IMPACT OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS PROLIFERATION ON SECURITY IN TURKANA COUNTY

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Peace and Conflict Management of Kenyatta University

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DECLARATION

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

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This thesis is dedicated to all men, women and children, who have lost their lives all over the world through small arms and light weapons that are illegally owned by individuals and groups.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I thank my God and helper for the gift of life, health and the resources I needed to undertake this project. A number of people were instrumental in making this study a success. They directly and indirectly contributed to the shape of this study. Without these people’s help, this study would not be complete.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.............................................................................................................Er
ror! Bookmark not defined.

DEDICATION...........................................................................................................ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT..............................................................................................iv

LIST OF FIGURES..................................................................................................ix

LIST OF MAPS.........................................................................................................x

LIST OF TABLES......................................................................................................xi

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.......................................................................xii

DEFINITION OF TERMS..........................................................................................xiv

ABSTRACT..................................................................................................................xvi

CHAPTER ONE.........................................................................................................1

INTRODUCTION.......................................................................................................1

1.1 Background to the Study ..................................................................................1

1.2 Statement of the Problem..................................................................................3

1.3 Objectives of the Study.....................................................................................5

1.4 Research Questions ..........................................................................................5

1.5 Assumptions of the Study................................................................................5

1.6 Justifications and Significance of the Study .....................................................6

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study ................................................................7

CHAPTER TWO........................................................................................................8

LITERATURE REVIEW............................................................................................8
3.8.1 Validity .................................................................................................................. 33
3.8.2 Reliability .............................................................................................................. 33
3.9 Pilot Study ................................................................................................................. 33
3.10 Data Collection Procedures ................................................................................... 34
3.11 Data Analysis .......................................................................................................... 35
3.12 Ethical Considerations ............................................................................................ 35

CHAPTER FOUR .............................................................................................................. 37
FINDINGS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS ................................................................ 37
4.1 Introduction .............................................................................................................. 37
4.2 General information ............................................................................................... 37
4.3 Sources of SALWs ................................................................................................. 43
4.4 Factors Contributing to Proliferation of SALWs .................................................... 52
4.5 Consequences of SALWs ....................................................................................... 66
4.6 Ways of Reducing Spread of SALWs .................................................................... 72
4.7 Summary .................................................................................................................. 76

CHAPTER FIVE ............................................................................................................... 78
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ......................................................... 78
5.1 Introduction .............................................................................................................. 78
5.2 Summary of Research Findings ............................................................................. 78
5.3 Conclusions ............................................................................................................. 78
5.4 Policy Recommendations and Areas for Future Research .................................... 79

REFERENCES ............................................................................................................... 82
APPENDICES .................................................................................................................. 87
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework.........................................................................................................................25
Figure 4.1: Gender of the Respondent........................................................................................................................38
Figure 4.2: Distribution of the Respondents by their Age Groups.................................................................39
Figure 4.3: Highest Level of Education......................................................................................................................42
Figure 4.4: Major Sources of Income........................................................................................................................43
Figure 4.5: Respondents in Possession of SALWs.................................................................................................49
Figure 4.6: Factors Contributing to Proliferation of SALWs..............................................................................52
Figure 4.7: Reasons for Possession of SALWs........................................................................................................55
Figure 4.8: Respondents Views on Whether their Neighbors Possess SALWs.................................61
Figure 4.9: Extent that Residents Feel Guarded by the Government..............................................................64
Figure 4.10: Properties Destroyed or Confiscated During Conflicts...............................................................71
Figure 4.11: Agents Responsible for Reduction of SALWs..............................................................................72
Figure 4.12: Eradication of SALWs..........................................................................................................................75
LIST OF MAPS

Map 2.1: Arms Flow in Turkana County.................................................................11

Map 3.1: Map of Kenya......................................................................................28

Map 3.2: Map of Turkana County......................................................................31
LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Distribution of the Respondents ................................................................. 29
Table 4.1: Distribution of Respondents by Constituencies ............................................ 40
Table 4.2: The Distribution of Security Officers in the Region ..................................... 41
Table 4.3: Distribution of SALWs per Constituency ....................................................... 46
Table 4.4: Relationship between Economic Activities and Possession of SALWs .......... 48
Table 4.5: Relationship between the Age Group and Possession of SALWs ................. 50
Table 4.6: Relationship between Highest Education Level and Possession of SALWs ..... 51
Table 4.7: Relationship between Causes of Conflict and Possession of SALWs .......... 54
Table 4.8: Relationship between Reasons for Possession of SALWs and Economic Activities .......................................................................................................................... 59
Table 4.9: Relationship between Reasons for Possession of SALWs and Constituency of Domicile ......................................................................................................................... 62
Table 4.10: Relationship between Reasons for Possession of SALWs and Cause of Conflict ................................................................. 63
Table 4.11: Relationship between Reaction of Security Organs and the Feeling of Being Guarded by the Government ........................................................................................................ 66
Table 4.12: Percentage of Respondents who have Directly Suffered as a Result of SALWs ... 67
Table 4.13: Relationship between Suffering as a Result of Small Arm and Frequency of Conflicts ................................................................................................................................... 68
Table 4.14: Showing the Percentage of People Killed in the Last Conflict ....................... 69
Table 4.15: Relationship between People Killed in the Last Conflict and Reaction of Security Organs .......................................................................................................................... 70
### ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>Administration Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASAL</td>
<td>Arid and Semi-Arid Lands</td>
</tr>
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<td>AWF</td>
<td>African Wildlife Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community Based Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>FBO</td>
<td>Faith Based Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>GSU</td>
<td>General Service Unit</td>
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<td>IA</td>
<td>International Alert</td>
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<td>IANSA</td>
<td>International Action Network on Small Arms</td>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Criminal Court</td>
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<td>ICRC</td>
<td>The International Committee of the Red Cross</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KHRC</td>
<td>Kenya Human Rights Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>KNCHR</td>
<td>Kenya National Commission on Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPR</td>
<td>Kenya Police Reserve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCHA</td>
<td>(United Nations) Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCPD</td>
<td>Officer Commanding Police Division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCS</td>
<td>Officer Commanding Police Station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODM</td>
<td>Orange Democratic Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OHCHR</td>
<td>(United Nations) Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAPC</td>
<td>Provincial Administration Police Commander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNU</td>
<td>Party of National Unity</td>
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</table>
PPO – Provincial Police Officer
RDU – Rapid Deployment Unit
SALWS – Small Arms and Light Weapons
SAS – Small Arms Survey
SLDF – Sabaot Land Defence Force
SSA – Sub-Saharan Africa
WHO – World Health Organization
DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Adults** - People who are aged above 35 years.

**Arms Control** – Reduction in the quest of superiority in small arms and light weapons amongst ethnic groups.

**Arms Proliferation** - The growth or rapid increase in numbers of SALWs and their trade.

**Boundary Dispute**- is a disagreement over the possession/control of land between two or more territorial entities or over the possession or control of land.

