).

2.4.5 Special District Administration Ordinance Order.

Historically the British government established an administration over the Turkana in 1910 and the district has since remained within the present borders. Immediately the government through the Special District Administration Ordinance Order Chapter 45 of the Laws of Kenya conferred the District Commissioner together with the police, the power to issue or not issue a pass to persons who wished to enter or get out of the district. Through the Ordinance Order, the district was declared a closed district. Upon receiving a pass, the government dictated especially to traders on where and when they could conduct business. For instance in 1961, the Turkana District Commissioner. T.D Preston in a letter dated 21/05/1961 advised Mr. Mohammed Hussein to only conduct business at Lorugum and Kangetet at specified dates, 15/05/1961 and 25/05/1961 (KNA/LDW/1/1/125, 1961).
Until 1968, the district was a restricted area and people traveling through it had to have a special administrative and police permits as indicated above. At times too especially among natives, it was forbidden to enter the district without dressing traditionally. To the British, the Turkana were a nuisance to the neighbouring European farmers at Trans-Nzoia and had to be contained. For this reasons and the fact too that the people were nomadic pastoralists, very little development was accomplished in the district throughout the colonial era and well into the first years of political independence (KNA/LDW/1/1/125, 1961).

2.4.6 Pastoralist Migrations

As argued earlier in this chapter the Turkana even prior to the advent of colonialism were predominantly pastoral. Their adaptation to the environment was that of constant migration in search of pasture for their animals. In that regard, successive governments have had a difficult time in planning and implementation of socio-economic programmes. Constant migrations incapacitated the establishment of permanent social amenities, such as the schools and hospitals (KNA/DC/LDW/1/1/104). According to the 1969 census, Turkana District had a population of 165,225 people. In the 1979 census the district had a population 142,702 people. This shows an intercensal negative growth rate of -1.29% per annum. This might be attributed to the drought which had set in at the time of the census. Large populations had moved out to the neighbouring districts and countries in search of pasture and water for their livestock. This led other groups of Turkana people to expand into Samburu and into Isiolo Districts. Those living along the international boundaries habitually exploited the grazing and browsing resources in South Sudan and Eastern Uganda areas respectively during their seasonal migration cycles (Ibid). In 1995, the district
experienced unprecedented movement of the Turkana pastoralists to search for better vegetation resources for their animals and to escape insecurity along the district and international boarders.

In Turkwel Division pastoralists from Lokiriam, Lorengipi and Namoruputh migrated into Tebesland (Moroto Range) in Uganda to utilize the abundant availability of pastures there. In Kokuro, pastoralists had moved to koyasa and beyond into Natapar and Kalopotikol to escape possible cattle raids. Pastoralists in Katilu and Lokori Divisions moved towards Napeiton and Lomelo in search for better pastures. In Kalokol and central Divisions, there was an internal migration as pastoralists sought the best vegetation resources in Lokitaung Division and Loriu Hills in Lokori Division. In July, Pokot raiders attacked the Turkana pastoralists at Lomelo, many animals were lost. (Makau 0, I, 2007).

2.4.7 Punitive Expeditions and Measures against the Turkana

A critical study of records leaves one with the overwhelming conviction that much of the trouble that the Turkana have encountered in the past and the poverty and distress was brought about by repeated punitive campaigns against them carried out over a long period by forces of the Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Sudan governments. The stock taken from the Turkana in these expeditions numbered hundreds of thousands (KNA/DC/LDW/1/1/104/1963).

In an attempt to contain the Turkana menaces the Provincial Commissioner and District Commissioner Northern Turkana met in 1914 and a line which was named ‘red line’ was drawn as the northern limits of the Turkana grazing grounds. It received the complete approval of the Sudanese government and in reality was detailed demarcation of the general description of the boundary which was published in the Uganda official Gazette in 1914. To enforce the rule, inspector general Kings
African Rifles the Brigade and Battalion, commanders arrived with a patrol contingent and put up a patrol base at Todenyang (Fort Ilkinson) (KNA/DC/LOK/5/3, 1951.)

In 1930 the Abyssinian forces occupied the sandspit which forms Sundersons Gulf in the Northern corner of Lake Rudolf (Turkana). Here the Ethiopian Government established a military post in spite of protests by the colonial government that it was within the British territory. The Ethiopia government wanted to stop the Turkana raids on the Merille once and for all. Representations made by the Kenya government for the evacuation of the post did not however receive the unqualified support of the foreign office as advised by the British Minister at Addis Ababa. As a result, the post remained and negotiations were to be instituted on the spot with a view to induce the local Ethiopian authorities to relinquish it as a military post in favour of it being regarded as a neutral ground and a convenient meeting place for the Arbitration Board. In that regard, the Turkana fishermen were banned from carrying out any activity at the lake (Ibid).

In total disregard of the Turkana poverty, and in an effort of trying to make the Turkana work, the Kenya colonial government slapped taxation on the Turkana. The Turkana were not willing to work especially in road construction and other manual activities because of their cultural background of pastoral lifestyle. As a punitive measure for their resistance to work, taxation was started in Turkana in 1928. Hut and poll tax was collected in which every, male who owned cattle was each made to pay Kshs. 6. At the time the amount was extremely high and could buy two cows. In 1926, about 100 Turkanas of Ngamatok section were forcibly turned out to make the new road. They did not like it and this excersebated hate for the British (Ibid).In 1929, tax collection in the district was Kshs. 48,686 against Kshs. 39,324 in 1928. The Provincial Commissioner approved the institution of a
system whereby a metal disc bearing section letters and numbers were issued to and retained by individual tax payer – thus avoiding the impossible task of counting and issuing new numbers to every body each year (KNA/DC/LDW/1/1/104, 1963). The snag was that these discs were liable to be mixed up if one man brought in taxes for a dozen or so of his friends. It was suggested that this could be overcome by impressing on each man as he is given his disc, that if he sends in his disc and tax by a friend he must attach some identification mark to it a piece of leather with or without beads for instance (KNA/DC/LOD/1/1/66, 1955). Taxation on the Turkana can be seen as a punitive measure because the collected tax was disbursed to Nairobi instead of using it to develop the district. The money disbursed by the government did not even address the Turkana social-economic needs because of lack of planning and owing to its small amount.

2.4.8 Locust Infestation

Locust (*Schistocerca gregaria*) or the Hopper for a long time destroyed pastures and crops in Turkana District. In fact, the colonial government appointed a locust officer to be in charge of locust control and destruction. A major locust campaign was conducted in 1945 dubbed “the sixth locust campaign” which involved almost the entire northern part of the colony. An interesting fact is that the colonial administration encouraged the Turkana to destroy locusts manually which can be considered to have been slow and ineffective. Central and southern Turkana were affected most by the Hopper. Areas that experienced more infestation included the Loya, Lokichar, Loperot, Kangetet, Kaputir, Mogilla, Kalin, Liwan and Oropoi (KNA/DC/LDW/1/03/8, 1945).

In 1940 – 1944, the colonial military used chemicals in the locust destruction campaign. This impacted negatively on the Turkana as the use of poison resulted in the loss of stock. Loss of stock
through locust campaigns in the 1940s is considered by the Turkana herdsmen as one of the main contributor of poverty and drawback to their economic development (KNA/DC/LDW/1/03/8, 1945). In 1945, the director of locust control based at Lodwar, reported to the head office in Nairobi that it was fairly easy to kill the Hoppers when they were moving over soft sandy soil and the method employed was by digging small trenches by hand driving the Hoppers in bands into the trenches and then smothering them. But on the 4th and 5th stage of development, the Hoppers move on to hard ground and the only method left was to burn them. Unfortunately there was little wood. On average ten thorn trees heavily packed with thousands of hoppers was burnt daily. There was an average of 140 Turkana daily employed on the work of cutting trees for the purpose of burning the Hoppers (Ibid) The destruction of thorn trees and vegetation resulted in environmental degradation which can be attributed to have caused incessant drought in the district over the years thus impacting negatively on the economic development of the inhabitants.

2.4.9 Illiteracy

The important questions facing underdeveloped countries today are those that relate to economic growth and how to achieve this. Economists are stressing the role of education in economic development and no longer believe that investment in material capital alone can necessarily lead to socio-economic development. The absence of an education and systems capable of producing the right attitudes and required skills and professions can easily impede progress and frustrate results expected from capital investment. It is almost impossible to increase the wealth of a nation without first improving the quality and level of its human resources (World Bank, 1990:20-27). The colonial government in Kenya was not keen on how to eliminate the problem of illiteracy in the district. As a result, Turkana District became one of the leading districts in Kenya with the highest level of
illiteracy. Illiteracy is responsible for the lagging behind in socio-economic development of the inhabitants of the district (Republic of Kenya, 1998). Illiteracy limits the ability of the people to function effectively in the society and places them in a disadvantaged position as they have fewer or no choices in jobs, housing, health and other facilities which are needed to live a full life. It is thus certain that the high rate of illiteracy in the district resulted in high levels of poverty and despair.

The government of Kenya on realizing the need for adult education in the district introduced it in 1965. Although adults were encouraged to attend literacy classes, the response was poor. For this reason, majority of the Turkana pastoralists continued to languish in illiteracy. By 1982 efforts to convince the Turkana adults to enroll themselves in literacy classes bore some fruits. This positive development was largely attributed to the effort made by the Catholic Diocese of Lodwar through its Department of Adult Education Programmes (Melvin, O.I, 2007). The overall number of learners in the department of adult education under the Ministry of Social Services dropped in 1982 from 3,145 to 2,594. The reason given was that most of them joined the Diocese of Lodwar run classes (Republic of Kenya, 1983). Other reasons brought forth on the continued high levels of illiteracy in the district included: drought and famine where families were forced to move from one place to other in search of food and pastures, cattle rustling which caused insecurity hence adult education centers and schools could not be constructed and unwillingness by teachers from other parts of the country to work in Turkana District (Ekidor, Ikeno, Ekal, Kiarie, Waswa, O.I 2007).

As noted earlier, literacy is critical for the healthy socio-economic development. Of critical importance is the education of children especially girls. Each extra year of education for mothers is associated with a significant decline in infant mortality and improved child health. More literate
parents raise more literate children. Children with parents who can read and write stay in school longer and achieve more. Illiteracy among women was higher and was a high hindrance to socio-economic development that were designed to boost livelihoods, incomes, protection of the environment and provision of health care and food security. At the same time high levels of illiteracy in the district hampered the ability of the people to make responsible decisions on governance (Nabiswa, Kimani, Limlim, Ekaran, 0.1 2007).

2.5 Summary

Turkana District is known to have been occupied by humans for a long time. Evidence to support this is obtained from sources, such as paleontology, archaeology, historical linguistics and oral traditions. The district is also known to have hosted a lot of interaction between different cultural and linguistic groups for many years. This district covers a wide area comprising the whole of North Western Kenya to the West of Lake Turkana. The people who reside in the district are the Turkana people who are strongly independent nomadic pastoralists closely related to the Jie, Karamojong and Dodoth ethnic groups. Their culture is remarkably homogenous. Upon arriving at the Turkana basin, the grazing and water needs of their animals shaped the settlement patterns and movements. As a result, they found themselves in endless competition with all their neighbours. The arrival of the Turkana to the district continued to as late as 1850 and the Swahili traders are known to have conducted trading activities in Turkana and from the North Ivory traders and slave dealers of Abyssinia conducted business as late as in the twentieth century.

The first Europeans to arrive in Turkana District were Count Teleki and Von Horne, Austrian nationals who named Lake Turkana, Lake Rudolf. Turkana District was part of the British Uganda
Protectorate after it was embraced by the Treaties of the Juba Expedition of 1897-1899. Later on in 1926 it became part of the British colony of Kenya. The expansion of the Turkana beyond their district boundary was checked regularly by police and military action. The colonial government of Kenya began an operation of conquest and disarmament of the Turkana and completed it in 1918. The lagging behind of the district in socio-economic development can be blamed on the colonial state which came up with harsh policies and neglect on pastoral economy. The problem was later inherited by independent Kenyan state which even attempted to sedentarize the Turkana pastoralists.

The bulk of the district is arid and semi arid. It is only fit for pastoralism. But with recurrence of drought and famine, Turkana pastoralists have no option but to constantly migrate in search of pastoral resources which has resulted in constant conflicts with their neighbours and restrictions being placed upon them by state borders, provincial boundaries, grazing zones, games parks and quarantine restrictions. Cattle rustling and raids contributed a great deal of poor socio-economic status of the district. Turkana neighbours have constantly raided them thus rendering them poor. The neighbours include the Merrile, Toposa, Karamojong, Pokot Rendille and Samburu. The Kenya colonial government obtained some concession to curb cattle rustling with Sudan but no agreement was reached with Abyssinia in which the notorious Merrile raiders constantly raided the Turkana cattle rendering them poorer and poorer.

The district has for a long time experienced drought and famine in which lack of grazing and browse led to low productivity of milk and blood and high mortality of stock caused great hardship to the people. The Turkana being pastoralists, they exhibit high tendency of conservatism. Any attempt to change and introduce new socio-economic concepts to them always encountered bitter opposition and
reactionary attitude from the people and the local leaders. In an attempt to curb the Turkana nuisance in the neighbouring districts especially Trans-Nzoia, the colonial government enforced the Special District Administration Ordinance Order which restricted economic activities and movement in the district to as late as 1968. Turkanas constant migration in search of pastures negated the achievement of meaningful socio-economic development because the successive governments could not plan and implement policies in the district. Since the pre-colonial period, the Turkana experienced a series of punitive expeditions and measures against them by the colonial government of Kenya, neighbouring states and neighbouring communities. These measures were to blame for the dismal socio-economic status of the Turkana people. Some of the punitive expeditions and measures included the drawing of the ‘red line’ punitive expeditions by the Sudan and Abyssinian forces for cattle rustling and more so, the confiscation of their stock. Other factors included imposition of tax and forced labour, the locust menace that damaged the environment, and also illiteracy.

CHAPTER THREE


3.1 Introduction

After independence Kenyan leaders had a vision that would guide them to pursue radical socio-economic and political changes for the common good. The inspiration was brought by the desire to achieve a set of values and goals that would turn around the underdevelopment brought about by
colonialism. The expected results were surprisingly not forthcoming after several years. It is therefore prudent to mention that the kind of development in place was the product of efforts of many actors, such as farmers, indigenous entrepreneurs, multinational companies, state officials, international donor agencies and NGOs. The above mentioned organizations have jointly and separately played a role in the realization of development (*Ibid*). This is neo-liberalism at work.

The state in Kenya has been a major actor in socio-economic development. Where it was not fully involved, the socio-economic aspirations of the people were curtailed. In that regard, the development performance in Kenya was largely a function of the state’s contribution through the public service in conjunction with other organizations. However, the efficiency of the state as an agent of socio-economic development was subjected to doubtful scrutiny when development goals became a mirage (Khobotlo, 2001:1-17). The state continued to play an interventionist role despite its weaknesses as an agent of socio-economic development (Wallis, 1989:41, Moos, 2004). The argument was reinforced by Odinga (1967) who observed that the state continued to participate as an instrument of socio-economic development despite its shortcomings because there were no viable alternatives to it, since the local private sector and market were underdeveloped. He called for the liberalization of development. He blamed the situation on colonialism which according to him, deliberately frustrated African entrepreneurship through organized regulations and fraud (Odinga, 1967:89).

This chapter demonstrates the shortcomings of the state-approach to socio-economic development in Turkana District. This it does with specific reference to the public service. The reason is that in Kenya, public servants who are also career employees of the state play a leading role in socio-
economic development. Their role has entailed the maintenance of law and order, aggregation and articulation of the development agenda, mobilization of resources, policy making and implementation of programmes and projects (Republic of Kenya 1965). It begins by analyzing the role of state in development in Kenya, the development planning and implementation in Kenya, the role of the public service and the shortcomings of the States’ approach to socio-economic development in Turkana District. It should be noted that the government tried to provide the necessary socio-economic infrastructure—roads, airstrips, service centers, schools, health centers, water, irrigation, and communication. The main focus was on developing resources, settling people through irrigation projects and providing them with basic services. But the impact of the efforts remained insignificant in comparison with other districts. Hence Turkana District remained one of the least developed in the country.