**Cattle Rustling**- It is the forceful removal or stealing of animals or livestock.

**Conflict** - Refers to the pursuit of incompatible goals by individuals or groups. Conflict situation arise when individuals or groups identify a goal they want to secure in order to satisfy material interests, needs or values. When these perceptions lead to actions that come up against the interests, needs and values of others, a conflict dynamic occurs.

**Conflict Management**- Refers to the limitation, mitigation and containment of conflicts before they escalate into violence in which SALWs are used.

**Disarmament** – The act of reducing the size of small arms and light weapons among ethnic combatants.

**Ethnic Conflict** – Disagreement or clash between two cultures or ethnic groups.

**Insecurity** - State of instability in which the safety of lives is no longer guaranteed.

**Kraal** - Is a traditional African village of huts, typically enclosed by a fence inhabited by the local Turkana herdsmen.
Moran - The Moran are the great protectors of Turkana community. These warriors are known for being brave and pound. These warriors are recognized by their painted faces as well as their headdresses which are made out of feathers and wood.

National Security Threat – Increase in crime wave, crisis and violent conflicts, which endanger people’s lives and the safety of properties of a nation.

Ngimurok - These are medicine men in Turkana who are believed to have supernatural powers and supervise rituals and sacrificial ceremonies in Turkana community. Ngimurok are consulted before and after a raid and work closely with kraal leaders.

North Rift Region - The term North Rift region of Kenya, in this study is understood to mean the area comprising primarily three administrative districts that lie generally to the North of the Great Rift Valley, that is; Turkana, West Pokot and Samburu. It also comprises parts of Baringo and Marakwet districts.

Pastoralism - This is the practice of rearing livestock.

SALWS - A category of light weapons which include automatic weapons, up to, and including 20mm submachine guns, rifles, carbines, handguns and hand placed landmines.

Strategy - A superior and more generalized plan of action designed to achieve a particular goal.

Weapons of Mass destruction - this is a nuclear, radiological, chemical, biological or other weapon that can kill and bring significant harm to a large number of humans or cause great damage to manmade structures.

Youth - People aged 35 years and below.
ABSTRACT

Small arms and light weapons (SALWs) have contributed to insecurity in various parts of the world. Since their invention, they have been used in many wars and conflicts, including between states, but also at sub-national level. Since SALWs are easily available, relatively cheap and easy to carry or move around with, it has become possible for ordinary people to possess and use them relatively easily. But the illicit, uncontrolled proliferation and misuse of SALWs have severe effects on conflicts, security and human development. Various academic studies have been conducted on the impact of SALWs proliferation on security in the Great Lakes region; however, little research has been done on the conflict-prone Turkana County. This study sought to establish the impact of SALWs proliferation on security in Turkana County. This work had four objectives: first, to investigate the sources of SALWs in Turkana County; secondly, to establish the factors that contribute to proliferation of SALWs in Turkana County; thirdly, to explore the consequences of SALWs proliferation in Turkana County and fourthly to determine ways to reduce proliferation of SALWs and restore security in Turkana County. The study period covered 2000-2012. The sampling technique used was non probabilistic in nature. Under non-probability sampling, convenience and purposive sampling were used. From the region, the targeted sample was 350 participants. Interviews and structured questionnaires were used to gather primary data from the respondents. Simple descriptive statistics was employed to analyze the data and the findings were presented in tables and graphs. The main source of SALWs in Turkana County was infiltration from the neighboring countries such as Uganda, Sudan and Somalia. And the factors that contributed to the proliferation of these arms include customs and traditions, porous borders, lack of internal security among others. As a result of the proliferation of SALWs in the region, people have suffered in many ways. The suffering included the loss of life, injuries, loss of properties and physical displacements. The government and other institutions have tried to eradicate the conflicts in the region by undertaking disarmament and holding peace meetings among the residents. The study recommended appropriate strategies necessary to remedy those conflicts, hence benefitting both the population and policy makers.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The end of Cold War generated worldwide optimism for international peace and security. A shift from superpower proxy conflicts in the Third World to socio-economic development appeared a viable project. However, actual events in recent years have disastrously shattered those expectations. In place of enhanced security, virulent internal conflicts accompanied by unprecedented civilian casualties and gross violations of human rights have emerged at an alarming rate (Lumpe, 2000). The local roots and causes of conflicts are numerous and diverse. However, in nearly all of the conflicts, the proliferation of SALWS, particularly from the industrialized nations to the developing world has played a decisive role in the escalation and intensification of these conflicts (Machuany, 2014).

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), there are three factors that influence the use of SALWs over other possible choices of weapons: availability, variety and social norms regarding their use (Briceño-León et al., 2008). Central America has excessive availability and a wide variety of military and civilian weapons, and large segments of society willing to use them for a multitude of reasons (Godnick et al., 2002). Years of civil war and military dictatorship have a great deal to do with this. Other factors that condition armed violence include narcotics trade, the activities of youth gangs with ties to groups in the US, and the frustration of ex-combatants and others with the seemingly empty promises of peace and prosperity in the aftermath of conflict (Kruijt, 2007)
In the last decade, Liberia and Sierra Leone were embroiled in protracted civil wars; Guinea-Bissau experienced a brief internecine conflict in the late 1990s (Adebajo, 2002). Côte d’Ivoire suffered insurrection; Tuareg problem simmered in Mali and Niger, while Liberia and Guinea continued to accuse each other of launching cross-border raids against their territories- a conflict also involving Sierra Leone rebels (Gbla, 2006). The Darfur crisis in South Sudan is another case that led to proliferation of SALWs.

SALWs were legally and traditionally entrusted to trained personnel who were regulated by ethical codes regarding their handling and correct use. However, SALWS in the whole world today, especially the African continent have illegally found their way into the hands of untrained people (Demetriou, et al. 2002). The untrained people lack the ethical codes on the use of SALWs which might be a contributing factor in the causes of conflicts and insecurity in the world. In Africa, this trend has been taking a deadly toll in the entire continent.

At the turn of the millennium, more than half of all African countries were affected by conflicts of one kind or another (Nte, 2011). The deadliness of violent conflict exemplifies itself by the fact that most of the people affected are no-longer military personnel but large proportions of the civilian population (Grant et al., 2003). SALWs have been used in the world to commit atrocities hindering the efforts to promote development in the affected areas (Malan et al., 2002). For instance, the teenage shootings in a United States school, violent conflicts in the Niger region of West Africa and the ongoing conflicts in the North Rift region, which demonstrates the lethality of using SALWs by unauthorized and untrained people.
Despite the fact that some regional organizations such as the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the South African Development Community (SADC) have conducted various academic studies on the impact of SALWs in conflict and insecurity in the great lakes region, little research has been done on the conflict-prone Turkana County of Kenya (Mc Cullum et al., 2012). This study sought to establish the impact of SALWs proliferation on the security in Turkana County.