3.2 National Approach to Development Planning

Development planning and implementation in Kenya can be traced back to immediately after independence when president Kenyatta introduced the Harambee philosophy in 1964, people were to pool together their resources in the spirit of nationalism towards the socio-economic development of the country. The period between 1964 and 1966 was characterized by planning initiatives at the grassroots levels by the people. The people planned and put up all kinds of welfare projects. They were involved both in planning and implementation. Planning by the people failed because many of the planned projects could not be implemented (Republic of Kenya, 1970:324-327).

The idea of self-help planning and development convinced Kenya’s leadership that the local people were not good planners. Projects which were put up could not be completed on schedule. Ironically, the projects which were successfully put in place could not in most cases be maintained. The
experience solidified the government attitude towards the idea of development initiative at the local level. Several years down the line, as we shall see later in this study, the idea of development planning and implementation involving the local people is becoming popular. The people initiative which characterized the 1964-1966 period was further criticized by the Dev Plan of 1966-1970 and ignored by successive development plans. In 1965, the government argued that “Self-help projects must be fitted into the plan and self-help efforts must be guided into useful channels. Self-help is an integral part of planned development and must be subject to the same discipline as other parts of the development” (Republic of Kenya, 1965:36).

The main principles and strategies for Kenya’s development after independence were laid down in the Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965 entitled ‘African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya’. The Kenyan government outlined the political and economic blueprint which formed a consistent economic and political philosophy which has guided subsequent policy and has been incorporated into successive development plans. The paper rejected both Western Capitalism and Eastern Communism. Tom Mboya who was then the Minister of Economic Planning and Development, contended that African Socialism would guarantee every citizen, whether rich or poor, full and equal rights. The main features of African Socialism according to the government were, political democracy, mutual social and political responsibility, various forms of property ownership so that nobody would have too much power, the control of wealth so that it is used in the interest of society, freedom from disease, poverty and exploitation and progressive taxation to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor (Republic of Kenya, 1965:1-10)
The emphasis was again made in the 1966-1970 Plan which stated that “In order to tackle the maximum contribution to the nation’s effort for more rapid economic and social development, the growing self-help activities must be planned and directed…they must be planned and co-ordinated so that they are consistent with the National Development Plan” (Republic of Kenya, 1966:324). The above quotations show that the government was convinced that the local people were not able to carry out successfully the responsibility of initiating and sustaining development. The government tried to formally effect planning by turning the Community Development Committees into sub-committees of the Development Advisory Committees chaired by the District Commissioner and the Provincial Commissioner respectively.

At the same time the self-help committees would be guided by the District and Provincial Committee. The District Development Committee was mandated to approve or reject any proposal for self-help projects guided by whether it contributes to national agenda and policies to development (Republic of Kenya, 1967:170). In that regard, it emerged that the government became the master of national socio-economic development. The people were encouraged to be actively involved in the implementation rather than planning (Hyden, 1972:86). It is therefore clear from the above discussion that the state’s approach sidelined the people from development planning and attempted to force the people to implement what they did not participate in planning. The state thus used the Public Service to plan and also to implement the socio-economic activities in the country. It is therefore important to interrogate the shortcomings of the Public Service approach to socio-economic development planning and implementation in Kenya with special reference to Turkana District since independence. But before embarking on that, is imperative to highlight the role of the Public Service in Kenya.
3.3 The Role of the Public Service in Kenya

The Kenyan government was designed in accordance with the commonwealth traditions. The government was made up of three arms, which are the executive, judiciary and parliament. The executive arm was responsible with formulating development policies. The executive implements its development policies through the Public Service which is a concern of this study.

According to Jackson (1970) the Public Service is constituted by government employees who were career professionals of the state. Their major role is to facilitate socio-economic development. These people are referred to as civil servants and are expected to perform such duties as maintenance of law and order, articulation of socio-economic problems, mobilization of resources for development, policy making at the grassroots level, implementation of policies, programmes and projects and mobilization of demand for public goods and services (Jackson, 1970:20). The government intended to enhance the public service effectiveness at the local level by disaggregating targets to fit the National Plan (Republic of Kenya, 1964: 136). The president (Kenyatta) in 1965 commented that public servants would be judged by their performance in development and if necessary called upon to explain any failure in achieving their targets (Republic of Kenya, 1965: 4).

The core of the Kenyan Civil Service in the rural areas is the Provincial Administration. It also represents the government through various ministries. Thus the figure below shows the arrangement of the Kenyan Public Service and administrative hierarchy.
All Kenya’s ministries are represented by civil servants at the district level who serve under the Provincial Administration. In a district for instance, there is a District Community Development Officer, an Agricultural Officer, veterinary office, cooperatives office, medical, trade, land, Registrar of Works and the Police Officer Commanding Police Division (OCPD). The Division is headed by a District Officer who heads such Departments as Security and Registration of Persons. He/she coordinates socio-economic matters in his/her area of jurisdiction in consultation with the District Commissioner, Chiefs and the residents of the Division. At the location, two levels below the
district, the Provincial Administration is represented by a chief and sub-chiefs and served by administration police. The primary local government institutions are the county council, municipal councils, city councils, town councils with the district as area of jurisdiction. Some counties also have area councils at the divisional levels, but locations and sub-locations lack representative institutions (Republic of Kenya, 1967:8, Gertzel, 1970).

A good public service should have the capacity to identify and solve specific kinds of problems. It should be in a position to induce and sustain social and economic change together with prudent management of the resources which it is bequeathed (Republic of Kenya, 1969:2-3). As is the case in the Third World in general and Africa in particular, the public service in Kenya has been and still is a major actor in the socio-economic development process (Wallis, 1989:19). In Kenya, there was a loss of confidence by the public on the efficacy of the public service as an instrument of socio-economic development. The concern was also shared by the major financial institutions, such as the World Bank, I.M.F and other development partners (World Bank, 1990, Chepkwony, 1987:27). It is therefore imperative to interrogate with the aim of demonstrating the shortcomings of the state approach through the public service as an instrument of socio-economic development in Turkana District.

3.4 The Shortcomings of the State Approach to Socio-economic Development in Turkana District

After over 40 years of independence, over 65% of the inhabitants of ASAL districts in Kenya still live in abject poverty (Gimode, 2004:295). The Turkana people fall in this category. As an instrument of socio-economic change the state, for decades pursued an approach or approaches that could not
assure the attainment of desired socio-economic change in Turkana District. Crucial development priorities, such as infrastructure and social amenities, in the district have remained wanting (Ibid: 302). The public service has continued to undermine the facilitation of socio-economic development in Turkana District as discussed below.

3.4.1 Marginalization of Pastoralism.

Turkana District lies within a region that is home to the largest remaining concentration of traditional livestock keepers in the world (Domboss and Markakis, 1990:1-15). The countries of the sub-region –Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda rank among the top ten in the world in terms of pastoralist population and size. Pastoralists in the region occupy a variety of ecological niches, exhibit the full range of socio-economic modes of organization found in the pastoralist Milieu, and have diverse linkages and forms of interaction with neighboring sedentary communities (Ibid). The degradation of the pastoralist habitat was exponentially hastened by the incessant drought, culminating in the raising spectra of desertification in many areas. Devastated by famine and unable to rebuild their livestock, the pastoral communities were driven into what can be called “Sedenterisation through impoverishment” (Samatar, 1989:6-42). This blended well with official policy in the Eastern Africa states whose governments regarded fixed abode as the only solution to the many challenges posed by pastoralism. This policy inherited the prejudices of colonialism which were against the footloose herders. Regardless of the nature of the regime, the policies of the Horn of Africa states towards their pastoralist subjects have had similar results (Ibid).

Although many efforts were made to convince pastoralists to sell their livestock in order to provide urban and export markets with cheap meat, the failure was blamed on the “cattle complex”. The
complex was attributed to pastoralists’ apathy to part with their livestock due to psychological and cultural reasons overriding rational economic considerations. Consequently, no much attention was paid to the pastoralist economy, it was generally ignored (Lipton, 1977). Dornboss and Markakis (1991) argue that it was the marginalization of pastoralists in Eastern Africa by the Post-colonial governments that they are now facing the problem of rebellion and instability. They give examples of major civil wars in Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia. Others include the post-independence regional uprisings in Kenya and Uganda. Another observation is that due to improper policy implementation and formulization in pastoralists areas, the herders are involved in regular tribal warfare an indication of a desperate struggle for diminishing natural resources in the pastoralist habitat. It is not surprising that the areas and groups most wanting in development are also the ones that have the least access to State and that is when the NGO factor came in as an alternative vehicle to development in this region (Makau 0.I, 2007).

3.4.2 Poor Planning and Implementation of Socio-economic Programmes

Some development officers in Turkana District left their co-ordination role and were instead playing the role of implementing officers. In this regard, it became a practice for some of them to be involved with the purchase of materials for development projects and apparently without involving the respective implementing officers or project committees of the whole process of implementing such projects. The practice in most cases resulted into various irregularities, such as purchase of idle items which were not utilized immediately. This led to deterioration, unauthorized overspending and deviation of funds from one project to another. In some cases the procurement officers did not open
separate project files for each of the project where all the copies of payment vouchers and other relevant correspondences were kept for proper records. Consequently, some projects were cancelled by the ministry concerned (Republic of Kenya, 1983).

The rigid budgetary and financial controls for the disbursement of Rural Development Fund (RDF) meant that very little of the money was used in the district. The insistence on the economics of social projects, the categorization of projects to be funded and the self-help contributions requirements created a bottleneck in the use of funds. In addition, the mere approval role of the District Development Committee (DDC) also meant that the committee did not emerge as a meaningful organ for rural planning and development. The government did not realize that the initiation of people oriented projects presuppose that the people themselves have to accept the projects. All these would have been overcome through flexibility and innovativeness by the DDC in its approach to the special conditions prevailing in a nomadic setting. Over the years, the DDC relied on rural development funds as a basis for approving and recommending projects to be funded. However, and mainly due to the rigid rules under which the fund was operated, very little if any progress was made by way of making the district get a share of the otherwise healthy socio-economic development fund (Republic of Kenya, 1983, Odhiambo,Ekal, Makau, O.I, 20070).

Disaggregated plans as to financial commitment on a sector by sector basis were not received by officials in the Ministry of Finance from the DDC in time and if received had no district breakdown. As there was no indication of financial implication and ministerial project commitment or identification, the DDC was tempted to generalize the plan to such an extent that the end product left much to be desired. Worse still, a great number of departmental heads simply felt they were not
responsible for drawing departmental plans, let alone their participation in the formulation of the district plan. As it turned out, the planning exercise largely became one man show especially when the sectoral Planning Groups lacked the mandate to commit certain ministry’s intentions beyond the annual budget indications (Republic of Kenya, 1978). During the second development plan up to 1968, the district submitted completion of programmes and projects but these were regarded with despair by central government staff and were not incorporated in the planning process. The main reason as pointed out above was that the proposals were not worked through into action proposals with realistic and detailed requests (Republic of Kenya, 1970).

In the second half of the financial year 1983/84 for instance, the activities of the Rural Development Fund were affected by a number of external factors, such as the shortage of recurrent funds at the district level which continued to have a negative impact on the rate of implementation of the RDF projects. The implementation of the District Focus for Rural Development (RFRD) was hopefully believed to ease the liquidity problems of the district treasuries in the long run. However, it was clear that the amount of imprest given to the district treasury were insufficient to cover their needs. (Mohammed, 0.1, 2007). This continued to cause delays in implementation of RDF projects since some suppliers of materials refused to accept to provide these materials to the government. (Republic of Kenya, 1983:6, see also Weiss, 2004:20-46).

In 1988 for instance, the Ministry of Trade in Turkana District was allocated an average of Kshs. 80,000 by the treasury. The amount was far below the required amount for the implementation of its planned programmes. The problem could not be solved because there was lack of communication between district headquarters and the Ministry of Trade on how funds will be availed for the
implementation of programmes, such as the promotion of gum Arabica, Aloe Vera and Basketry, the
revival of the Turkana District Agricultural Show and the funding of extension activities (Republic of
Kenya, 1989). The department also lacked computers and other facilities necessary for consistent
documentation (Makau, 0.I 2007). Allocation of funds to the ministerial departments frequently
seemed to ignore the size of the district, its remoteness and its inaccessibility. The rapid tear and
wear of vehicles, and the escalated maintenance costs necessitated by the fact that vehicles had to be
driven to Nakuru, Eldoret or Kitale for even very minor repairs thus development efforts were slowed
down by these constraints (Republic of Kenya, 1983)

Lack of vehicles for transportation of public servants within the district was another bottleneck
created by the state that ensured the lagging behind in socio-economic development in Turkana
District. In 1995 for instance, the registrar of persons in the district was allocated only two vehicles
but only one was serviceable and could not operate in the poor roads and getting fuel was also a
problem. Out of the seventeen divisions of Turkana District, the department had officers in three
other stations excluding the district headquarters (Republic of Kenya, 1996:148). It was surprising to
note that politicians usually supported them to go to the field for registration especially on the eve of
national elections but they didn’t cover staff field allowances set up by the government (Ethuro, 0.I,
2007).

In the 1990’s the Government of Kenya with the advice of the leading international monetary
institutions introduced the cost sharing scheme popularly known as the Structural Adjustment
Programme (SAP). The scheme was intended to reduce government spending by involving the
citizens in funding socio-economic projects. This scheme impacted negatively on socio-economic
activities since the people who were expected to contribute were poor and could not fulfill their share of contribution. This meant that most socio-economic activities stalled and access to social services such as education and health became a dream (Oyejide, 2003:123, Mohammed, O.I, 2007). In 1998, the government introduced a one thousand shillings levy (cost – sharing) for people in Turkana District who wanted to have some training on business and entrepreneurship (Republic of Kenya, 1999). This made many people unable to access the training because they did not have the money. Instead they demanded to be paid allowances at the end of the training. Other activities, such as construction of schools and health centers became a problem to initiate (Mohammed, O.I, 2007).

The original feasibility study of what was termed “The Turkana George Multi-purpose Project” was financed by the Norwegian Government consultants for the Ministry of Water Development (MWD) in 1979/1980. Despite its title this study concentrated almost solely on hydro-power aspects of the project, although some studies were carried out of resettlement requirements. The inadequacy of the study in respect to the environment and Multi-Purpose aspects of the project was realized by NORAD, who produced terms of reference for the required additional studies and offered to finance them (Republic of Kenya, 1981:234). However in 1980-1981 the responsibility for the project was assumed by the Kerio Valley Development Authority (K.V.D.A) who commissioned a firm of Kenyan consultants to carry out a study of its socio-economic impacts (Republic of Kenya, 1983). Unfortunately the study was superficial and in places, misleading. A meaningful and comprehensive study of the environmental impacts and Multi-Purpose potential of the project is still needed. It is understood that in 1983, the French Consultants, Sogreah submitted an updated feasibility study of the project to K.V.D.A copy of the report was not released by K.V.D.A and nobody was able to
inspect its treatment of non-power aspects. The government at the cabinet level decided to go ahead with the project for completion by 1992 (Makau, O.I, 2007).