The pastoralist districts of Sudan, Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya are characterized by conflict such as cattle rustling, banditry and ethnic rivalry (Weiss, 2004). SALWs in this region are widely available amongst the populace (Lumpe, 2000). Traditionally, communities in Turkana County used crude weapons such as spears, machetes, bows and arrows to conduct cattle raids. However, the presence of SALWs has complicated the situation because of their lethality. SALWs have a high rate of fire coupled with range and accuracy giving them a high killing capability and mass destruction (Hunqe, 2005). Therefore, there was an urgent need to establish the impact of SALWs on security in Turkana County of Kenya in order to find lasting solutions on reduction of the proliferation of SALWs and restoration of security.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The proliferation of SALWs is assuredly a global phenomenon, whose adverse effects are most visible in Africa (Kamenju et al., 2003). Studies done on small arms and light weapons in Bonn International Centre for Conversion “Brief 11, Reasonable Measures (1998), found that, while international attention is focused on the need to control weapons of mass destruction, the trade in small arms and light weapons continues to operate in a legal and moral vacuum. The consequences of small arms on African people due to international conflicts within Africa, rebel group activities,
mercenary groups, and armed gang activities have yet to be fully measured (Boutwell & Klare, 1999).

In Kenya, historic conflicts between competing cattle herders have escalated to deadly warfare due to proliferation of small arms and light weapons. People have been massacred including security officers in the region while hundreds of others have been displaced from their homes with children losing on education and massive slackening in development (Hunqe, 2005). Turkana County is a region with harsh living conditions, little water and lack enough pasture for livestock. Poverty looms and intensifying competition for scarce resources takes the form of violent armed conflict (Mkutu, 2008). The option that they have is to arm themselves for personal, communal, clan or larger family defense requirements. This is mainly in the area of the inadequate physical presence of law enforcement officers, poor infrastructure, corruption, the scarcity of resources, and difficult terrain in the small arms and conflict hotspot area.

Various social, political and economic approaches have been implemented to promote cohesion, political stability and economic alternatives. However, the conflict in Turkana has continued to manifest itself through cattle rustling related violence, tribal conflict and violent robberies. It remains unclear why the conflict keeps recurring. This puts into disarray the interventions that have already been put in place. Despite the existence of various studies on conflict in the North Rift by scholars such as Agade Mkutu, the problem of small arms proliferation still persist. It was hoped that this study will contribute to the body of knowledge and provide information needed to facilitate the solving of this problem in Turkana County. It is in light of this that the research is geared towards establishing the impact of SALWs proliferation on security in Turkana County.
1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study was to establish the impact of SALWs on security in Turkana County. To be able to achieve this objective, the following specific objectives guided the study:

i. To investigate the sources of SALWs in Turkana County.

ii. To establish the factors that contribute to the proliferation of SALWs in Turkana County.

iii. To explore the consequences of SALWs proliferation in Turkana County.

iv. To determine ways to reduce proliferation of SALWs and restore security in Turkana County.

1.4 Research Questions

i. What are the sources of SALWs in Turkana County?

ii. What factors contribute to proliferation of SALWs in Turkana County?

iii. What are the consequences of SALWs proliferation in Turkana County?

iv. What ways can reduce proliferation of SALWs and restore security in Turkana County?

1.5 Assumptions of the Study

The study made the following assumptions:

i. That the sources of SALWs are known by the respondents.

ii. That the respondents have diverse reasons for SALWs proliferation.

iii. That the respondents have been affected in one way or another by the SALWs.

iv. That all members of the target communities experienced the impact of SALWs in conflict and insecurity.
1.6 Justifications and Significance of the Study

Exposing the impacts of SALWs on the African society through this kind of research raises awareness on these issues and forces governments to review their priorities. The end result will be a more developed, peaceful and secure Africa with the capacity to manage its own difficulties. Ultimately, it was crucial to carry out research on this subject to reveal the lethality of SALWs, create international public awareness of their impact and thus give a boost to current international efforts towards an international Arms Trade Treaty setting up global guidelines for the control of all conventional weapons, including SALWs.

SALWs are lethal weapons compared to the traditional sticks, spears and machetes because of their rate of fire, range and mass destruction capability. They can literally destroy the whole society even when handled by a few individuals (Kamenju et al., 2003). SALWs are also simple to use, durable and easily portable making it the weapon of choice for many. The results are deadly as they occasionally result in massacres when communities attack each other during cattle raids. This is evidenced by the deaths occasioned by cattle rustling in Turkana County especially among Turkana and Pokot communities. It was for this reason that the researcher found this study justified.

Understanding the impact of SALWs in conflicts and insecurity was essential in filling the academic gap. It will also enable policy makers to formulate policies that encourage participation of local communities in conflict prevention and resolution. The communities and their respective leaders on the other hand could be beneficiaries through the transformation of the conflicts into development. The security personnel would benefit by finding workable strategies to enable them implement disarmament programme and reach a lasting solution. It was in this light that the research was
geared towards establishing the impact of SALWs on the conflict and insecurity in Turkana County.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The fieldwork of the study was undertaken in Turkana County, where cattle rustling and ethnic violence is pronounced, with sophisticated, illegally-held weapons featuring prominently. This study only focused on the impact of SALWs on security in Turkana County from the year 2000 to 2012. The year 2000 enabled the researcher to examine the role of political actors before and after the regime change of 2002. There was logistics, language barrier problems in communication and time limitation due to the vastness of the research area. This was addressed by employing 3 research assistants. The culture and traditions of the study population was not infringed upon. Participants who could clearly recount events but could not remember the actual dates, the study made use of chronology of events as much as possible where accurate dating was not possible. The information in the research was used with caution. This was because of the uniqueness of the research area. A common denominator of the region was pastoralism, which explained the prevalent and widespread conflict over scarce resources especially pasture and water. These conflicts are exacerbated by the presence and proliferation of SALWs. The research therefore cannot be generalized.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Review of Related Literature

This section gives a review of literature that relates to the topic of study and identifies possible research gaps. The conceptual framework for the study is also given to show the interrelationship among tension, arms and conflict.

2.1.1 A general Overview

The pioneering research and writing on SALWs in the mid-1990s was predominantly conceptual in nature, seeking to give readers a framework for understanding the situation (Smith, Batchelor & Potgieter, 1996). There were also a number of ground-breaking investigative reports by international human rights NGOs such as Human Rights Watch (1994, 1995, & 1999), which provided evidence on SALWs smuggling.

The proliferation of SALWs is well documented as having had a negative effect on the scale and impact of armed violence in pastoral communities (Meek & Stott, 2003; Lumpe, 2000; Mkutu, 2008). These publications show how local concepts and beliefs are affected and transformed by the current abundance of SALWs and the escalation of violence in many pastoral settings in the Great Lakes Region. The proliferation of SALWs is the source of increased lethal violence and crimes (Kizito, 2000). Ownership of SALWs have eroded customary methods of dealing with matters of justice or disputes resolution mechanisms by empowering young men who no longer respect the elders in the two communities (Osamba, 2000).