By 1975, transport to the district posed a grave problem. At the time it seemed that no immediate solution was being contemplated to alleviate the problem. The route to Lodwar, the district headquarters was Kitale via Amudat in Uganda and the alternative one was Kapenguria-Sigor road via Marich pass. Both roads were unsuitable for vehicles other than land rovers and new lorries hence the absence of passenger service vehicles. Problems frequently arose during the travel, when these vehicles packed to capacity with merchandise the poor passengers often found themselves sitting on top of the packages and traveled in discomfort for over 315 kilometers, the distance between Lodwar and Kitale. Quite often they traveled at a very clear risk of breaking down and passengers got hurt. Sometimes they would sleep on the lorries for some days when the vehicles could not move due to mechanical problems (KNA/PC/2/1/40, 1974). It is common sense to note that poor communication can cause a great drawback to any socio-economic development effort in the world. Rural access roads were impassable even those that are used to access the neighbouring countries, such as Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda (Airey et al, 1981). This was the situation Turkana District was in and still is in.

The public service in Turkana District to a large extent did not utilize the human resource of the local people. Many locally supported projects were poorly conceived and consequently became unsuitable or unused. The situation was caused by the rural people’s inability to understand the government’s planning objectives and machinery. As most projects depended on government’s facilitation and
financing and support, the incapacity of the people to predict accurately eventually led to stalled projects and many bad investments of local energies (Jackson, 1970:199, Lopuwa, O.I, 2007).

For a long time, the government was unable to make the public service to think locally. As the government field officers play a pertinent role in rural development, they had to a large, extent unable to have a good understanding of both the local people’s conceptions and constraints on one hand and the national political and socio-economic planning systems on the other. At the same time many public servants were insecure in their understanding of the socio-economic planning systems and this made them afraid of exposing themselves to discussions of development matters with the local people. Allocation of socio-economic resources at the local level was determined not by systematic area planning that involved careful assessment of probable problems and opportunities, but through a mixture of national and departmental priorities. The situation led to the infiltration of ideas and preferences of individual public servants and politicians that compromised the capacity of the local people and departments to execute their policies well. Consequently grassroots planning became a formal exercise that did not significantly affect local development (Mukoo, Melvin, O.I, 2007, see also Jackson, 1970:199, Gertzel, 1970:14, Schaffer, 1969:184).

In the rural areas, the civil servants liked to be seen as representatives of the population. They considered themselves to be having a mandate to act on behalf of the rural folk on development matters. Consequently, they attempted to dictate policies persuasively using in some cases populist rhetoric in order to convince the rural population that it was in their best interest to accept and implement these policies. In situations where the rural population disagreed with them, the public officials resorted to coercive methods by forcing them to implement unpopular projects (Ibid).
3.4.3 Hands off Approach to Insecurity

Insecurity has been and is still a major socio-economic development challenge in Turkana District. This was mainly caused by the crisis of pastoralism and the proximity to Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda borders: Countries that for a long time experienced civil strife that necessitated the proliferation of small arms (Doornboss and Markakis, 1991). The state seemed to have abdicated its responsibility of ensuring that security is maintained in the Turkana basin. Banditry and cattle rustling was so serious in that during raids, the active members of the family were killed leaving many orphans who had no economic activities. Those who were not killed lost all the property they owned thus becoming poor. Livestock rustlers and organized armed gangsters terrorized the district for a long time especially along its borders with neighboring communities. Having been nomads all their lives, most of them could not take up other profitable or gainful jobs. Insecurity banditry, and cattle rustling in the district resulted in poverty of unprecedented levels. According to many residents, the insecurity menace could have been eradicated if the government was serious. Instead it preferred the hands-off approach (Ethuro, Buwalda, 0.I, 2007).

Numerous numbers of cattle were taken with indiscriminative killings mainly from the Jie tribe. West Pokot led in raids which were followed by counter raids with big losses of property and life. The Karamajong of Uganda raided the Turkana once during the year 1975 as compared to three raids of 1974. The Pokots also raided once and in the year 1974 they did it twice. In these raids, 21 Karamajong tribesmen were killed in 1975, whereas only 3 had been killed in 1974. Thirteen Pokots lost their lives in 1975 during their raid on Turkana and during these raids many cattle, sheep and
goats were stolen. The table below shows the loss (in terms of cattle, goats and other animals like camels and donkeys) caused by the Turkana neighbours during the years 1974-1975.

### Table 3.1 Number of Stock Stolen from the Turkana 1974-1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raiders</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Goats</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karamajong</td>
<td>1074</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokots</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>1792</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>2077</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recovered</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Goats</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recovered</td>
<td>1057</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total lost</td>
<td>826</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: District Commissioner Office., Lodwar*

The Turkana are not free from blame so far as raids on them are concerned. They have participated in raids on their neighbours namely Pokots, Samburus, savagely killing and looting whatever they considered valuable to them. In particular they stole lots of stock from their neighbours. As a result, their neighbours organized themselves for revenge by carrying out raids on them. (Melvin, Etabo, 0.1, 2007). Such raids were not necessarily conducted at night. Even in broad daylight raids were conducted and lots of people killed and stock driven away. (Lopuwa, O.I 2007). Of special mention was the incident in Marti (1974) trading center in which many innocent Samburu tribesmen including an administration police constable were killed by armed Turkanas (Ngorokos) who made off with large numbers of cattle, goats and sheep. As a result of frequent raids, a number of otherwise
productive areas were abandoned by the people who flee to places of assumed safety. (KNA/DC/LOK/6/9/1, 1974).

3.4.4 Opposition Politics and Socio-Economic Development Matters

The government of Kenya entered an agreement with the Scandinavian donor countries in 1984 towards the Rural Development Funds (RDF). The countries agreed to provide assistance in order to carry out an impact study of the fund projects in Turkana District and other parts of the country. They dispatched a consultancy team from the Michelsen Institute Norway. The effort to complete the large number of old uncompleted projects with special assistance from the Scandinavian donors in 1983/1984 continued to dominate Rural Development Fund Turkana District being one of the beneficiaries of the fund (Republic of Kenya, 1983).

After the government realized that there was dire need to facilitate the expansion of health facilities in Turkana, it asked for some donor agencies, and the Norwegian government through its development agency NORAD undertook to finance most of the facilities through the Turkana Rehabilitation and Development Programme. These included the expansion of Lodwar District Hospital, the construction of a medical training school at Lodwar and the expansion of Lokitoung Sub-district Hospital (Republic of Kenya, 1989). All these facilities came to a halt after the pull out of NORAD in 1990. This was a period when opposition leaders in Kenya were agitating for the scraping of section 2A of the Kenyan constitution. These opposition leaders were clamoring for the introduction of multi-party politics. Due to threats from the state, one of the opposition leaders fled the country and sought political asylum in Norway. This angered the Kenyan authorities who issued a forty eight hour ultimatum to all Norwegian organizations, citizens and voluntary agencies to vacate the country.
That marked the end of all NORAD activities in Turkana District. Other projects that were abandoned by NORAD included the construction of the district headquarters at Lodwar and the Turkwel George Multi-Purpose Project feasibility studies among others (Republic of Kenya, 1993, Baliach, Ekidor, Lopuwa. O. I, 2007, see also Aseka, 2005).

The top ranking public servants were based at the Ministry Headquarters in Nairobi. They participated in policy making as advisors to their ministers by giving them the necessary information on policies. A good example is the official preparation of cabinet papers and development plans. Consequently, these officials at their disposal decided to filter the kind of information to give or withhold. Such power distorted certain outcomes in a given direction. Majorly the distortions of the outcomes were made on ethnic lines. The ethnic loyalties were used to the advantage of their own ethnic group at the expense of others. The Turkana having extremely few or no senior public servants found themselves in a disadvantaged position as a minority. The district therefore lagged behind in socio-economic development because it lacked positions of influence in the public service (Odinga, 1967, see also Mintzeberg, 1979:188, Lokidor, O.I, 2007).

The Kenyan public service was designed in a way that a public servant at the highest echelon could participate in ethnic or class competition with interests to defend or advance depending on the power equation that maintained the state system unlike their colleagues in the grassroots who served within the limits of resources allocated at the centre (Jackson, 1970). This therefore impacted negatively on the minority ethnic groups especially those that came from the marginalized areas in terms of education and other social amenities in which Turkana District fell.
3.4.5 Drought and Famine

As pointed out above, poverty is rampant in Turkana District. In that case, there must have been something wrong with the state’s formulation of poverty eradication policies especially for ASAL regions. Although the government attempted to establish irrigation schemes, the scheme could not cater for all the pastoralists. As pointed out in chapter two, one of the major causes of poverty in the district was drought and famine. The prevalence and recurrence of drought and famine posed a great challenge to policy makers who were not able to come up with a workable policy that would eradicate poverty in the district once and for all (Airey et al, 1981:72). Drought reduces the forage and water for the livestock resulting in great loss to the pastoralist economy (Limlin, Ikimat, Kirye, Buwalda, 0.I, 2007). The problem recurs almost after every two years which poses the greatest challenge to socio-economic development since people were always preparing for drought or tackling drought related emergencies. The problem hindered the promotion of livestock and agricultural production in the district (Ibid). The district has large numbers of poor people in both market centers and rural areas. Most of them had lost their livestock to cattle rustlers. At the same time, as highlighted earlier in this chapter the frequent droughts often depleted the families of stock forcing them to run to towns in search of relief. This phenomenon can explain the high growth rate of Lodwar Town and other commercial centers in the district. These centers are a major destination of the poor people (Kimani, 0.I, 2007).

The population living under absolute poverty was estimated at 65% of the total population. They were heavily dependent on relief distribution was also seen as a factor that caused poverty since people were fed throughout the year thus limiting their innovations to look for alternatives (Melvin,
Instead, the government should have provided “food for work” as a policy. This policy was partly implemented in the late 1990s in some parts of the district (Odhiambo, 0.1 2007).

3.4.6 Posting of Public Servants to Turkana District as a Punishment.

Lack of sufficient staff at the district in the 1960s through to the 1990s hindered the work of the government at the divisional and location levels. This narrowed the contact between the government and the people. Although the government could come up with the wonderful socio-economic plans, the same was hindered by the lack of adequate staff to undertake the proposed programmes (Tordoff, 1993, Abong’ai, 0.1, 2007). Ironically among the few public servants who were posted to the district, majority of them were wrong doers in other districts or stations. Civil servants who had some bad records were posted to hardship areas especially ASAL districts. These people lacked job satisfaction and appreciation which affected their efficacy and productivity. The immediate impact was poor provision of service to the public thus slowing down the socio-economic development of the district (Adu, 1975:240, Stewart, 1981:75-81). The punitive measure was still being applied even to as late as 2006 (Tavasi, 0.1, 2007).

3.4.7 Mistrust and Suspicion on NGO Activities by Public Servants (Chiefs)

In 1985 a team of catholic faithful from the Netherlands in collaboration with the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) developed the idea of Turkana Rehabilitation Project (TRP) in Turkana District (Republic of Kenya, 1989). From 1981-1984, the TRP installed over three hundred shallow wells and boreholes. Most of them had pumps. In 1984, the organization embarked on a pump maintenance programme and discussed with the villagers about maintenance and hygiene. It impressed on the people that the pumps were theirs and asked them to maintain and keep them clean.
In most cases the people decided to appoint a pump attendant. His/her tasks were to prevent maltreatment of the pump, to keep the surroundings clean, to drain away the waste water, to keep the animals away from the pump (danger of infectious diseases) to lock the pump when necessary and to protect damage of the pump (Wambani, O.I, 2007, see Khobotlo, 2001).

The villagers would remunerate the pump attendant for his services. This remuneration differed from village to village. In one village, the people were charged ten cents per 20 liters, in another village a family paid three shillings per month and in other places there was no payment and the places where there was no payment, the son of the responsible person acted as pump attendant. Initially, there was a great deal of opposition from chiefs (public servants at the location level, see figure 3.1) and politicians. They felt that water should be free of charge in Turkana District and that breakage should be repaired free of charge by TRP and ultimately the government arguing that it was the responsibility of the government to provide water to them as tax payers. This is not the only case of government mistrust on the activities of NGOs.

Many NGOs have encountered problems with government officials especially the chiefs and their assistants. Many projects ended up stalling or being abandoned in this manner (Weehace, Jertsen, Melvin, Kosgei, 0.1, 2007). Other areas where the shortcomings of the state approach to socio-economic development in Turkana District are evident include, non-provision of electricity supply, poor water supply schemes, insufficient irrigation schemes, non-establishment of industries, lack of reliable market centers for pastoral products and the reluctance by the state to provide good housing incentives for pastoralists and public servants in the district (Makau, 0.1, 2007).
3.4.8 Low Educational Standards

Since independence there has been low enrolment of children in schools. Children who were not enrolled in schools later in life become illiterate members of the community. The illiterate members were not able to improve their socio-economic status as argued earlier in chapter two. Of special interest is the poor enrolment of the girl-child in the district. The table shows how children were enrolled in school in the period 1978-1985 in Turkana District by class and sex.

Table 3.2 Primary School Enrolment in Turkana District 1979-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS 1</th>
<th>CLASS 2</th>
<th>CLASS 3</th>
<th>CLASS 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1318</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3391</td>
<td>1691</td>
<td>5082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>5630</td>
<td>3056</td>
<td>8686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>6557</td>
<td>3946</td>
<td>10503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>5954</td>
<td>3610</td>
<td>9564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>4440</td>
<td>3002</td>
<td>7442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>4582</td>
<td>3083</td>
<td>7665</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS 5</th>
<th>CLASS 6</th>
<th>CLASS 7</th>
<th>CLASS 8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can be readily seen from the table above that the enrolment of girls in schools was disproportionately lower than that of boys and a higher percentage of girls than boys dropped out of primary school. That indicates that the number of girls who eventually completed their O-Level Education was extremely low over the years. Thus it is a clear indication that these girls who become mothers were illiterate. This also indicates that majority of the Turkana children eventually in their adulthood were in a disadvantaged position in competition for national positions and resources like job opportunities. This therefore explains why the district has lagged behind in socio-economic development as compared to other Kenyan districts.

As argued earlier, education is a key to the advancement of any society. Education cannot be achieved if all stakeholders are not fully utilized. A teaching force is vital for the realization of national goals and ambitions. The colonial state marginalized the district in the educational development. Missionaries especially the Catholic Church provided resources seriously as from 1968 when the Closed District Ordinance Order was lifted. The state and missionary societies managed to achieve some positive response from Turkana pastoralists to surrender their children to school (Buwalda, 0.1, 2007). Surprisingly, as the effort was being realized, the problem of teacher shortage emerged as many teachers from other districts in the country were not willing to teach in Turkana district because of the harsh working and environmental conditions. Majority of the members of teaching force thus comprised of missionary volunteers and untrained teachers (Ibid).
Another reason brought forth was that the government enforced a policy that graduates from primary teachers colleges should on the first appointment be posted to their traditional home districts. This meant that the majority of the additional teachers required at the beginning of any school year had to be met by untrained and volunteers as mentioned since few people from Turkana were admitted to the existing Primary Teacher Training Colleges (PTTC’s). This was due to both small numbers of students completing secondary education with the necessary qualifications to enter PTTC’s and the preference of those qualified for other careers. Lack of trained teachers and understaffing resulted to low education standards thus the Turkana children could not pass their exams to the next higher level and eventually this contributed to low socio-economic development (Kimani, 0.I,2007). The tables below vindicate this by focusing on the understaffing and teacher qualifications during the period 1982 – 1985.

### Table 3.3 Teacher Establishment and Streams in Turkana District 1982 – 1984.

#### Teacher Establishment – 1982.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>P1</th>
<th>P2</th>
<th>P3</th>
<th>P4</th>
<th>EAACE</th>
<th>AACE</th>
<th>KJSE</th>
<th>CPE</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Streams 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.4: Teacher Establishment 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>P1</th>
<th>P2</th>
<th>P3</th>
<th>P4</th>
<th>EAACE</th>
<th>AACE</th>
<th>KJSE</th>
<th>CPE</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Streams – 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>547</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District Education Office, Lodwar.
From the table, it is evident that there was understaffing in the district and majority of the teachers were untrained. For example there were 418 teachers to handle 493 streams in 1982, 547 streams and 528 teachers in 1983 and 519 streams and 494 teachers in 1984.

3.5 Summary

The noble responsibility of furthering the socio-economic development in Kenya was bestowed upon the public service. At independence, the Kenyan leaders believed that the public service would steer the country to the desired socio-economic development levels. This was not forthcoming as the very public service became inefficient. Over forty years after independence, majority of Kenyans still lived below poverty line especially in ASAL districts in which Turkana District falls. Several factors contributed to the underdevelopment in Turkana District. They centered on wrong approaches adopted by the government through the public service.

Such approaches included the inefficient co-ordination of procurement of materials for development projects; disaggregated planning was also another major drawback to the desired socio-economic development in Turkana District. Some departmental heads could even feel that they were not part of the planning process. The government’s allocation of funds for development in the district was far from sufficient. The shortage of funds continued to have a negative impact on the rate of implementation of the rural development projects in the district. The introduction of the cost sharing scheme impacted negatively on development in the district, given that the people who were expected to contribute a certain percentage of the funding were poverty stricken.
Some departments that required technical skills became less effective in terms of service provision thus negating the achievements of desired socio-economic goals. The neglect of the road infrastructure by the state contributed a great deal in underdevelopment by the district. The road from Kitale to Lodwar was and still is impassable especially during the rainy season. By 1980 it was surprising to note that traveling from Kitale to Lodwar, one had first have to circumnavigate through Amudat in Uganda. Non-involvement of local people in planning and implementation of socio-economic programmes by the public service curtailed the achievement of desired development. The people could not understand the governments planning, objectives, and machinery thus resulting in bad investment of local energies. Security being a core requirement in a country or society, it was a major challenge in the district. The state seemed to have not been able to ensure security is maintained in the district. Insecurity was also initiated by pastoralists who engage themselves in cattle rustling and banditry. The Turkana themselves and their neighbors own sophisticated guns that proliferated from the neighboring countries. Political interference has had its own share of contribution to lagging behind in socio-economic development in Turkana District. Other factors included the formulation of unworkable policies on poverty eradication and mistrust and suspicion on NGO activities by public servants and vice versa.
CHAPTER FOUR


4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the extent to which the multi-sectoral approach of State, IGAD-NGOs has led to the achievement of tangible change in socio-economic life of the Turkana people. In guiding the study, the neo-liberal approach to socio-economic development is applied to expose the contribution of the state, IGAD, NGOs, development partners, CBO’S and FBO’S. The study critically examines the roles played by the above organizations in dealing with such issues as health, education, famine
relief, economic empowerment, conflict resolution, agricultural development, livestock development and the environment. The study begins by examining factors that necessitated the formation of IGADD, change from IGADD to IGAD, the formation of IGAD, its structure, its objectives, functions and mandate. The study goes ahead to interrogate its activities in Turkana District, challenges faced by the organization, critical examination of the NGO, State and IGAD collaboration in the district, and lastly the examination of issues raised against NGOs.

4.2 Historical Experiences that Necessitated Co-operation in Eastern Africa

The thinking behind the formation of an organization in the Horn of Africa was driven greatly by the historical and cultural bonds of the diverse people. Commonalities in cultural heritage were concretized by shared experiences in the material conditions of life. Hardships and dislocations caused by wars, banditry, cattle rustling and other difficulties, such as famine severed these ties. At a glance one will say that the above mentioned challenges contributed in the migration of large segments of the population of the sub-region forcing them to have contact with each other (Dornboss and Markakis, 1994). Evidence of this can be gleaned from the emergence of common themes in traditional popular music throughout the Horn of Africa (Ibid). These shared experiences were thus used to provide a foundation for innovations in institutional co-operation. In a nutshell therefore, the argument here is that the countries of the Horn of Africa drew inspiration from their common socio-cultural heritage for action in areas of conflict resolution and mobilization of human and material resources for a self reliant and sustainable socio-economic development.

From the debate on the political dimensions of the crisis in the Horn, it emerged that remedies to the legacy of conflict and strife must be grounded on the realistic understanding of past failures. Member
states felt that co-operation between countries in the sub-region must be based on solid foundation of tolerance of diversity between peoples within countries. Country specific experience included such matters as the Ethiopian experience of politics of exclusion and domination; Djibouti and Somalia experience of clan politics in state and civil society; and on ethnicity, religion and regionalism in Sudanese politics (IGADD 1987). Examination of the unique experiences of particular polities enabled the comparative analysis of common political questions in the sub-region. This facilitated a better understanding of the main political challenges and the responses that were required to build effective political institutions and to achieve lasting solutions to challenges faced by the people of the Horn (Ibid).

4.3 The Formation of IGADD

It was agreed that social transformation in the sub-region must be centered on both policies of human development and by efforts to enhance co-operation between states. Concrete policies were needed to stop the suffering of the people. Efforts were made to invest in human capacities and capabilities through adequate provision of health care, education and training. In the final analysis, it was the people who would create growth and they were to be equipped and empowered to exercise their capabilities (IGADD News, 1987). It was further noted that development strategies must be oriented towards achieving self sustained and environmentally sustainable growth and development by internalizing the forces of growth, enhancing individual and collective self reliance and diversity and the structure of production (Ibid). The states agreed to avoid wasteful duplication to pursue the advantages of economies of scale, to utilize the gains from collaboration, exploitation of complementary resource endowments and to reduce the vulnerability to risks imposed by the viscitudes of nature and intensified international pressure. They also agreed to ensure that existing
fetters on cooperation, such as protection of the powers of the state, particularly those of centralized states entrenched bureaucracies, and constrains imposed by international financial institutions (IGADD, 1988). Emphasis was put on the removal of economic barriers dividing states to proceed in tandem with the removal of domestic restrictions on economic life. It was also agreed that the measuring of success of new policies and projects in terms of their practical impacts on human development and the people at the local level and enhancing popular participation in social transformation by drawing on the wealth of tradition and culture (Ibid).

There was a consensus that even the most determined efforts at co-operation and integration could not go far without the encouragement and support of the international community, particularly the North American and European communities as well as the help of international aid institutions. But the assistance must move beyond emergency relief to support country efforts in reconstruction and human centered development and inter country development and transformation of the sub-region (Ibid).

The immediate formation of IGADD was triggered by natural ecological issues. It was formed as a result of the recurring and severe drought and other natural disasters between 1974 and 1984 which caused wide spread famine, ecological degradation and economic hardship in the Horn of Africa region. Although individual countries took substantial measures to cope with the problems and received support from the international community there was a strong call for a regional approach to supplement national efforts. The six countries of the region took action through the United Nations to establish an intergovernmental body for development and drought control in their region.
4.4 The Structure and Working of IGADD

The members of IGADD included the following which joined in 1986, Djibouti (founding member, 1986), Eritrea (joined soon after independence in 1983), Kenya (founding member 1986), Somalia (founding member 1986), Sudan (founding member 1986), Uganda (founding member 1986). These countries cover an area of more than 520,724km and a population of more than 160 million. Nearly 80 per cent of the area covered by these countries consists of arid and semi arid lowlands which receive an average of less than 400mm of rainfall per year. Farmlands stretch over 36 million hectares and permanent grazing areas and range lands cover another 139 million hectares, but more than 40 per cent of the total area is made unproductive by severe environmental conditions.

The recurring and severe droughts and other natural disasters between 1974 and 1984 caused widespread famine, ecological degradation and economic hardships in the Horn. Although individual countries made substantial efforts to cope with the situation and received generous support from the international donor community, the magnitude and extent of the problem argued strongly for regional approach to supplement national efforts. In 1983 and 1984, the six Eastern Africa countries took action through the UN to establish an intergovernmental body for development and drought control in their region. In 1985 ministers from the six countries prepared an agreement on the establishment of IGADD, agreed on its rules, the secretariat structure, and on a strategy to control drought. In January 1986, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government met in Djibouti and signed the agreement which officially launched IGADD with the Secretariat Headquarters in Djibouti.

The main objective of IGADD was coordination of effort of member states to combat the effects of drought and other related disasters. Others included strategies to deal with the problems of medium
and long term recovery and rehabilitation; international community of the very severe problems caused by drought and other related disasters, to appeal for and mobilize all resources necessary to implement emergency, medium and long term programmes set up by operations within the framework of sub-regional co-operation, to identify projects of regional interest submitted by members states and assist in securing resources for project preparation and implementation, to assist member states in setting up guidelines and action programmes for combating drought and desertification and following up the implementation of drought-related activities of sub-regional interest, and lastly to assist member states and existing bodies in the sub-region in securing funds for their individual programmes.

Consequently, the mandate of IGADD was to help its member states to further their development despite the effects of drought and other adverse environmental conditions that hold back progress. It worked at three different levels, as defined in the Plan of Action (IGADD, 1986). IGADD was to help affected countries assess the magnitude of the problem to appeal for assistance, and to co-ordinate relief measures at the sub-regional level including mobilization and distribution of food aid, animal feed and emergency water supplies, provision of healthcare and the rehabilitation of agricultural production. Short and medium term efforts directed toward the recovery from drought and its effects, and toward establishing a new base for development in the IGADD countries, especially action to improve food, security, increase crop production; rehabilitate range lands; develop fisheries; water resources and energy systems; control desertification and develop infrastructures and training. Long term programmes for regional development aimed at re-establishing a productive and sustainable ecological balance in the sub-region. Through the integrated development of agriculture and rural economics, the aim was to achieve sustained increases in food and agricultural production. The
optimal use of soil, water and other natural resources, and the development of physical infrastructure and human resources.

IGADD worked with the government and department of its member nations, and with national, regional international agencies and organizations to promote development. Having defined its priorities, IGADD concentrated on co-ordination of development policies and mobilization of assistance. It also initiated sector studies, prepared regional project proposals and mobilized appropriate financial and technical assistance for their implementation. It mobilized national and regional experts and used the expertise of international consultants. In 1986, IGADD assisted in the preparation of 63 sub-regional and 154 national projects for presentation to the international community at the donors meeting in March 1987. In 1990 the executive secretariat finalized two regional strategies on food security and on desertification control which now form the two axes of its activities for the 5 year programme 1986-1992.

IGADD was governed by an Assembly of the Heads of State and Government. The guidelines and programmes of the organization, and elected a chairperson from among the member states in rotation. It had a Council of Ministers who debated and prepared policy, examined and approved the programme of activities and allocation of funds and adopted the organization budget. The council was chaired by a co-coordinator who was elected from among the members for a term of two years. The council appointed an Executive Secretary for a term of four years, renewable once, to head the executive secretariat which implemented the resolutions passed. The Secretariat facilities facilitated the co-ordination of development policies and resources within the region, assisted members nations in formulating development projects in food security and environment protection sector, assessed
emergency needs, and reinforced national infrastructures necessary for implementing sub-regional development policies. The Executive Secretary also represented IGADD in negotiation with governments and international organizations and subject to prior approval of the Council of Ministers. It also empowered to sign agreements with states and organizations. IGADD and its activities were financed by annual assessed contribution from member states, grants and donations from the UN system, donor countries and agencies, intergovernmental; and international bodies, and from regional and international financial institutions and non-governmental organizations. IGADD donors were Canada, EEC, France, Food and Agriculture Organization, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, OAU, Sweden, USA, the UN and Sudano Sahel organization.

4.5 From IGADD to IGAD

For more than a decade, of IGADD’s existence, the already delicate environmental balance continued to be disturbed by recurrent droughts and other natural disasters. These in turn, brought about extreme fluctuations in agricultural production, sometimes having or doubling annual yields, which in turn, created enormous problems in achieving overall development. Clearly, the long term and comprehensive improvement and widening of scope to encompass other aspects such as conflict resolution and the living standards of peoples required an approach that well articulated the sub-regional needs. On recognizing this, the seven nations agreed to work together in a broad based effort and introduced the concept of IGAD (Manger, 2000). The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) was established in 1996, to supersede the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD), founded in 1986 to co-ordinate measures to combat the effects of drought and desertification and attain regional food security as highlighted earlier in this chapter.
The extra-ordinary summit of IGADD Heads of State and Governmental was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 18 April 1995 and resolved to revitalize the authority by expanding its areas of regional co-operation. This was expected to create a fully fledged regional political, economic development, trade and security entity similar to the South African Development Community and that of West African states (ECOWAS). One of the major motivations for the revitalization of IGADD was the existence of many organizational and structural problems that made the implementation of its goals and principles ineffective. On 21 March 1996, the Heads of State and Government at the Second Extra-ordinary Summit held in Nairobi Kenya approved and adopted an agreement establishing the Inter Governmental Authority on Development. The assembly consisted of Heads of State and Government of member states. It is the supreme policy-making organ of the authority. It holds a summit meeting at least once a year. The chairmanship rotates between countries on an annual basis.

The Council of Ministers is composed of the Minister of Foreign affairs and one other Minister from each member state. It meets at least twice a year and approves the work programme and the annual budget of the Secretariat. These are Committee of Ambassadors or plenipotentiaries of member states to Djibouti. It convenes regularly as required to assist the Executive Secretary concerning the interpretation of policies and guidelines and the realization of the annual work programme.

The Secretariat is the executive body of IGAD, and is headed by the Executive Secretary who is appointed by the Assembly for a term of four years, renewal once. In addition to the office of the Executive Secretary the Secretariat comprises the following three Divisions; Agriculture and Environment; Economic Co-operation and Political and Humanitarian Affairs. The Secretariat assists
member states in formulating regional projects in the priority areas, facilitates the co-ordination and harmonization of development policies, mobilizes resources to implement regional projects and programme approved by the Council and reinforces national infrastructures necessary for implementing regional projects and policies in their efforts to combat the consequences of drought and other natural and manmade disasters. The region suffers from recurrent droughts which severely impede crop and livestock production. Natural; and man-made disasters increase the strain on resources resulting in annual food deficits. About 80% of the IGAD sub-region is classified as arid or semi-arid and some 40% of the region is unproductive owing to severe environmental degradation. This is the case with northern Kenya and Turkana District as elaborated in chapter three of this study. Priority areas of activity to improve food security and preserve natural resources during 1997-2001 included, introduction of remote-sensing services, a marketing information system, regional integrated information system, establishment of training and credit schemes for fishermen, research into the sustainable production of drought-resistant, high yielding crop varieties; trans-boundary livestock disease control and vaccine production, control of environmental pollution, promotion of alternative sources of energy in the homes, management of integrated water resources, promotion of community based land husbandry and training programmes in grain marketing and implementation of the international convention to combat desertification.

The Economic Co-operation Division concentrates on the development of a co-ordinated infrastructure for the region, in particular are the areas of transport and communications, to promote foreign cross border and domestic trade and investment opportunities. IGAD seeks to harmonize national transport and trade policy and thereby facilitate the free movement of people, goods and services. The improvement of infrastructure also aim to facilitate more timely interventions to
conflicts, disasters and emergencies in the sub-region. Projects that were to be undertaken by the end of 2001; included construction of missing segments of the Trans-African Highway and the Pan African Telecommunications Network, the removal of barriers to trade and communications, improvement to ports and inland container terminals and the modernization of railway and telecommunication services.

In November 2000 the IGAD Assembly was determined to establish an integrated rail network connecting all member countries. In addition Heads of State and Government considered the possibility of drafting legislation to facilitate the expansion of intra-IGAD trade. The field of Political and Humanitarian Affairs focuses on conflict prevention, management and resolution through dialogue. The division’s primary aim is to restore peace and stability to member countries affected by conflict in order that resources may be diverted for development purposes. IGAD has been pursuing to strengthen capacity for conflict prevention and to relieve humanitarian crises. In September 1995 negotiations between the Sudanese government and opposition leaders were initiated under the auspices of IGAD with the aim of resolving the conflict in Southern Sudan; these negotiations were then reconvened periodically. In March 2001 IGAD’s mediation committee in Southern Sudan, chaired by President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, publicized a seven point plan for peace and settlement of the conflict. In May-August 2000 a conference aimed at securing peace in Somalia was convened in Arta, Djibouti under auspices of IGAD. The conference appointed a transitional Somali legislature, which then elected an interim national president.