Government intervention on pastoral conflict in the past and presently, has often taken a very heavy handed approach, characterized by military operations with security personnel brutally punishing the whole community as culprits (Robert & Biddle,
As a result, the community seems to have found ways to evade and elude government interventions of trying to improve security in the affected regions. The researcher therefore sought to find out whether the above arguments have led to this conflict being sustained and prolonged for decades. This research work was carried out to ascertain the above arguments by the residents of Turkana community.

Recent studies on SALWs in the Great Lakes Region have been country specific. They provided a variety of official data on SALWs related crimes in Eastern Africa (Leonhardt, 1999; MacLean, 2000). This review focused on the impact of SALWs on security in Turkana County. The review was categorized in furtherance of the objectives of this research.

2.1.2 Sources of SALWs

Firearms in Africa date back at least to the colonial era when small numbers entered in exchange for ivory (Eltis & Jennings, 1998). European explorers and colonial agents used guns frequently to enforce their will which incited further acquisition by the communities for self-preservation and raiding of other communities to replenish their stock (Hulk, 1997). Arms originally introduced to protect the colonial regimes found their way into African hands (Young, 2004).

The African communities in West Africa traded ivory for arms and by 1910 were exporting arms and ammunition to other parts of the continent (Chew, 2012). From the early 1950s onwards, arms were being used in East Africa amongst the Karamojong who were frequently raided by Turkana, Pokot, Toposa and Didinga from Sudan (Mkutu, 2006). The above literature therefore indicates that there are SALWs in my area of research and my study empirically established their role in conflict and insecurity in Turkana County.
Map 2.1 shows the arms flow in Turkana County. The major route is via L. Victoria from Uganda. They come from Democratic Republic of Congo where conflict is rife (Mkutu, 2008). The Kenyan Minister of Foreign Affairs informed a conference on the proliferation of SALWS in great lakes that since the collapse of Somalia, an estimated 60,000 arms have found their way into Kenya, (Kenya Times, 22 April 2004). The accumulation of SALWS in Turkana County is also associated with the collapse of various regimes and ongoing wars in Somali, Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda (Araba, 2007). In Karamoja, there are also inherited guns that have been passed from generation to generation (Mkutu, 2008).
2.1.3 Factors Contributing to the Proliferation of SALWs

As opposed to heavy conventional weapons like battle tanks, armored vehicles, artillery, war ships, combat aircraft and helicopters, several characteristics make
SALWs very attractive to paramilitary and irregular forces and even untrained civilians (Musah, 2001). Apart from the fact that many governments increased their demand for SALWs to counter political insurgency and suppress domestic opposition movements especially with the advent of multi-party politics across SSA in the late 80s and the 90s, a number of different factors account for their ‘high desirability’ on the continent (MacLean, 2000) as discussed below.

**Simplicity and Durability**

Due to their relative simple nature, SALWs are quite easy to use even by people who have had very little or no military training (Lumpe, 2000). This explains their use by untrained combatants and even child soldiers as it was the case in most armed conflicts such as in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Uganda. In addition, they require little maintenance, logistical support and can remain operational for very long periods of time (Biddle, 2010). The long lifespan of SALWs makes them a constant threat to the society especially if they are present in large numbers (Muggah, & Batchelor, 2002).

The AK-47, the undisputed number one SALW worldwide can stay operational for 20 to 40 years with relatively little or no maintenance depending on the conditions to which it is exposed (Kamenju et al., 2003). This length of time means that they can be inherited by family members thus escalating their threat in the society.

**Low Costs and Wide Availability**

Since the production of SALWs does not necessarily involve sophisticated or hi-tech capacity and also because they are produced for military, police and civilian usage, there are a lot of producers and suppliers all over the world (Ayissi & Sall, 2005). This makes them cheap to procure since they can be recycled from conflict to conflict. A brand new AK-47, much coveted for its firepower and simplicity, can be purchased from a Russian factory at 240 US Dollars depending on the type and the amount
bought (Ayissi & Sall, 2005). In certain parts of Africa, where supplies are plentiful, it can be bought for 30 USD (Controlarms, 2006). In some places in Angola it could be bought between 13 to 20 USD (SAS, 2003). According to the UN in 2001, it could be procured for as little as six US Dollars or traded for a chicken or a sack of grain.

**Portability and Easiness to Conceal**

The small size and light weight of SALWs seemingly makes their transfer across borders easy and undetectable (Muggah, 2005). This eventually leads to a continuous flow of arms resulting in their accumulation and use in fuelling hostilities. For instance, the Great Lakes region, SALWS shipments are sometimes disguised as non-lethal cargo or as humanitarian supplies and are only discovered after the trafficker fails to bribe police and customs officers or when a plane crashes and reveals the hidden nature of its cargo (Boutwell & Klare, 1999). SALWs are sometimes imported while hidden in clothing, vehicles or kitchen utensils (Ayissi & Sall, 2005). It is in this light that this study focused on establishing the impact of SALWs in conflict and insecurity in Turkana County of Kenya.

**Lethality**

Though most SALWs are simplistic in nature, their lethality has increased making it possible for a single combatant to constitute a big threat to an entire society. Today’s assault rifles and other automatic weapons can fire up to several hundred rounds a minute. An AK-47 assault rifle can release 600 rounds per minute as long as the trigger remains pressed down and when operated in automatic mode. Its maximum range lies between 800 to 1000 meters, but its accuracy is guaranteed when used by a trained marksman with the range of 400 to 600 meters (Controlarms, 2006). These statistics mean that SALWs in the hands of community members are capable of causing disastrous consequences such as wiping out neighboring communities. The
lethality of SALWs if compared to traditional weapons such as spears, sticks and arrows are termed as weapons of mass destruction. The high rate of firing coupled by inexperience by the weapon handlers can also cause unwarranted deaths and injuries especially from stray bullets.

**Porous Borders**

Africa is the second largest continent in the world and the second most populated as well (Morgan, 1997). Due to the sheer size of some of its countries, there is the chronic problem of border security. It is hard to find any country in the world capable of effectively controlling such extensive borders (Ayissi & Sall, 2005). Arms traffickers exploit this situation to smuggle SALWs into most countries in Africa. The arms transferred through border gaps are likely to be used in conflicts across the region.

**Inadequate Internal Security**

In most African countries, citizens feel a strong need to acquire arms in order to protect themselves and their property from armed violence. This mostly occurs in places where there is lack of confidence in security forces, under staffing or sometimes simply the inability of security agencies to carry out their duty effectively (Hassan, 1997). Civilians are therefore left with no choice but to arm themselves. SALWs in the hands of inexperienced people may be used haphazardly in criminal activities other than self-defense hence causing insecurity and fuelling conflicts.