The eighth summit of IGAD Heads of State and Government, held in Khartoum Sudan in November, welcomed the conclusion in September of an agreement of reconciliation between the new Somali
interim administration and a prominent opposition alliance, and determined that those member
countries that neighboured Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya should co-operate in assisting the
process of reconstruction and reconciliation in that country. The summit appointed a special envoy to
implement IGAD’s directives concerning the Somali situation. Following the violent escalation of a
border dispute between Eritrea and Ethiopia in mid-1998 IGAD supported efforts by the OAU to
mediate a cease-fire between the two sides. This was achieved in mid 2000.

Table 4.1 Comparison with other Regional Blocs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional Blocs (RECs)</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Member States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AEC</td>
<td>853,520,010</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECCOWAS</td>
<td>251,646,263</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECCAS</td>
<td>121,245,958</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>233,944,179</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAC</td>
<td>97,865,428</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMESA</td>
<td>404,102,471</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGAD</td>
<td>187,969,775</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Sahara</td>
<td>273,008</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEMAC</td>
<td>34,970,529</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACU</td>
<td>51,055,878</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAMOA</td>
<td>80,865,222</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMA</td>
<td>84,185,073</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agadir</td>
<td>126,066,286</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IMF Database, 2005.
4.6 The State and IGAD Activities in Turkana District

IGAD collaborates with the Kenyan State in an effort to facilitate meaningful socio-economic development. Its presence in the district has been felt majorly through the Food Security and Environmental Protection and the Political and Humanitarian Affairs Divisions. Other areas of operation in which the organization is mandated are lacking. This is to say that IGAD’s activities in Turkana District are extremely limited (Mutai, Kimani, Odhiambo, Ekal, Lodoket, 0.1 2007). Since its inception, the organization has engaged itself in very few socio-economic development activities which is contrary to the expectations of the Turkana residents in which their country is a member to and more so its status as an ASAL District (Ibid).

Pertinent areas in which IGAD and the state could actively participate, such as alleviation of drought, livestock development and production, natural and man-made disasters, marketing information, training and credit schemes, promotion of alternative sources of energy, management of integrated water resources, implementation of the international convention to combat desertification, establishment of training and credit schemes for pastoralists and fishermen, the development of co-ordinated development of transport and communication infrastructure and promotion of cross-border and domestic trade and investment opportunities has never been converted into reality or implemented in Turkana District (Ibid).

4.7 The Accomplishments of IGAD-State Collaboration in Turkana District.

Majority of the Turkana residents are not aware that IGAD as an inter-governmental organization was designed to mitigate the effects of aridity, desertification, drought and development and other aspects
of socio-economic development. Apart from a few leaders, NGO and public service officials no one is aware of any IGAD project in Turkana District (Odhiambo, 0.I, 2007).

Water harvesting project was implemented jointly by IGAD and the Government of Kenya and was funded by the African Development Bank (ADB). It was piloted in the Karamoja Cluster that is comprised of pastoral and Agro-pastoral ethnic groups most of whom share common language, culture, livelihood systems and land area comprising North Eastern Uganda, North Western Kenya (in which Turkana District is situated) South Eastern Sudan and South Ethiopia. The project was envisaged to be eighteen months that commenced on 1st March 2000 with two phases. Phase one comprised the field investigations and assessment of existing and potential water harvesting schemes, identification and selection of priority sites, techniques and participating communities. Phase two was planned to encompass the implementation period and at the end, evaluation was conducted. The goal of the project was “increased food security in the IGAD region” and the objective was to develop a feasible and sustainable community based water harvesting programme in the troubled Karamoja Cluster (Burmen, 0.I, 2007).

The project supported the establishment of a co-coordinator unit headed by a regional co-coordinator. The unit was responsible for implementing project activities in collaboration with the implementing partners. A consultant GS Capso was also appointed to provide technical assistance to the implementation team. A steering committee made up of four member countries representatives was formed to provide direction in the management of the project. The Ministry of Agriculture on behalf of the Government of Kenya nominated one member to the Steering Committee and the National Co-coordinator.
The project was initially programmed to end on 31/12/2006. The Bank granted an extension following a request by IGAD to 31/12/2007. However the contract for the regional co-coordinator was not renewed thus necessitating the national co-coordinator to report directly to IGAD Secretariat. The identification of an implementing partner (NGO) in Kenya was not achieved after Oxfam declined the offer. It was established in this study that the IGAD had signed a contract in early 2007 with Practical Action. The NGO has been in the operation in the region and has long experience in water harvesting (Maina, 0.I, 2007). The process of site technology selection was an all inclusive one. The key stakeholders in the district were consulted through the District Steering Group (DSG). The project sites for Kenya in Turkana District were in Kibish and Oropoi Divisions.

The following is a summary of the sites technologies and cost as per the survey done by the consultant in collaboration with the national team and the community members.

**Table 4.2: Disbursed Funds**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Beneficiaries</th>
<th>Cost US $</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oropoi</td>
<td>Nawoutinas</td>
<td>Rock Dam</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>40,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Naudi</td>
<td>Sand Dam</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>35,287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Narukeny</td>
<td>Contour</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>26,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Trapezoidal Bonds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kibish</td>
<td>Lokakwan</td>
<td>Water Pan</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>120,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ariworeng</td>
<td>Contour</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>18,361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Trapezoidal Bonds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Funds were disbursed.

**Source:** IGADD Office, Nairobi.

A criteria was set up as follows.

- Community based indigenous technical knowledge in rain water harvesting.
- Cultural acceptability.
- Promotion of technologies for food, security domestic and livestock water demands.
- Low cost technology and can be a village level constructed, operated and maintained.
- Sites to act as intervening opportunity to prevent warring communities from encroaching into neighbours resources or territories (Muturi, 0.1,2007.IGAD,2003).

Community mobilization was key activity in Phase One of the project. The national co-ordinator in collaboration with consultant team held community dialogue meetings in the identified sites. During the meetings, dialogue was centered on the community development priorities, their experience and knowledge, proposals for sites, the role of each partner in the project and implementation schedule. The project focus was to empower the community through active involvement in the project planning to enable smooth phasing out of the implementing partner and increased responsibility by the community development process. A workshop was held in Lokichogio on 8/11/2006. The workshop was meant to create awareness on the project and introduce water harvesting technology. The distribution of workshop participants was as follows.

**Table 4.3: Workshop Participants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>241,957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implementing Partner</td>
<td>____</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community members/Leaders</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Staff</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Administrators</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGAD</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultant/Oxfam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** IGAD Office, Nairobi

Participants were exposed to the water harvesting project at Kakuma. The training also incorporated other cross-cutting issues like gender, environment, insecurity and HIV/AIDS. The project delayed due to time taken in recruitment of the co-coordinator and the late disbursement of funds from ADB (IGAD, 2001).

**4.8 Challenges Faced by IGAD and the State**

As indicated earlier, the State-IGAD collaboration has not lived to its required performance in Turkana District. Several other projects apart from the water harvesting and conflict resolution stalled even before the pilot studies were carried out after donors reneged on funding pledges for unexplained reasons. A good example is installing of the Kenya South Sudan road network which was designed to pass through Turkana District (IGAD News, 2004). In what emerges as the worst case of apathy, the development partners- Italian, Denmark, United Kingdom, Germany, United States and the World Bank abandoned projects that they had earlier pledged to fund. By the year 2005 donors had pledged 3.8 billion to fight desertification, one of the major reasons for the establishment of the IGAD, but only Kshs 400 million was disbursed. The African Development Bank, the European
Commission and several United Nations agencies had pledged Kshs 2 billion to desertification programme, which the IGAD Secretariat gave up hope of securing funds (*Ibid*)

The donors had promised among other things to fund a research and training center for arid land management, desertification control and rehabilitation of the East African arid lands but this remained just a thought of idea. The organization singled out poor communications network as one of the major cause of under development in the sub-region. The donor community had pledged a whooping Kshs 46.6 billion to build a network of roads and railway track. However, nothing was provided towards these targets. The Secretariat actually erased the projects from their books and drew new proposals. Among these projects were the Felege Neway-Kalem-Namurpath- Lokitaung-Lodwar road that joins Kenya with both Ethiopia and Sudan. Kalem Namurpath-Lokitaung-Lodwar are in Turkana District. The road was to be funded by the Italian government at a cost of Ksh 7.5 billion. For over a decade, leaders of IGAD members-Kenya; Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Djibouti, Eritrea and Uganda had pre occupied themselves with conflict resolution in Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia at the expense of crucial issues like food insecurity, poverty and other socio-economic aspects (*Ibid*).

This region is renowned not only for being the home of the world’s greatest athletes but also the origin of human kind. Unfortunately, it is also reckoned as the most food insecure part of the world. Other problems include the over concentration by Kenya and Uganda on the East African Community Project, Somalia has had no functioning central government in the last sixteen years, Sudan has internal problems between the central government of the north and regions in south and the west of
the country and some sections of the borders of Ethiopia with Sudan and Somalia are also not demarcated (Odhiambo, Ekal: 1990:50-56, Muturi, 0.1 2007).

4.9 Summary

After independence, Kenya made efforts to have countries in the Horn of Africa to come together to fight the common challenges and experiences. This led to the formation of IGADD in 1986 and later changed to IGAD in 1996. Both IGADD and IGAD were formed on the basis and aspirations of the member states that included Kenya, Uganda Djibouti, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sudan. These aspirations were enshrined in the IGADD and IGAD’s mandate. Since its inception IGAD and the state collaboration has performed dismally in terms of its expected contribution to socio-economic development in Turkana District as per the mandate bestowed to it by member states. Some of the activities carried out by the organization in the district include a survey and piloting on the possibility of utilizing water harvesting and conflict resolution. The organization and the state faced several challenges, such as donor apathy, belated disbursement of donor funds and stalling of its projects for example the Felege Neway-Kalem-Namurputh-Lookitaung-Lodwar road.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 The State, IGAD, and the NGOs: A Multi-Sectoral Approach to the Socio-Economic Transformation of Turkana District, 1986-2006

5.1 The NGO Background

The religious pressure groups which agitated for the abolition of slavery at the end of the 18th century were closely associated with the movement which established the various missionary societies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The initial preoccupation and the motivating factors of these missionary societies were the same: they were all filled with the commitment and the enthusiasm to look for the world's newly discovered pagans, and to convert them to Christianity. Each missionary society tended to specialize in a particular region of the world and many took a part of Africa as their own special concern. The exploration by Europeans of the interior of Africa was in large measure associated with the humanitarian ideas of the anti-slavery movement. It was as a missionary that
Livingstone sought to develop his countrymen’s enthusiasm for the advancement of Christianity and commerce which would relieve Africans from ignorance, famine and disease (Terra Viva, 1993).

Both the nature of their missionary services and their motivations were transported into their new situations, overseas. Before the last quarter of the 19th century, the activities of the missionaries were associated with humanitarian intentions that eventually to the emergence of modern states. This correlates with the activities of Christian missionaries in the Dark Ages outside the dark bounds of the former Roman Empire led to the development of more civilized societies in Europe Of course this was not accomplished. It was the colonial powers which did, after their division of Africa. But they leaned heavily on the work of the missionaries, particularly in the educational and medical fields (Ibid). In the post war period the colonial governments began to give attention to the problems of economic development, so too, the voluntary bodies began to extend their interests from the fields of education and health, to the problem of hunger and hence to the problems of economic development. But there were differences in approach, reflected in the emergence of new forms International Voluntary Agencies (Young and Kent 2004:190).

The process of globalization in the 1980s and 1990s redefined the state and its role by limiting its sovereignty and depriving it of the functions of supervising market forces and co-ordination of social welfare. This resulted in the narrowing of the state’s powers to that of protecting foreign investment and less to the protection of the citizen and the country (Momoh, 1999:-35). The inherited colonial structures continued to serve the interests of the privileged dominant social strata by marginalizing the majority of the people from decision making that adversely affected their socio-economic and political life in Africa. The state became a centre of vested interests that developed into sharp
contradictions and antagonisms. The immediate result was that the state was detached from the people, and the upsurge of instability entrenched it as an oppressive and parasitic institution. This was further worsened by its coercive structures. At the end of it all, the people of Africa no longer trusted it as an agent of social change and development (Chepkwony, 1987).

At the Ninth Session of the Economic Commission for Africa in 1969, a resolution which *Inter alia* set to “promote co-ordination of the work of the ECA, the specialized agencies of the UN and other international organizations with rural development programmes in Africa, in order to secure maximum impact of these programmes on the social and economic progress of the region” (United Nations, 1970). In response to the resolution, a regional symposium was convened in August 1971, of representatives of twenty seven selected International Voluntary Agencies and of FAO, ILO, WHO, UNDP, UNHCR, UNICEF, WFP and the Organization of African Unity in order to consider and work out practical measures for fostering and strengthening technical co-operation between ECA and the International Voluntary Agencies (ECOSOC, 1994).

Arising from the recommendations of the symposium, the ECA proceeded to establish a Voluntary Agencies Bureau (VAB), in September 1971, whose activities embraced the advisory and technical assistance to voluntary agencies on request in identification of suitable projects. Other activities included pre-investment studies and formulation of viable projects, field management of on-going projects and project evaluation exercises, publication of Comprehensive Directories of activities of voluntary agencies in member states, publicity for the work of voluntary agencies and Local Self-Help Projects through a Development Education Programme by means of radio and other mass media, support for the Africa Co-operative Savings and Credit Association (ACOSCA) in mobilizing
local savings for rural development, dissemination of new ideas on simple village technology promotion of concentrated aid to countries with special needs of technical assistance and publication of a quarterly rural development newsletter on activities of the VAB on field experiences at project level (Ibid).

Since 1972 when the Stockholm Declaration was pronounced, NGOs have played an enormous role in environmental issues in international society in a variety of ways. First, they created channels of communication that were later used by states representatives in order to conduct intergovernmental negotiations. Second, they informed national and international action on environment, drought, famine and food security. Third, they contribute to the scientific debate and therefore helped achieve common scientific understandings on technical aspects of environmental problems (Clarke and Timberlake, 1982:110).

The NGOs emerged in the late 20th century as important partners to both national governments and international agencies where they engaged each other in diplomacy, conflict resolution and reconstruction. Like international relief agencies, NGOs respond to major failures on the part of the international community to deal effectively with global problems. Too often, intergovernmental bodies and agencies proved too slow and cumbersome in dealing with emerging crisis situations. Also both international agencies and governments often have institutional and political limitations that hamper their effectiveness in situations of enormous complexity and delicacy. NGOs by contrast are often able to operate in very difficult circumstances (Baliach, 0.I, 2007).
A fundamental factor that pushed the policy towards targeting the aid dependent economies was the changing perception of aid and the centrality of poverty in policy discourse. In many African countries, aid played an important role in shaping socio-economic policy. At the same time, aid policies were embedded in the overall policies of donor countries. Not surprisingly, then any shifts in the ideological underpinnings of socio and economic policies in the donor countries were bound to spill over to the principal of aid. Many donor countries accepted the major premises of adjustment. They more critically inclined to give a human face to the adjustment process by providing funds that would be aimed at mitigating poverty and despair in Africa (World Bank, 1990:3).

Such programmes were to be palliatives that would minimize the more glaring inequities that their policies had perpetuated. Funds were made available to ensure that a so called safety net of social services would be provided for the poor. The ever willing NGO sector was preferred. Another reason for the preference for targeting was that aid was understood not so much in terms of helping developing countries but in terms of helping the poor. It was believed that the NGOs would be more close to the poor than the state which was marred by corruption and misappropriation of aid funds by powerful individuals in African governments. In the context of donor fatigue it became politically necessary that aid directly reached the poor (Mkandawire, 2005:1-10). The state’s failure therefore gave room to the proliferation of NGOs in Africa as an alternative engine to socio-economic change and development especially among the poor and unprivileged members of a given society. This therefore created an aspiration and desire to bring about lasting socio-economic change and to meet the basic needs of the common man which have either been too slow or not forthcoming within bilateral and multi-lateral state to state development co-operation (Khobotlo, 2001). The experience of famine relief efforts since 1974 in Africa by NGOs and the UN agencies made many African
governments to be more willing to entrust the welfare of its people to the international development
community. The situation was necessitated by the fact that like the colonial state, the post colonial
state was a repressive mechanism in charge of an export oriented economy that was designed to serve
those in its management at the expense of the ordinary poor folk in the rural areas and other
unprivileged groups (Nzongola, 1987;70).

NGOs were positively received by African states to assist in socio-economic development because of
several reasons. According to Hyden (1980), NGO staff are normally highly motivated and altruistic
in behaviour, they function economically due to their small size and their decentralized decision
making process and structure; and lastly they are independent of the government and are therefore
able to develop demands for public services and resources thereby facilitating the work of a
government ministry in the rural areas.

The reasons for that were that the NGOs have legitimacy and operational access that do not raise
concerns about sovereignty as governmental activities sometimes do. They facilitate and update
extensive fact-finding missions, engage in dialogue with a wide range of groups, map out strategies
for solving problems and galvanize action by national governments and international organizations to
help stabilize crises. With their extensive field operations and their networks of local contacts, these
groups have access to a wide array of information about the crisis that is not available to either
international organizations or national governments. They had regular consultative meetings bringing
together governments and NGOs to exchange information and offer critical advises and analyzed data
about how the regional governments can help communities in marginalized areas (Princen and
There was increasing recognition more generally that NGOs amongst other providers, such as the church and the commercial sector can play a key role in the delivery of health care where the state was unable to do this. Government donor contracting to such group’s performance based agreement became increasingly popular. The NGOs collaborate with the government by exchanging information and advise by giving recommendations. These are the key elements of neo-liberal thought. The NGOs have a more positive view of pastoralists but may vary in their strategies. They may go in for restoring the pastoral systems, for instance after droughts. Such a strategy normally means various forms of restocking. Actually NGOs circumvent public structures and deal with what they refer to “civil society”. A particular element with NGOs is that they often come through relief operations, but remain on the scene as active socio-economic agencies (Khobotlo, 2001:123-129). Like other independent African states, Kenya was considered by citizens as the main provider of services, such as employment, education, healthcare, shelter, water projects, road construction and housing. The national resource allocation in the form of annual budget involved the financing of the above mentioned services in different parts of the country. Indeed Kenya was a welfare state (Republic of Kenya, 1969).

The implementation of the IMF and World Bank policies in Kenya exacerbated the decline of the state’s role in welfare provision. The withholding of funding and loans by the development partners to Kenya compounded an already fragile socio-economic situation. This led to the opening of new avenues. For the first time ASAL areas were opened to NGO agencies both local and international. They became the prime providers of social welfare in the region (Gimode, 2004:303). The government of Kenya through Sessional Paper No1 of 1992 on Development and Employment in
Kenya accepted the recommendation that rigidity be avoided in the implementation of the Act on NGOs and there was to be continuous dialogue and effective collaboration between the government and NGOs. The government implemented the recommendations through the NGO Organizations Act of 1990 (Republic of Kenya, 1992).

The United Nations and NGOs

The Non Governmental Organizations have been a fundamental part of the UN machinery since the drafting of the UN Charter. But the early informal rapport between the UN and NGOs gradually evolved into a bureaucratic, inflexible relationship over the years (Terra Viva, 1993:22). But the problem seemed to have come to an end in 1992 after the Earth Summit (UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) which was held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. There was a break from the strenuous interaction between the UN and NGOs. The NGOs used to perceive the UN as deliberately barring them access to its global development strategies. For its part, the UN believed that the UN-NGOs interactivity abounds at all levels. According to a 1994 report by the UN Secretary-General, the contribution of NGOs was significant in many areas of United Nation’s work. The report argued that the formal framework defined in the UN Charter and its subsequent resolutions (ECOSOC, 1994, :13). The UN worked closely with NGOs in shaping global agenda to the process of international mobilization around the concept of sustainable development and to the building of the political commitments that made possible the adoption of the Rio Declaration, Agenda 21, the conventions on climate change and the protection of biodiversity and the statement of principles on forests (Ibid:11)
Chapter 27 of Agenda 21 of the Rio Declaration spoke of NGOs in positively glowing terms noting their vital role in participatory democracy and their experience, expertise and capacity in evolving sound socio-economic development. However, in 1993 at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, the good rapport of Rio dissolved into recriminations and criticism as NGOs were barred from monitoring closed sessions of the drafting committee that drew up the final document of the conference. Some charged that the erosion of access had begun again. Despite such feelings, NGOs continued to work closely, with many UN programmes and agencies, such as the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Food Programme, the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the World Health Organization (WHO) the UN Children’s Fund and the UN Conference on Trade Development (UNCTAD) (United Nations 1993: 18).

The founding members of the UN recognized the important role played by the NGOs owing to their track record on the economic and social life of people both on a national and international level. That is why the founding members drew up the UN Charter and included a specific Article (Article 71) as a guide to regulate relations between it and NGO groups (United Nations, 1993). The Article stated that:

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) may make suitable arrangements for consultations with Non-Governmental Organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations after consultations with the members of the United Nations concerned (Ibid).
The Charter was signed on 26 June, 1945 and became effective on 24 October of the same year. At the time some of the prominent NGOs, such as Amnesty International, Medicines sans Frontiers, World Vision, and Greenpeace had not been established (United Nations, 1995:186). Some of the NGOs that were active to prompt the inclusion of the Article included for example, Anti-slavery International founded in 1839, the Salvation Army, 1865, American Red Cross, 1881, Wildlife Conservation International, 1897, the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), 1917, *Quvres Hospitalieres Francois de L’Ordre de Matte*, 1927, Save the Children Federation, 1932, and the World Jewish Congress, formed in 1936 to fight Hitler’s persecution of the Jews (*Ibid*).

Private voluntary organizations were many in the United States and were quite influential. Indeed Article 71 of the UN Charter was included as a result of pressure brought by the delegates from the United States (United Nations, 1993:11). The NGOs lobbied to be consulted on political issues. The Article was still unprecedented for establishing formal relations between interest groups and intergovernmental body. The interest group included a variety of organizations, such as private voluntary organizations and voluntary agencies or citizen groups (*Ibid*).

In 1945 there were only 41 NGOs on consultative status with ECOSOC. By 1993, the figure had exponentially increased to more than 1500 (United Nations, 1994:11). The UN-NGO consultative arrangement is guided by ECOSOC Resolution 1296 of 23 May 1968 which encompasses diverse principles governing the relationship. The UN has categorized NGOs into three. Category one includes the big international groups which are involved in activities relevant to the council, which represent many people and essential contributions to make in their social and economic life. Category two includes organizations with internationally recognized competence within specific
fields. Category three is also known as Roster Status which may be granted to other groups which can make occasional and useful contributions to the UN work (United Nations, 1993:10).

NGOs in category one have a variety of rights. They may put items on the provisional agenda of the council and may propose items of subsidiary bodies. NGOs in category one and two may have observers at the council’s public meetings and are entitled to submit written statements relevant to its work. They may also request to be heard by the Council. Those in Roster may submit written statements. Some organizations that have consultative status include Amnesty International, Friends World Committee for Consultation, Human Rights Internet, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the American Association of Retired Persons International, League for Human Rights, Muslim World League Service, Justice and Peace in Latin America, World Young Women’s Christian Association, the Pan-Pacific and South-east Asia Women’s Association and Eurostep (a network group of 22 major development NGOs from 15 countries(Smile and Helmich, 1993:14). The activities of over 200 NGOs with consultative status are coordinated by the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations (CONGO) which meets every three years for a General Conference and to elect a president and board members. CONGO works mainly to improve relations between NGOs and the UN and since 1974; it has sponsored several NGO forums alongside UN conferences. For its part, ECOSOC can suspend or withdraw consultative status from NGOs under certain conditions, including if the organization clearly abuses its consultative status by systematically engaging in unsubstantiated or politically motivated acts against Member States of the UN (United Nations 1993:13).
A fundamental factor that pushed the policy towards targeting the aid dependent economies was the changing perception of aid and the centrality of poverty in policy discourse. In many African countries, aid played an important role in shaping socio-economic policy. At the same time, aid policies were embedded in the overall policies of donor countries. Not surprisingly, then any shifts in the ideological underpinnings of socio and economic policies in the donor countries were bound to spill over to the principal of aid. Many donor countries accepted the major premises of adjustment. They more critically inclined to give a human face to the adjustment process by providing funds that would be aimed at mitigating poverty and despair in Africa (World Bank, 1990:3).

Such programmes were to be palliatives that would minimize the more glaring inequities that their policies had perpetuated. Funds were made available to ensure that a so called safety net of social services would be provided for the poor. The ever willing NGO sector was preferred. Another reason for the preference for targeting was that aid was understood not so much in terms of helping developing countries but in terms of helping the poor. It was believed that the NGOs would be more close to the poor than the state which was marred by corruption and misappropriation of aid funds by powerful individuals in African governments. In the context of donor fatigue it became politically necessary to either ensure that aid directly reached the poor (Mkandawire, 2005:1-10).

5.3 The State, IGAD and the NGOs in Turkana District

The first NGOs to set foot in ASAL regions of Kenya aimed at providing relief to the communities hit by deteriorating economic and ecological conditions. The main agencies included Oxfam, World
Vision, GTZ, Medicines Sans Frontiers, ICRC and Red Crescent and Action Aid (Gimode, 2004:303). It should be noted that these agencies were initially concerned with Somali and Ethiopian refugees. Their main aim was to provide medicines, relief food, clothes, temporary shelter, sinking of boreholes and maintenance of shallow wells. No sooner did they provide these services to refugees than they realized that the locals were equally deprived and needed even more attention than refugees. Consequently, the exposed inability of the state to cope with development challenges and disasters in the ASAL Districts left the state with no option but to allow NGOs to operate (Ibid: 304). The state embraced neo-liberal approach to socio-economic development, the theoretical tool of analysis of this study.

The NGOs play very critical roles in socio-economic development in Turkana District particularly in the provision of curative and preventive services, education, water, rehabilitation of socially distressed members of the community, disaster management, conflict resolution, afforestation, poverty alleviation, and youth programmes. All their programmes are well incorporated in the District Development Committee Programmes and therefore supplement to a great extent to the government efforts in so many areas (Mukoo, 0.I, 2007). The Government of Kenya through the Arid Lands Resource Management (a department in the Ministry of Special Programmes) in partnership with Oxfam GB in the years 2005/2006, managed to achieve the following; ten Trapezoidal bunds constructed in Kibish and 13 contours Bunds Constructed in Kalemungorok.. All these were to assist the community in water harvesting. Despite all efforts and initiatives undertaken by the government, NGOs and CBOS, the impact gained need to be sustained.
The state though the National Aids Control Council participates in channeling funds directly to the Community Based Organizations (CBOs) whose proposals were approved by it. The community members were aware of the existence of this fund though not many had been involved in its management.

Several NGOs including Oxfam and World Vision in partnership with the Ministry of Agriculture implemented food security initiatives in the district between the years 1998-2006. This stakeholder working necessitated the formation of an Agricultural Service Provider Consultative Forum (ASPF), which is a subcommittee of the District Steering Group (DGS) that coordinated the implementation of all agricultural activities. The Government of Kenya in collaboration with several Church Based Organizations (CBOs) in the years 2004-2005 funded several schools in the district. The government alone contributed ksh.2.1 million to five schools namely Nakwamekwi Kataboi, AIC Kangitit Girls Secondary, St Mary’s and Kalokol Mixed boarding school. All schools apart from Kataboi had completed their projects. To ease pressure on natural resources, alternative sources of livelihood have been sought in conjunction with NGOs and other government of Kenya departments. The communities are now utilizing aloe vera and gum from the Acacia seneangalease which they sell to the Salt Lick Limited (Makau, O.I2007). The following are CSOs that supplement the Government of Kenya in socio-economic transformation of the people of Turkana District.

5.3.1 The Catholic Diocese of Lodwar

The largest and strongest Faith Based Organization in Turkana District is the Diocese of Lodwar. The opening up of the district to other districts in the country was due to the efforts of the Catholic Church which has sunk numerous boreholes, built many primary schools and secondary schools including Lodwar High School which has since been handed over to the Government. It has put up
many medical facilities which include Kakuma Hospital, runs one of the most successful clinics and sponsors Child Based Health Care (CBHC) programme.

While the primary work of the Catholic Diocese of Lodwar is evangelization the Diocese has various departments dealing with different aspects of human and institutional development. The Diocese is Co-terminus with the administrative district of Turkana and operates through the structure of its departments, committees and twenty three parishes (Melvin, 0.1,2007). The Diocese sponsors 177 Early Childhood’s Development Centers (ECD), supports 95 primary schools and 32 Adult Education classes. It also runs the Saint Clare of Assisi Home Craft Centre for Girls in Kakuma has a number of members on the Lodwar Youth Polytechnic Board, supports Turkana Integrated School for the Blind in Katilu and is involved in informal education in a number of centers.

Diocese of Lodwar Health Programme provides curative and primary health care. It operates through 9 units including Kakuma Mission Hospital, 2 Health Centres in Loragun and Nakwamoru and 6 Primary Health Care programmes at Nadapal, Lowareng’ak, Lokori, Kanamkemer, Nakwamekwi and Nariokotome. These then run one dispensary and Seventeen satellite clinics. It also works in partnership with the Terre des Hommes Medical Air Service and the Government of Kenya. The services offered include, Curative Health Care initiatives, maternal client activities, child health and nutrition activities, immunization activities, School Health Education on home visits, staff capacity building and HIV/AIDS care (Jertsen, 0, I, 2007).

The programme deals with Civic Education Awareness, Governance and Advocacy, Gender and Legal Education Awareness. Its programme objectives include: to enhance the capacity of all citizens
to actively participate in every aspect of governance, to monitor the activities of all the local government performance with the aim of encouraging people to get actively involved in decision making about priority projects in the area, to empower people through information gathering analysis and dissemination to programme participation, to empower traditional structure and the provincial administration, to promote Human Resource Based Governance, to explore the possibility of introducing legal awareness and human rights education to schools, explore the possibility of facilitating civic education, to instill a sense of nationhood, common responsibility among the Turkana nomads, promote local, regional and national unity through peace initiatives, facilitate dialogue forums at all levels of governance, create a working relationship with other partners, CBOs and NGOs, to promote peace building efforts, enhance the capacity of human rights organizations to respond to current political transition, enhance effectiveness of work through building linkages with other human rights actors, monitor performance with a view of protecting, promoting and fulfilling universal accepted human rights standards, and promotion of gender equity (Melvin, 0.I,2007).

The other main purpose of the Diocese is to support the vulnerable in the community. These are the aged, the physically challenged, malnourished children, drought affected households, widows and orphaned children. The programmes undertaken include: the Ewoi Programme for the Aged, Nadirkonyen Street Children Centre, St Luke’s Home for the Hearing Impaired, Nakwamekwi, and John Paul II Home for the Physically Handicapped in Lokichar and famine relief activities. It helps women in leadership and development trainings, HIV/AIDS awareness, entrepreneurship and income generating activities and practical skills. The youth empowerment programme activities include: the youth as agents of peace and reconciliation, leadership and formation, girl child advocacy, training of trainers, income generating activities and trainings, sports, music and drama festivals (Lodoket, 0.I,
In the years 2005 and 2006 the water department was able to have 10 rock dams, 1 sand pan, 4 boreholes, 24 shallow wells, 1 spring protection, 4 Augur rigs manufacture, 6 water tanks installed, 13 constitutions formed, 14 workshops and pump maintenance unit of community water points throughout the district (Melvin, O.I, 2007.)