**Customs and Traditions**

In most cultures across the African continent, weapons are used in traditional rites and ceremonies. For instance, the North-West Province of Cameroon, there is a traditional rite of gun-firing at events such as traditional burial of local dignitaries (Ayissi, &
Sall, 2005). The same weapons are used to perpetrate crimes such as cattle rustling and other inter and intra community conflicts (Sabala, 2013). Despite the fact that there are gun laws limiting the open use of SALWs, they are hardly respected and can be easily circumvented. This cultural attachment to weapons is particularly rife in rural communities, where conservative cultural practices and traditional rituals still enjoy plenty of respect.

2.1.4 Consequences of SALWs Proliferation

Under traditional security, the state is the primary object (referent) of security and external military threats constitute the major threat to national security (Buzan et al., 1998). Security policy was aimed at the protection of the physical, political and cultural identity of the state against the threats and potential threats posed by the capabilities of others through military means (McSweeney, 1999). However, the emergence of SALWs to unauthorized people within the state is a huge predicament. Excessive accumulation and uncontrolled spread of SALWs in most regions of the world have a wide range of humanitarian effects and also a threat to peace, reconciliation, safety, security, stability and sustainable development at the individual, local, national, regional and international levels (Buzan et al., 1998).

Conflict and Insecurity

Massive quantities of SALWs in circulation primarily contribute to a world-wide epidemic of ethnic, sectarian, and criminal violence (Buzan et al., 1998). SALWs give their holders false courage to pursue their goals by all means (Sabala, 2013). The availability of SALWs has also transformed the nature of conflict from traditional combat between nation-states to intra-state conflict involving a wide variety of actors. They include governments, rebel movements, militias, ethnic and religious groups, tribes and clans, refugees, criminal gangs and mercenaries (Boutwell & Klare, 1999).
The easy availability of arms reduces the incentives to find non-violent solutions to conflicts, and can breed a spiral of insecurity that mimics, on a lower level, inter-state arms races (Sabala, 2013). The mere threat of armed attack compels civilians to alter their behavior in an attempt to minimize the associated risks to both themselves and their families. In addition, SALWs have contributed to a “culture of violence” characterized by gun dependency and their glorification (Mogire, 2004).

Human Rights Abuse

The proliferation of SALWs is largely responsible for the violation of humanitarian laws, resulting in appalling levels of wanton violence and a stream of horrific images (Hirschauer, 2012). Weapon availability pose a grave threat to the security of civilians, and indeed the entire humanitarian enterprise (Mogire, 2004). Turkana County has in the past reported various human rights abuses such as displacement, killing of innocent children and women, theft of livestock and kidnappings. These actions are mainly linked to the presence of SALWs (Mkutu, 2008).

In a briefing Paper for the UN Biennial Meeting entitled Small Arms and Human Rights: The Need for Global Action (2003), Human Rights Watch argue that the uncontrolled proliferation and widespread misuse of SALWs represents a global human rights crisis by facilitating countless human rights abuses and violations of international humanitarian law. SALWs confer power, even without being fired by instilling a sense of false confidence and authority on the holders. The coercive potential of these weapons, when exploited by abusive actors catalyze human rights abuses such as torture, rape, intimidation, and looting.
Deaths, Injuries and Disabilities

A key indicator of the direct impact of SALWs on human security is deaths and injuries. The proliferation of SALWs has led to higher combat and civilian casualties during conflicts as well as deaths from rising criminal activities (Cukier, 2002). In the foreword to the second Expert Report in 1999, Kofi Annan wrote, “SALWs are widely used in conflicts in which a high proportion of casualties are civilians, and in which violence has been perpetrated in gross violation of international law. This has led to millions of deaths, and injuries, around the world”. The gross estimate of global deaths from all forms of homicide, conflicts casualties and suicide stood at 2,272,000 in 2005 (WHO, 2006). Approximately 52% of conflict related fatalities among civilians and combatants were attributed to SALWs, and more than half of all victims were from sub-Saharan Africa (Murray et al., 2002).

Forced Displacement

One particular disturbing example of the indirect consequences of SALWs is the forced displacement of populations, both as internally displaced people (IDPs) and externally as refugees. At the beginning of 2003, almost 35 million people - 13 million refugees and 22 million internally displaced persons - remained uprooted by conflicts and persecution world-wide (Refugee Report, May, 2003). SALWs-related intimidation and insecurity may be a key factor inhibiting sustainable repatriation or resettlement. The 2007 UN report observed that in many recent and current internal armed conflicts, combatants deliberately attack and displace local populations to further their pursuit for economic control over natural resources. In such cases, combatants rely on, even profit from, civilian displacement (Muggah & Bearman, 2001).
**Derailed Development**

The spread of SALWs adversely affects economic development by discouraging investment through allocation of resources to security instead of development, and affects the implementation or initiation of development projects (UNDP Report, 2005). Health and education provision is also adversely affected when providers work in a dangerous or hotspot environment. Doctors and teachers are difficult to attract to work in areas where they are at greater risk of being attacked, leading to lack of basic social amenities.

UNDP (2002) demonstrate that “where guns dominate, development suffers, schools close, shops close, commerce stops, and the local economy grinds to a halt. Buildings are destroyed, bridges are blown up, and whatever development that has been there is gone. Private investment dry up and development organizations can’t operate. Even after the shooting stops, there is no security. People can’t return to their homes or a normal life….” Investors tend to shy away from hotspot areas and the development objectives in place are hardly realized. This eventually fuels conflict and insecurity as people become frustrated with the unsatisfied goals.

### 2.1.5 Curbing Proliferation of SALWs

Conflicts in Africa have been on the rise owing to increased proliferation of SALWs. It is therefore vital that relevant measures and strategies are put in place to counter this problem. Curbing proliferation of SALWs is a complex undertaking involving three distinct tasks: reducing demand, controlling supply, and recovering stocks (Mkutu, 2006). In that case, if correct measures are effectively implemented, it can be of positive development to the whole society.
Reducing SALWs Demand

Governments can reduce citizen demand for weapons by ensuring public safety through strengthening of the available security forces (Muggah & Griffiths, 2002). This would ensure governments have the required competence for attending to the security needs of the citizens. Assured security builds confidence in the people hence helps control conflicts that would erupt out of lack of security (Krause, 2007). Another control measure is enforcing the law through formulation of laws that prescribe harsh penalties for illegal possession of SALWs (Chacón, 2006). These laws and actions when well executed can prevent the desire to acquire SALWs hence reducing the demand. Reduction for demand will further reduce proliferation which then cuts on the level of conflicts and insecurity.

The government can further reduce demand for SALWs through promoting job opportunities (Hueske, 2008). Proliferation is promoted by unemployed citizens who trade SALWs for their livelihood. Since they do not have any other source of income, they are forced to participate in the illegal trade of SALWs. It is therefore upon the government to implement a job policy that will take care of employment of the citizens, by creating more job opportunities with special attention to conflict prone areas. Krause (2007) also advocates for enhancing political participation in fighting conflicts through reduction of demand for SALWs. The political arena is a social platform for addressing a variety of issues that affect society.