5.3.2 Merlin
Merlin is a British humanitarian NGO, providing health care to population in crises. It exists to provide an immediate and effective response to medical emergencies throughout the world. The assistance provided by Merlin is targeted at the most vulnerable populations who have the greatest health needs and poorest access to healthcare provision. Merlin focuses on providing quality healthcare to population regardless of race, religion and political affiliation, to support people affected by war or natural disaster anywhere in the world. Merlin programmes were guided by the operational needs of the particular situation on the ground. It provides the quality healthcare addressing needs within the realms of infectious disease control, primary and secondary health care and maternal and child healthcare. It works with the Government of Kenya in the existing local health structures and collaborates with other agencies where possible to increase efficiency and effectiveness of humanitarian assistance. The interventions coverage areas were Kolokol, Kerio, Lokitang, Lapur, Central, Kaeleng, Loima, Lokichar, and Turkwel Divisions. These areas were practiced according to the results of the surveys undertaken in collaboration with Oxfam (Mukoo, O.I, 2007).
5.3.3 Riam – Riam Turkana.

Riam Riam is a local organization started in 2001 as a Peace and Development Committee in the district. It is an umbrella body consisting of local CBOs dealing with peace and conflict resolution within and without Turkana. Its core functions included the building of capacities of pastoralists, their leaders, local organizations, to influence decision making process, support democratic governance, influence policy processes and facilitate formation of local voices especially those of women, support and promote innovative conflict resolution and peace building initiatives, mitigate the spread and effects of HIV/AIDS pandemic and support other socio-economic activities that will improve and secure livelihoods of the poor communities and groups in the district (Lomodei 0.I, 2007).

Table 5.1: Riam Riam Funding 2005/2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Donor</th>
<th>Amount Ksh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dodoth Turkana conflict Mitigation Programme – USAID</td>
<td>4.0 M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxfam – GB Turkana Annual Budget</td>
<td>1.50 M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical Action (ITDG)</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arid Lands Resource Management Project II</td>
<td>1.30 M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSF – B Support in part</td>
<td>________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LWF – Support in part</td>
<td>________</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ram Riam Turkana

The organization operates district wide with special attention to conflict prone corridors that include Todonyang, Kibish, Lokichogio, Oropoi, Lokiriama, Lorengippi, Kinuk and Kapedo. Its main achievement include the reduction of tension between the Turkana and their neighbours as well as improved relation between them in that Merille children can now study in Turkana. (Asabit, 0.I,
2007). However, efforts to deal with peace around the Turkana – Pokot corridor were the most challenging. This is mainly due to relatively unsuccessful government interventions to exhaustively provide security in the area. At the same time, the local leadership in the two communities are yet to embrace virtues of peaceful co-existence of communities. Its strategy collaborators include the Ethiopian Pastoralist Research and Development Association (EPARDA), Karamoja Kotido Peace initiative (KOPEIN), Moroto, Matheniko Development Forum (MADEFO), Karamoja – Agro-Pastoralist Development Organization and West Pokot Development Committee (Ibid).

5.3.4 Christian Children’s Fund – Kenya (CCF) Turkana Cluster

Christian Children’s Fund (CCF) is an international non-profit making, non-secretariat, human development agency whose main aim is the improvement of the quality of life of disadvantaged children and their families. The organization started its operations in Kenya in the 1960s in response to children’s suffering brought about by the political, economic and social realities. (Williams, 0.I, 2007). In Turkana District CCF operations started in consultation with the government around 1978 and by 2006, its development activities were carried out through the facilitated Community Based Organizations working in Kitilu, Turkwel, Loima and parts of Central Lapur and Lokitang Divisions. The programme supported over two thousand enrolled children and impacts on additional over 140,000 other beneficiaries in these areas of coverage. The inventions carried out were in the core programme areas of education, health/nutrition and food security initiatives (Ibid)

Its achievements include; increased pre-school and primary school enrolments, increased girl’s enrolment and performance for example in Lorugum Primary rose from 50 to 210 boarders and education to girls and parents which helped to solve the problem of serious absenteeism from class by
girls, improved learning environment demonstrated by more stimulating and attractive classrooms and stronger community support, 183 students in both secondary and tertiary levels of education benefited from part payment of school fees in 2005, supported the provision of supplementary food (wet feeding) to over 11,000 children in Early Childhood Development Centers for 10 months, which helped to reduce malnutrition rate from average of 35 percent to 23 per cent during 2004 – 2006 drought. Nadapal community used their allocation as food for work to create conventional canals irrigation (Ibid).

5.3.5 Share International

Share International is a Faith Based Organization with activities that are geared towards community development. It works closely with the Turkana District Development Committee. Its annual funding amounts to five million shillings. The organization sponsors needy children from poor families in secondary and primary schools. From the year 2003, the organization was able to drill one borehole at Chok Chok, Napadal and Nayuu respectively. It also sponsors adult learning centers, constructed four classes in Napadal, Kantese, Loturerei and Naibun. It also pays teacher’s salaries. The organization is training women on health education, soap making, small business and provision of nutritional supplements every month to targeted areas (Weehace, 0, I, 2007).

5.3.6 Oxfam

Since 1970s, Oxfam has undertaken some development activities in Turkana District in collaboration with various government ministries. In Kakuma the organization deals with livestock activities by providing medicine to livestock owners and arranging for some seminars about the care and treatment of animals and the use of vaccines. Oxfam in collaboration with World Vision are the major
consignees for the famine relief food from WFP. These two agencies are responsible for receiving the food for distribution to sites in Kakuma, Lokichogio, Lokitaung, Kabish, Lokori and Katilu Divisions. The northern Divisions are the responsibility of Oxfam while the southern Divisions are being handled by World Vision (Eleman, 0, I, 2007). In 1996 it distributed relief food at Kalokol Division which had a positive impact to the people’s welfare. It also initiated the security peace talks with Oxfam Kaabong in Uganda with the assistance of the provincial administration (Ibid). In 1995, both the general and supplementary ratios were being distributed between Oxfam and World Vision. Good co-ordination of the interventions existed between the concerned NGOs. The organization actively support and helps improve co-ordination initiatives at global and field level, which resulted in enhanced aid effectiveness. This includes UN led health clusters and other inter-agency co-ordination and donor groups. It also worked with other partners to enhance its operational capacity and increasingly worked with a wider range of state and non-state providers in Turkana District (Ibid).

5.3.7 AMREF

AMREF works in consultation with the Ministry of Health. The organization’s projects and programmes include Hydatit Research and Control Programme and the provision of Primary Health Care (PHC) Community Based Health Care (CBHC) that offers basic health care, preventive and promotive services which include hydatit disease, malaria, typhoid and diarrhoea, sanitation education, provision of safe water and other related community based health activities. Its achievements included the construction of three dispensaries offering curative services and 10 – 15 days mobile health services provided per month for over 500 nomadic community members per month, established in 2003 latrine coverage among settled community at 17 per cent at the
households. 18 households with an average households being 7, 126 community members are using pit latrines in Lopiding among more than 500 households. Disease incidence in humans in the district reduced from 7% (1983) to 5% (1993) to 3% (2004) and the desired behavior change in the community in destroying all Hydatit cysts from slaughtered animals and denying dogs having access to them is taking root but will take time till the community will actively control the disease by themselves (Waswa, 0.I, 2007).

5.3.8 International Rescue Committee (IRC)

IRC serves refugees and communities victimized by oppression and violent conflict in the district and worldwide. This commitment is expressed in emergency relief, protection of human rights, post conflict development, resettlement assistance and advocacy. Its principles include the protection and promotion of human rights participation, capacity building, partnership and holistic programming. During the period 2005 – 2006 alone, the organization in collaboration with the government was able to construct Kadokorinyang gravity water points at Namadak, Kalobeyei, Oropoi, Kaleng and Lokichar, water tinkering at water stressed areas, water quality monitoring, provision of storage facilities i.e. plastic tanks to schools and communities and assessment of hygienic practices at Kaleng, Lokitaung, Turkwel, Kalokol, Kakuma and Kerio Divisions. In the year 2006 the organization received a funding amounting to Ksh 26,164,740 (Mohammed, 0, I,2007).

5.3.9 The Red Cross

The Red Cross is an international NGO which participates in emergency services across the world. The organization participates in development and humanitarian activities as well. In Turkana District, the Red Cross Hospital at Lokichogio serves the emergency cases caused by the internal war
conflict in the Sudan. In most cases, the hospital does not admit the locals with any kind of natural sickness and even those injured by raiders. The organization participates in recruiting and training of first aid instructors and trainers. It delivers lectures on first aid to Secondary Schools, Primary Schools, the Armed Forces and Civil Servants (Kiarie, 0,I, 2007).

5.3.10 Kenya Red Cross Society

The organization is a key response agency in the country, and has a strong profile as a relief organization reaching out in all disasters. The society enjoys a lot of support from the Government of Kenya, the public and the media. The core objective of the organization is to alleviate human suffering and or save lives (Ewoi, 0,I, 2007). Drought in Turkana District created an emergency situation that caused severe stress on the population in the affected areas. The lack of rains since 2004 resulted in critical water shortage, food insecurity, collapse of livestock market with dying livestock and famine. An overall assessment carried out in December 2005 by the organization led to the appeal issued to the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent to act. In that case, an emergency programme was initiated in March 2006 to tackle issues related to provision of water in the district. The achievements included the rehabilitation and installation of new generating sets and submersible pumps at Kibish Namadak, Nadapal and Oropoi boreholes. The organization also supplied 10 schools with 10,000 litres of P.V.C tanks and four tanks of 24,000 litres to four boreholes that the organization was rehabilitating (Ibid).

5.3.11 Farm Africa
This organization undertakes camel improvement in the district. The project involves training on range management, health, social organization and small financial assistance to women groups. The agency builds structures, operates them and later transfers the same to the local community.

5.3.12 Food for the Hungry International (FHI)

The organization is involved in the provision of water to the communities. The water projects are later handed over to the communities who form water user’s associations to sustain them. They are also involved in desalting of pans. It provided tools to the water user associations to undertake the desalting. The organization also closely with the Ministry of Education in the district promote education through sponsorship of children and schools development (Esore, 0, I, 2007).

5.3.13 Harambee Movements

A large percentage of development projects and programmes intended to uplift the living standards of the people in the district were done by self-help movements named Harambee. One example of the success cases of Harambee movements included the establishment of Kangetit Girls Secondary School. A total of 1.5 Million shillings was collected for the construction of the dormitory and other educational facilities in 1975. The money was mostly donated by civil servants, teachers and businessmen working in the district. The other Harambee activities that were witnessed in the district in the late 1970s included those for the District Harambee Show and the fund to help the Turkana Children from poor families pay their school fees (Naibiswa, 0,I, 2007).

5.3.14 Womankind
The organization assists the Ministry of Education in the provision of education through early childhood development, girl child development, and training on tailoring. It also participated in reproductive health training and income generating activities (Kirye, 0.I, 2007).

5.3.15 GTZ

The organization is involved in livestock development, social services, water, health and education. It is also involved in the rehabilitation of boreholes. The Department of Agriculture and Livestock Development benefited through purchase of various implements training and construction. It supports nutrition programmes, buying of additional equipment for the mobile health units like tents and support of charitable organizations or programmes (Komen, 0.I, 2007)

5.3.16 The Salvation Army

The church runs a number of nursery and secondary schools in the district. An example is the Lokitaung Secondary School.

5.3.17 Women Groups/ Women in Development

Women in Turkana District organized themselves in groups. By 1974, there were about seventy one women groups in the whole of Turkana District. One such groups included the Nawaitorong Women Group which was running a canteen, guest house and conference hall in Lodwar. Others are the Natole Women Group from Kalokol which was engaged in basketry and AIC Lodwar Women Group which also engaged in basketry and handcraft (Etabo 0.I, 2007.)
5.3.18 African Inland Church

The A.I.C church started in 1979 the Morolem Irrigation Scheme in South Turkana which covered 62 hectares of basin irrigation with 985 plot holders. Water was absorbed from the Kerio River by means of gravity intake and 3 km of feeder canal. By double rooting sorghum, a good yield of between 5 and 12 ton/ha was achieved from the first crop in 1982 on the 25 ha then developed (Ikimat 0,I, 2007). The mission worked hard to transform the socio-economic welfare of the Turkana people. It sponsored a number of schools and paying of school fees for needy children. The mission established a dispensary at Lokori but with some problems like shortage of staff and medicine. The mission also organized fishermen in Lake Turkana and managed to export 18,401 Kgs of dried fish between April 1977 and January 1978. By 2006, the church was sponsoring several schools and dispensaries in the district (Ibid).

5.3.19 VSF – Belgium

Its mission is to improve the well being of vulnerable populations in developing countries by improving animal health and production. Thus VSF Belgium works with livestock dependent communities whose livelihoods are threatened by shocks and vulnerability as a result of environmental, political and socio-economic circumstances. The organizational engagement with local communities has the dual role of targeting the provision of basic services to address immediate needs while building the capacity of its development partners to engage on long term development from within. The organization works to achieve these aims through strategic approaches combining both emergency and sustainable development initiatives in which emergency interventions are undertaken only when the context allows quick transition to sustainable development (Tavasi, 0,I,2007)
The main target population groups by VSF Belgium include the nomadic pastoralists’ sedentary rural agro-pastoralists and urban and peri-urban agro-pastoralists. The organization operates in the central and south regions of Turkana District (including neighboring pastoralists’ communities who interact with Turkana within the Karamoja Cluster. Its main sectors and activities included the improvement of animal productivity through community based approaches, improvement of water supply for livestock through construction of sub-surface dams and other water retention structures, improvement of economic returns through promotion of livestock marketing opportunities, supporting peace building and conflict resolution initiatives in the Karamoja Cluster region in collaboration with other partners and cross cutting issues – HIV/AIDS prevention, gender mainstreaming and development. The organization sources funds from the Belgian Government through – Belgian Survival Funds BSF – 75 percent, European Union – 15 percent and VSF Belgian own funds 10 percent (Ibid).

5.3.20 Practical Action

Practical Action aims to eradicate poverty in developing countries through the development use of technology by demonstrating results, sharing knowledge and influencing others. The organization in consultation with the Government of Kenya promotes the market for products from pastoralists and agro pastoralists. In Turkana, the organization conducted training of farmers on Aloe Vera propagation, nursery establishment, harvesting, processing, marketing and market information, packaging and products development. Two women groups of Kalemngorok and Namoruputh successfully produced and sold aloe medicated soap, lotion and shampoo. Market promotion of Aloe products was officially launched by the Trade and Industry Minister in Lodwar town on 28th August 2006 and in Kakuma town on 29th August 2006 (Aseno, O.I, 2007). The organization also participated
in peace building, to reduce the risks of conflicts over natural resources and support of internally displaced families in post conflicts areas, to maintain, develop or rebuild their livelihoods. The activities carried out included the formation in collaboration with Riam Riam Turkana of a peace committee, use of school communities as entry point to spreading messages of conflict mitigation and peace building as well as HIV/AIDS, Secondary Schools Drama Festivals, training on conflict management and revolving loan grants to small stock projects. Some of the beneficiaries included the Namoruputh Self Help Group, Kshs.84,000 and Ngiturkana Network Kshs.400,000 (Ibid)

5.3.21 National Chamber of Commerce and Industry

The organization works to enable small enterprises to flourish, create self reliance, promote self employment, create employment opportunities and promotion of business in the district covering all frontiers. The organization sources funds from members’ contributions. Some of the challenges encountered by the organization include: poor road infrastructure, all goods especially food stuff are bought in Kitale, lack of business investors in the district as traders prefer to invest outside Turkana and traders who acquired loans do not repay them on time for others to benefit (Abong’ai O.I, 2007).