As such, people tend to trust their political leaders. Politicians should therefore be encouraged to actively participate in conflict resolution by providing social education on the importance of maintaining peace for societal development. This education can sensitize individuals thinking thereby reduce proliferation of arms, conflict and insecurity. Government can also formulate and implement policies that promote non-
violent resolution of conflicts both at intra and inter-ethnic levels. In this respect, peace talks and discussions should be a major focus of all stakeholders. Non-violent means of conflict resolution cut on the need to acquire SALWs and by extension the need for proliferation.

**Controlling Supplies**

By contrast, in modern states it is the exclusive responsibility of the government to control the supply of SALWs (Dinnen, 2001). If they fail in this task, their authority and effectiveness is undermined. Apart from regulating arms deliveries, governments also need to control SALWs in the broader sense of imposing, and effectively enforcing, clear restrictions on their possession and use (Alpers, & Twyford, 2003). This is done by developing and implementing agreed international measures to prevent combat and eradicate illicit manufacturing and trafficking of SALWs. One way of doing this is through placing particular emphasis on the regions where conflicts come to an end and where serious problems with the excessive and destabilizing accumulation of SALWs have to be dealt with urgently. It can also be effected by mobilizing political will throughout the international community to prevent and combat illicit transfers and manufacturing of SALWs (Scott, 2002).

**Practical Disarmament**

While opinions vary as to the conditions under which citizens should be allowed to possess firearms, there is fairly broad agreement that military-style weapons should only be held by properly trained, fully accountable, and specifically authorized government officials (Kirstein, 2008). The contribution of practical disarmament to security and peace in a conflict situation can be best summarized as the result of a well-established law enforcement system which allows weapons control through practical disarmament. Both weapon reduction and control are necessary for the
maintenance of public order (Weiss, 2004). Public order and the rule of law together form the basis of public security. Practical disarmament creates or reinforces a governmental monopoly of the tools of violence (Muggah, 2005). This applies to settings in which it is usually conducted, namely crime prevention and post-conflict peace-building (Alpers, & Twyford, 2003).

2.1.6 Summary of the Literature Review

The literature reviewed revealed a number of important issues on the impact of SALWS in conflict and insecurity albeit on a general scale. It gave the sources of SALWS dating as far back as the colonial period and from the ongoing conflicts in Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda. It also gave an account of the factors contributing to the proliferation of SALWs such as simplicity and durability, low costs and wide availability, portability and easiness to conceal, lethality, porous borders, lack of internal security and portability and easiness to conceal. Further, the review identified the consequences of SALWs proliferation as: conflict and insecurity; human rights abuses; deaths, injuries and disabilities; forced displacement and derailed development. The review concluded with the mechanisms for curbing the proliferation of SALWs that include: the reduction of SALWs demand; controlling supplies and practical disarmament.

Consequently, this review aided the research by providing a distinct direction especially in relation to the broad objective of investigating the impact of SALWs in conflict and insecurity. As already pointed out in the background, most of the reviewed studies were generalities covering the Horn of Africa region with the few carried out in Turkana County not culturally contextualized. This study set out to be more specific in content by focusing on the impact of SALWs in conflict and insecurity in Turkana County.
The reviewed literature delved on various areas where conflicts have been experienced as a result of proliferation of SALWs. There were a number of ground-breaking investigative reports by international human rights NGOs such as Human Rights Watch (1994, 1995, & 1999), which provided evidence on SALWs smuggling. The proliferation of SALWs is well documented as having had a negative effect on the scale and impact of armed violence in pastoral communities (Meek & Stott, 2003; Lumpe, 2000; Mkutu, 2008). Firearms in Africa date back at least to the colonial era when small numbers entered in exchange for ivory (Eltis & Jennings, 1998). The African communities in West Africa traded ivory for arms and by 1910 were exporting arms and ammunition to other parts of the continent (Chew, 2012). From the early 1950s onwards, arms were being used in East Africa amongst the Karamojong who were frequently raided by Turkana, Pokot, Toposa and Didinga from Sudan (Mkutu, 2006).

Despite the existence of various studies on conflict in pastoralists areas, the problem of small arms proliferation still persist. It was hoped that this study will contribute to the body of knowledge and provide information needed to facilitate the solving of this problem in Turkana County. It is in light of this that the research is geared towards establishing the impact of SALWs proliferation on security in Turkana County.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The study on the impact of SALWs on conflict and insecurity in Turkana County is a social research and is based on two theoretical frameworks. The theory of SALWs demand and protracted social conflict theory were applied to put into perspective the theoretical foundations necessary for guidance in conducting this research.
2.2.1 The Theory of Demand and Supply of SALWs

2.2.2.1 Motivations and Means
Demand is a function of motivations and means, either of which can serve as inhibitors (lack of motivation, lack of means) or as stimulators (Hulk, 2004). This means that the more the demand of a commodity, the more the supply. In this case, due to increased conflict and insecurity, people find the need to acquire more SALWs. The need for acquisition of these arms motivates them to indulge in further proliferation. These arms give them a sense of false courage which in the real sense further propagates violence and increase the frequency of conflict (Muggah, 2005).

2.2.2.2 Stocks and Flows
SALWs are durable goods. Indeed, their role in conflict and insecurity is purely undisputable. A single gun can be used during different ‘shifts’ by different people in the same general location. It can be easily cleaned, refurbished, packed and shipped to different geographic locales further elevating conflict and insecurity. Thus, there are two types of flows; of new and used weapons (Naeem, & Masood, 2010). The theory of demand and supply of SALWs provided the necessary guidance on the motivations behind the acquisition and use of SALWs. This enabled the researcher to remain focused on the real issue of the impact of SALWs in Turkana County.

2.2.2.3 Protracted Social Conflict
According to Azar, the main features of conflict represents prolonged and violent struggles by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition, acceptance, and access to political institutions and economic participation (Ben-Yehuda, & Sandler, 2002). The most useful unit of analysis in PSC situations is the identity group; racial, religious, ethnic, cultural and others. The study on the impact of SALWs in conflict and security in Turkana County of Kenya focused on individual
communities that reside in the area. Communal content focusing on the identity group is the main unit of analysis in these situations. Identity may be racial, religious, ethnic, and cultural. It characterizes the way of life of a people (Prentiss, 2003).

Communities in Turkana County have lived for decades depending on pastoral activities as their lifeline. Conflicts over scarce resources coupled with rampant cattle rustling has turned the area into a battle zone with the government seemingly lost in finding a final resolution in the conflict. The presence of SALWs seems to escalate the situation on the ground. The Kenyan government and its neighbours have always sought for amicable solutions to the insecurity in Turkana County including the massive disarmament operations such as “Operation Dumisha Amani-2006.”

According to Azar, the role of the state and the nature of its governance is a critical factor in determining the satisfaction or frustration of individual and identity group needs. Most states in which PSC happens tend to be characterised by incompetent, parochial, fragile, and authoritarian governments (Ben-Yehuda, & Sandler, 2002). It was in this light that the research sought to establish the impact of SALWs in conflict and insecurity in Turkana County. It was for this reason that the theory was found relevant.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

The concept that guides the research is shown diagrammatically below. It emanates from the reviewed literature, the theoretical frameworks employed and the researcher’s own ideas. According to this concept, SALWs and security are interrelated. SALWs are dangerous and they sometimes lead to conflict and insecurity (Reilly, 2001). SALWs and security influence one another as represented in Figure 2.2.
Figure 2-1: Conceptual Framework

The figure suggests that there is a complex causal interrelationship between SALWs and security, in which each of the two factors affects each other (Jekada, 2005). The concept on SALWs use, is therefore, embedded on the presence of the SALWs and the insecurity created whilst the pursuit of incompatible goals.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the research design, variables under study, site of the study, target population, sample size and sampling technique that guided this research study. In addition, the research instrument that was used in data collection, pilot testing of the same and how the collected data was analyzed are also outlined. Lastly, the chapter explained how the study findings were presented.

3.2 Research Design

This research used descriptive survey design. This design was suitable since the aim of the study was to describe events and explain the causal relationship between the dependent and the independent variables. The data also were collected without changing the environment. Research design describes how the research question can be answered by selecting the appropriate technique, approach and research methodology. A descriptive survey design enabled the researcher to collect information about people’s attitudes, opinions and experiences in relation to historical trends, grievances and other causalities. This research helped the researcher to answer the research questions of the study.

Interview schedules, questionnaires and observations were used to gather data from the youth, leaders, women, village elders, politicians, morans, FBOs, NGOs and CBOs. Data was then analyzed, discussed and conclusions made.

3.3 Variables under Study

The study intended to determine the impact of SALWs proliferation on conflict and insecurity in Turkana County. Extraneous variables exist in the form of contemporary
pressures facing the situation in Turkana County. These include government marginalization, underdevelopment and culture. The relationship between proliferation of SALWs and insecurity is cause-effect and was the subject of this study. The impact of these extraneous variables can vary the relationship and was therefore controlled through randomization.

3.4 Site of the Study

Fieldwork was undertaken in the six constituencies of Turkana County with a catchment population of 855, 399 (2009, Census). Turkana County was chosen purposively, because it is here that cattle rustling, clan and ethnic violence have been most pronounced, with sophisticated, illegally-held weapons featuring prominently. Turkana County is the second largest county in Kenya. It shares its borders with four counties; Marsabit to the east, Samburu to the south-east, Baringo and West Pokot to the south-west. The county also borders with South Sudan to the north, Uganda to the west and Ethiopia to the north-east. Turkana County constitutes six constituencies: Turkana North, Turkana East, Turkana West, Turkana South, Turkana Central and Loima. The map of Kenya showing Turkana County is shown in Map 3.1.
Map 3.1: Map of Kenya

MAPS.GOOGL.Execute.co.ke

LEGEND
TURKANA
REST OF KENYA
WATER BODIES
3.5 Target Population

Respondents were drawn from a number of key categories including government officials in Kenya, FBOs, CBOs and civil society officials, business persons, security officials in the military, police force and provincial administration, professionals working within and outside the target research area such as teachers, health personnel, community development workers and NGO personnel as well as ordinary citizens. The total number of interviewees from the targeted area was 350 being equally distributed throughout the county.

This number was broken down as follows;

**Table 3.1: Distribution of the Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Respondents</th>
<th>Number of Individuals Sampled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Coordination and Interior Government from each District ( DC, DO, Chief)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs, CBOs and FBO</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Representative/Elder</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Elders</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Officers</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>350</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6 Sampling

3.6.1 Sample and Sampling Techniques

Since it was difficult to create a sampling frame for the target population, the sampling technique that was used was non-probabilistic in nature. Non-probability samples are useful in qualitative research where the goal is to understand social
processes and structure of a particular setting (Abrams, 2010). Two non-probability techniques were employed in this study, one for the residents of the target communities and the other for the community leaders and security officers deployed to Turkana County. Respondents were readily accessible owed to their large numbers and migratory patterns. Available and willing individuals were engaged for this purpose; convenience sampling was therefore used. This technique has been successful in carrying out behavioral studies. Purposive sampling was used to select security agencies, NGO’s and community leaders.

3.6.2 Sample Size

Due to the vastness of Turkana County as shown by Turkana County Map 3.2 and nomadic life of the respondents, it was difficult to determine their size and hence the size of the sample. However, the researcher considered it reasonable to take a sample of 350 individuals.
3.7 Research Instruments

3.7.1 Interviews

Interviews were used to gather informants’ feelings, experiences, opinions and knowledge about conflict in Turkana County. The researcher conducted interviews...
with key informants thought to be knowledgeable and involved in pastoral conflict and the diffusion of SALWs. Individual case histories were obtained in a large number of villages and towns.

3.7.2 Questionnaires

The researcher used questionnaires to collect primary data from individual participants. Questionnaires facilitated collection of large data samples which was expected to be dependable and reliable in providing answers to the four research questions. They were further utilized to complement interviews amongst the community leaders and security agencies in the urban areas as they were the most appropriate means of methodological triangulation in these scenarios. Questionnaires were constructed in accordance with the objectives of the study. From a total of 150 leaders and security agencies issued with questionnaires, 125 of them completed and submitted within a period of one month. Comments of security agencies that had been deployed in Turkana County for less than three months were excluded.

3.7.3 Observation

Observation was used in most areas under the guidance of the village elders to verify information on arms movements and acquisition. The researcher was guided by a set of rules on what to observe and record. This included positively identifying those bearing SALW other than security agencies. During fieldwork, young boys were seen carrying arms, even while grazing their herds. The researcher also attended some of the security and peace meetings, which the warriors attended while in possession of their arms.
3.8 Validity and Reliability

3.8.1 Validity
In this study, validity for both interviews and questionnaires were ascertained by consultations and critiques by supervisors from Kenyatta University. Feedback from supervisors, experts and colleagues were incorporated into the study. Content validity was examined and threats to it minimized through the use of complementary methods of data collection—questionnaires and interviews. The researcher therefore developed the questionnaires and interview guides to be administered as the main research instrument of measure.

3.8.2 Reliability
Reliability is concerned with consistency of research results (Mugenda, 2008). A measuring instrument is reliable if it provides consistent results. Reliability of the instrument ensures that questionnaire has internal consistency. It is concerned with the estimates of the degree to which a measure is free from random error and a reliable instrument can be used with confidence that transient and situational factors are not interfering (Schindler, 2008). The research instruments were subjected to a pilot study by using a sample of 30 individuals to pre-test for reliability in West Pokot County which also faces cattle rustling but in a different locality. The results were pretested with the help of Cronbach’s Coefficient Alpha which is acceptable if reliability coefficient is greater than 0.7 (Gliem and Gliem 2003). In this study, the instruments yielded a coefficient of 0.735 which was greater than 0.7, hence the instrument was adopted. The results gave evidence of the instruments being reliable.