5.3.22 Kenya Freedom from Hunger Council

The Kenya Freedom from Hunger Council for National Development became involved in the relief effort in Turkana District in 1993. The organization has been tirelessly participating in funding and offering technical assistance to farming, Self Help Groups and raising funds to the families of famine stricken people in Turkana District in cases of emergency. It raises funds through the Kenya Freedom from Hunger Walk conducted every year in major towns with support from the government and the public (Weehace, O.I, 2007).
5.3.23 World Vision

World Vision as an NGO is involved in vaccination campaigns in the entire district in liaison with the Ministry of Livestock Development. It also donates drugs and equipment for health centers in the district. The organization also sponsors children to receive minimum education package, such as school uniform, subsidiary of medical treatment bills, exercise books and pens. It also embarks on food security campaigns, for instance the development of Napeikar irrigation scheme and canal worth Kshs.1.5 Million. Other activities include the sinking of shallow wells along the River Turkwel, supporting medical facilities for instance in Kalokol A.I.C Dispensary and Kangatotha Dispensary for the supply of drugs, construction of classes for example at Napeikar, Kakwanyang and Kangatotha Primary Schools, training of teachers, training of school management committees, lending of loans for business for example in 2005 about 10 million shillings were disbursed to community members carrying out business in Lodwar, Kalokol, Kainuk, Lokichar and Kakuma (Opiyo, O.I, 2007).

The IGAD worked with several Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the state in areas of conflict resolution in Turkana District. The NGOs that the organization worked together in the area of conflict resolution included Riam Riam Turkana, Practical Action, Oxfam, Turkana Women Development Organization (TWDO) and World Vision. The achievements were as follows:

- No incidences of insecurity in Todonyang corridor.
- There is free movement of the Merille in the district and Merrile children are now enrolled in Kenyan primary schools for example Loarengak Primary School.
• War mongering among the Nyangatom has been managed.
• The hitherto volatile areas around Todonyang have calmed and Merrile and the Turkana are grazing freely.
• Tension between the Turkana and Toposa at Lokichogio has been reduced and well managed, almost thirty percent of pastoralists around the area are Toposa of Sudan.
• Fishing in Lake Turkana is flourishing with no incidences safe for first week of August 2006 where two nets belonging to Turkanas were stolen but the Peace Committee followed and returned them.
• Incidences of insecurity have been minimized at Oropoi mainly across border conflicts.
• Incidences of livestock theft at Loima is being handled.
• Negotiated return of human population abducted during raids was successful (Kadir, Nawoi, Ethuro, 0.I, 2007).

5.4 Issues Raised Against NGOs

NGOs are perceived as alternative to the state for socio-economic development and change. However, NGOs and civil associations should be examined not in a uni-linear or unidirectional manner, but should rather be seen as multi formations with their own complexities and contradictions in spite of what their own claims are (Chepkwony, 1987). This is because they are both vector and fetter or catalyst and constraint. NGOs are flourishing in Africa not because the state has failed, but because the majority of the population was disempowered. The arguments brought to the fore are that NGOs serve two purposes. Firstly, the delegitimization of the state and secondly turning Africans into guinea pigs for experimentation (Ibid).
A deeper insight reveal that some NGOs are run and operated by one person and at the same time bigger NGOs kill the smaller ones by intimidating or using their contact with the funding circle to deny such small NGOs funding. Another fact is that many NGOs are more concerned about what space they can appropriate for themselves than about creating the enabling condition that will emancipate the people. Hence in certain instances both NGOs and the state have become obstacles towards opening up democratic social and economic spaces. Some NGOs started off as specialized NGOs and then became generalists so that they can get funding from all quarters and worse is their faking of evaluation reports to representatives of donor agencies (Chepkony, 1987, Khobotlo, 2001).

NGOs especially those from Western Countries receive a lot of financial subsidies from their governments. These governments give criteria which the NGO must adhere to. The contention arises when the criteria and defined priorities of the Western governments negate the original aims of NGOs. Consequently, the independence of NGOs are compromised. The rules set by these governments at the end give demand for technocrats who take over from volunteers and this directly compromise the motivation of the staff (Chepkony, 1987:358-360). A problem emerged where NGOs or Civil Societies lobbied hard to ensure that states are put a aloof in development matters in their areas of operation. Some NGOS do not want to be audited or their activities assessed (Khobotlo, 2001:94). It will be wise if these organizations work closely with governments of states concerned. The reason being that sound policies and strategies enable a country to effectively plan for the future on a long term basis. This in turn makes it easy for foreign technical assistance or any other form of foreign assistance to be channeled into predetermined national goals and objectives (Khbotlo, 2001:3). If this is not checked a country’s development can be piecemeal and disjointed driven by uncoordinated foreign donor sponsored projects and sporadic investments.
In the early and mid 1990s there emerged numerous international NGOs who worked without the requisite coordination. Lack of coordination breeds duplication and inability to sustain development projects after those who started have gone back to their home countries (Mosse, 2004). The cases of duplication and stalling of NGO projects in Turkana District are very common (Makau, O.I, 2007). It is ironical that as the UN and NGOs struggle hard to strengthen their working relationship, some critical issues emerged, for instance a lack of mutual trust and in some cases, lack of respect still remained.

Some NGOs used every forum to criticize the UN system, particularly on issues regarding the body’s peacekeeping efforts and the activities of the World Bank (United Nations, 1993:57). Some UN agencies have also been skeptical on the activities of NGOs and their ineffectiveness. In the *Human Development Report 1993*, issued by the UNDP, for instance, the agency wondered whether NGOs have had as much success in tackling poverty as they claim “Nobody really knows … what seems clear is that even people helped by successful (NGO) projects still remain poor” (United Nations, 1993:180). The report furthermore argued that NGOs reached less than 20% of the 1.3 billion people living in absolute poverty and urged them to engage more with governments to avoid being marginalized in national debates on development (Ibid).

NGOs especially those operating in Turkana District to a large extent do not involve the local people in planning and implementation of their projects. Some of them do not even provide employment to the locals and if they do they are given low cadre jobs citing lack of qualification. Even O Level leavers from outside the district are employed at the expense of equally qualified residents of the district. In short, some NGOs practice tribalism and nepotism in employment (Lopuwa, Ethuro, Lokidor, O.I, 2007).

### 5.5 Summary
The state’s failure to meet the independence expectations of the people and especially the poor gave room to the proliferation of NGOs. These NGOs and other development partners were positively received to assist in speeding up socioeconomic development among the poor and unprivileged members of the society. Turkana being an ASAL District and majority of its residents being poor pastoralists, NGOs were called in to assist. The NGOs contributed a great deal in uplifting the socio-economic development of the people of Turkana District. The NGOs can be categorized as Faith Based Organizations (FBOs), Community Based Organization (CBO) and International Non Governmental Organizations(INGOs). These organizations in collaboration with the state managed to improve security situation among the Turkana and their neighbours, improved education, healthcare, social welfare provisions that targeted the vulnerable members of the community that include the elderly, children, drought affected households, widows orphans and the handicapped.

Other areas in which the multi-sectoral approach benefited the people of Turkana District included the empowerment of women through education, education of women on leadership, income generating activities, youth empowerment, HIV/AIDS Programmes and provisions of water, livestock development and agriculture development through irrigation. The NGOs did not survive criticism either. Some of the issues raised against NGOs included the unclear picture created in that eyebrows were raised as to whether truly the NGOs were contributing enough to poverty eradication, accountability on the NGO activities was lacking and foreign NGOs trying to dictate and control what should be done in Africa through their governments. This was seen as a way of advancing the Western ideologies and interests through NGO or simply neo-colonialism. Other factors included duplication of activities by these NGOs, lack of sustainability, disjointed or uncoordinated projects,
stalling of projects and non-involvement of the local people in their planning and implementation of projects.
CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Conclusion

The underdevelopment of Turkana District dates back to the colonial period when capital and modern technology were introduced to create a new mode of production where production was geared towards cultivation of crops that were intended to supply the western industries with raw material. This approach therefore disadvantaged the pastoral sector in which the residents of Turkana District traditionally engaged themselves in. The pattern of marginalization of the pastoralists continued after independence when they were deeply driven into absolute poverty by incessant drought, famine, cattle rustling and banditry, cultural conservatism, oppressive state laws, migrations, punitive expeditions and measures, locust or pest infestation, illiteracy and poor educational access and services. The post-independent Kenyan state made some efforts to ensure that it comes up with a philosophy and objective that will guarantee its development among the family of nations and more so to its neighbours. One such philosophy was to ensure the attainment and maintenance of cordial relations with its neighbours. It is from this philosophical basis that Kenya actively participated in the formation of IGAD in 1996. The organization was formed as a result of countries in the Horn of Africa realizing that for them to solve some of the common problems facing them, they had to come up with an instrument. These countries had experienced problems that included incessant conflict within and without their countries and drought and desertification. The organization was therefore created so as to solve political, social and economic challenges facing countries that are its members. Some of the objectives that the organization was set to achieve included the management of integrated water resources, research into the sustainable production of drought resistant high yielding crop varieties, modernization of railway and telecommunication services and conflict resolution.
In Turkana District the IGAD has engaged itself in several activities although dismal. Since its inception, the IGAD has participated in very few socio-economic activities that are considered to be low expectations of the Turkana residents in which their country is a member to. IGAD has participated in conflict resolution among the Turkana and their neighbours in Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia and also in the water harvesting project in the Karamoja Cluster that encompass the above mentioned countries. In conflict resolution, the IGAD collaborated with NGOs, such as Practical Action and Oxfam. The organization and the State faces several challenges that include donor apathy, stalling of projects, donors not honoring pledges and member states preoccupying themselves with conflict resolution in the Sudan, Ethiopia and Eritrea at the expense of other socio-economic aspects of development in peaceful countries such as Kenya. The post independent African state in which Kenya is among them began to experience marginalization by globalization. This was because it failed to live up to the citizen’s expectation of improving the socio-economic status of its people. This factor gave room to the proliferation of NGOs as an alternative and partner to socio-economic change and development especially among the poor and unprivileged members of a given society. The NGOs were welcomed to assist in provision of social amenities, economic empowerment, environmental protection, conflict resolution and mitigation of disasters among other things. NGOs in Turkana District have participated in several areas of socio-economic development. Their activities include the provision of health care services, education, water, conflict resolution, efforestation, poverty alleviation, youth empowerment rehabilitation of socially distressed members of the communities, agricultural and livestock development.
The programmes of these NGOs to a large extent are incorporated in the National and District Development Committee Programme. The NGOs and their activities are recognized by the United Nations in Article 71 of the UN Charter. This was because the founding members of the organization recognized the important role played by these organizations in advancing the attainment of the desired social, political and economic change throughout the world. The organizations are also recognized by the AU and the Government of Kenya through the Sessional Paper No1 of 1992. The NGOs, FBOs and CBOs that are engaged in socio-economic activities in Turkana district include the Catholic Diocese of Lodwar, Riam Riam, Turkana, Mellin, CCF, Share International, AMREF, IRC, the Red Cross, Kenya Red Cross Society, Farm Africa, FHI, Harambee Movements, Womankind, GTZ, the Salvation Army, Women Groups, AIC, VSF-Belgium, Practical Action, Kenya Freedom from Hunger walk and World Vision.

Just like the state, NGOs have not been spared of criticism either. Some of these criticisms include the Western Countries dictating to NGOs that receive funds from them on what projects to undertake in total disregard to the aspirations of the people on the ground and their government. This is perceived by many as an advancement of neo-colonialism. A deeper insight reveal that NGOs are run and operated by one person and at the same time bigger NGOs work to kill the smaller ones and use their influence within the funding circles to ensure that smaller ones do not receive funding. Some do not want to be audited or their activities assessed and others in Turkana District have sidelined the locals in employment, planning and implementation of socio-economic projects and activities. Generally, the contribution of the state-NGO and IGAD collaboration in Turkana district has helped a great deal in uplifting the socio-economic standards of the people.
6.1 Recommendations

Several recommendations as to how the socio-economic development in Turkana District can be advanced are suggested. It is believed by the researcher that if these recommendations are followed by planning that involves the locals in implementation, Turkana District will eventually attain the much anticipated socio-economic transformation. The public service should embrace the fact that Turkana District residents must be involved in the planning and implementation of development programmes both because they are the intended beneficiaries and because they know their own situation and systems better than outsiders. The overall objective of socio-economic development efforts must be given to enable Turkana District to support its population. Special emphasis must be given to assisting the weaker members of the society and enabling people to support themselves through their own effort.

Local people have a large capacity for innovation and development within their own frame of reference. The problem is to fit national level priorities and resource into this local concept of life and socio-economic development. Once this is done people can and will respond intelligently, adaptively and energetically. Local civil servants would work harder and be more productive if they were given tasks which were more demonstrably developmental and from which they could derive more of the satisfactions of achievements.

If the saying that women leaders are stakeholders in issues of conflict prevention and conflict resolution is anything to go by, then there is need for pastoral communities in the Karamoja Clusters in which Turkana District falls to elect more women to political positions. It is clear that the policies
and programmes aimed at preventing armed conflict, building sustainable peace and post-conflict reconstruction would not succeed without women’s active participation.

The district is still exporting raw products, such as farm produce, fish and animal’s products. This was caused by failure to meet the set targets for processing raw materials by the government and its development partners including NGOs. The District Development Committees and NGOs should collaborate to come up with strategies to improve on the local resources to enable the district to meet the set target of processing the raw materials and consequently adding value before they are taken to the market and thus generating

The Kenya Power and Lighting Company should consider supplying the district with power from the Turkwel Gorge Multi-Purpose Power Station, but in the meanwhile it should consider installing power engines in some upcoming centers in the district so as to encourage entrepreneurship and employment creation through the establishment of small industries, such as Jua Kali in areas, such as metal fabrication, wood works and garages. The NGOs and the government should also consider the provision engines to the rural areas which use wind power.

Turkana goats are small and produce less milk but improvement of feed and perhaps up-grading are possibilities, which might make the difference. Experiments should be undertaken with the aim of improving Turkana goats to the point where they may become a reliable basis for human subsistence. Eventually, through the establishment of a co-operative marketing systems, greater cash returns than at present might be realized by the producers themselves. In relation to this consideration of an improved goat economy, some experimental plantations should be started in different parts of
Turkana District with the immediate aim of finding better pasture shrubs for goat feed. Perhaps Australian salt Bush (*Atriplex suppa*) should be investigated. If this plant is successfully established in Turkana, it might be planted in large scale, especially in the alkaline soils and it might solve the basic problem of better protein supply for goats during the prolonged dry seasons.

Survey should be carried out in the district to establish its oil and mineral potential. The state should allocate funds to the Geological Survey Department to carry out this research. If oil and minerals are discovered; there will be a socio-economic development revolution in Turkana District. Lessons learnt from the past drought management have shown that when recovering from major drought, food aid is essential and is the best tool for recovery. Reduction of food aid on basis that the situation had improved for Turkana is unrealistic. Food aid should continue through activities like food for- work agriculture or all other development activities; in the same area supported until the pastoralists have acquired minimum expected level of asset holdings. This should not be viewed as encouragement of dependency. If the situation will warrant, the reduction will be necessary whatsoever.

The Eastern KBC radio broadcasting in Turkana language is allocated a limited time in the evening and is not clear. Residents complain that it only plays Turkana traditional songs throughout. It is recommended that the government and the private sector should establish Audio and Visual stations in Lodwar with the main objective of fostering socio-economic development in the district. The Kenyan media should change also in its approach of issues about the district from negative to positive aspects of life as well.
6.2 Areas of Further Research

1. It is important to study and understand the connection between the crisis of pastoralism in Turkana District and endemic ethnic conflict and banditry.

2. A study should be conducted to examine the contribution of immigrants to the socio-economic development in Turkana District.

3. Further Research should be done to thoroughly study the history of the Turkana people.
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### LIST OF RESPONDENTS

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