3.9 Pilot Study
A pilot study was conducted in West Pokot County. The main purpose of the pilot study was to confirm to the researcher the validity and reliability of the two
instruments for data collection. The conduct and the results of the study gave more guidance on data collection. The findings from the pilot study were used to improve the instruments.

3.10 Data Collection Procedures

The researcher used both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect data by employing a research assistant in the study area. Before proceeding for data collection, the researcher obtained a letter of introduction from Kenyatta University then proceeded to the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) to process a research permit and moved to the field armed with a self-introductory letter for data collection. The data was collected according to the items on the collection instruments. An interview took between 30 minutes and 1 hour and a questionnaire took one week between the time of delivery and collection.

The researcher was aided by three research assistants in the data collection. While in the field the research assistants helped in administering questionnaires in the research areas, translating the questions into the local languages that the respondents could understand. They administered questionnaires to the group of selected respondents and recorded down all answers. They did this through the help of the local chiefs, kraal leaders, youth, women and men conversant with these respondents. They also administered structured interview questions to respondents and recorded their conversations. The interactions, feelings, experiences and emotions expressed by the participants were recorded by writing down in narrative form. On completion of the exercise, the researcher returned to Nakuru for data analysis.
3.11 Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted on the questionnaires as well as information collected through interviews. The narratives given by the residents who could not remember the years, but could relate events chronologically, were also recorded in written form. All the questionnaires were duly filled and interview guides were also done as described in target population above. Upon processing of the data electronically, content analysis was employed on the structured questions.

Focus was put on authenticity of contents of information or the recurring pieces of words in order to make meaning out of them. Discourse analysis was also employed on the open ended questions. Focus was on the symbolic meaning of language. Finally, data interpretation was used to draw inferences from the analyzed data. The researcher answered the four objectives of this study using descriptive analysis, while supporting the narratives by use of bar graphs, tables and pie charts data presentation for illustrations.

3.12 Ethical Considerations

The researcher obtained a letter from Kenyatta University addressed to the NACOSTI where he was issued a letter of authorization (research permit). The research also sought authority from the local administration in regions where the research was conducted. The researcher conducted himself in accordance with the ethical principles of research and hence sought informed consent from all the participants. Consent was sought from participants and their confidentiality maintained through the preservation of anonymity of the respondents except for the few who consented to be mentioned in the final report. No participant was forced to give an answer or none was compelled to explain further a situation if they felt uncomfortable. Answers obtained were all
voluntary and treated with respect. Since the information on conflict could elicit strong emotions, the researcher briefed participants why it was necessary.
CHAPTER FOUR
FINDINGS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction
This chapter presents the findings, results and discussions obtained through the analysis of research data using SPSS and excel. The analysis was focused on answering the research questions. The results presented determine the impact of SALWs in conflict and insecurity in Turkana County. The data was gathered from both interviews and questionnaires as the research instruments. The questionnaire was designed in line with the objectives of the study. A total of 350 questionnaires were administered to collect the required information. Three hundred were administered to the resident respondents and 50 to the security officers.

4.2 General information
The study targeted a sample of 350 respondents in collecting data with regard to determining the impact of SALWs proliferation on security in Turkana County.
Out of the total respondents sampled, 73% were male while 27% were female. The percentage of female respondents is low since they were not allowed to air their views without consulting their husbands. When they needed to air their grievances, they would explain it to their husbands who will then front the idea publicly (Personal Communication, 2nd October, 2011). This explains the larger percentage of male respondents than female respondents. This shows how gender roles are manifested in this patriarchal society. This shows that the men are ranked higher than women in the community. This information further helped the researcher to understand the nature of the conflict.
The sample included 77% youth and 23% adults. Among the youth, 198 were male and 70 were female. On the other hand, adults consisted of 56 male and 26 female respondents. The researcher was able to interview a large number of youth because they were easily accessed in groups in the herding fields. It was also necessary to find more youth since they were the ones who were majorly involved in the protection of the community and implementation of the community decisions. For this reason, they possess majority of SALWs in the community.
Table 4.1: Distribution of Respondents by Constituencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkana South</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkana North</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkana West</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkana East</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkana Central</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loima</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>350</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 4.1, 21% of the respondents were from Turkana South, 25% from Turkana North, 19% from Turkana West, 13% from Turkana East, 11% from Turkana Central and 11% from Loima. The questionnaires were administered conveniently to those who were available. The statistics show that the entire Turkana County is directly affected by the proliferation of SALWs. The presence of SALWs and the conflict has been witnessed over the years (Personal Communication, 28th August, 2011).
Table 4.2: The Distribution of Security Officers in the Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Security Agencies</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPR</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSU</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the study, a sample of security officers; 22% of them were police officers, 20% Kenya Army, 14% Kenya Police Reservists, 14% Administration Police and 30% General Service Unit officers. The data collected was specific for the particular period of the research and was subject to change with the change of security situation. A personal conversation with a security agent in Todonyang who requested anonymity revealed that the security officers deployed at Todonyang had been in place for only two years. They were expected to relocate once calmness returned in the area. He further noted that the scarcity of resources and minimal numbers of personnel available and vastness of Turkana County hindered the operations of the security officers. Therefore, their deployment was dependent on the security situation in a particular area.
The respondents were also requested to indicate highest level of education attained. The findings indicate that 58% had no formal education, 25% had primary education, 13% had secondary education as their highest level and 4% had post-secondary education. These statistics show that most of the educated people were not residing in the community. The educated people have moved to towns with their families to look for white collar jobs (Personal Communication, 28th August, 2011). These views are confirmed by Muggah and Berman (2001) in their study in Kenya, Colombia and East Timor, in their book on Humanitarianism under Threat that most of the inhabitants in the conflict Zone have nil or minimal education.

The few educated respondents are either self-employed or are in informal employment. Most young people in Turkana South do not have formal education, which means they have no skills to gain employment (Personal Communication, 4th August, 2011). The education facilities in the area are few and scattered and also people do not know the value of education. Therefore, most youth are unemployed and the level of poverty is very high, leaving cattle rustling and raiding as the only source of livelihood.
Figure 4.4: Major Sources of Income

The percentage of respondents who rear livestock for their living constitute 66%, 21% are in the informal sector, 10% are self-employed and only 3% have formal employment. These findings are supported by the fact that there are minimal economic opportunities to pursue other than livestock rearing in the region. Due to marginalization and harsh climatic conditions, livestock rearing has remained the major economic activity. Livestock rearing is also a cultural phenomenon where cattle raids and high bride prices are intertwined (Personal Communication, 20\textsuperscript{th} September, 2011). Mkutu (2008) in his book on ‘Pastoralism and Conflict in the Horn of Africa’, reiterated on the issues of bride price and cattle raids and how they are interrelated.

4.3 Sources of SALWs

One of the objectives of this study was to establish the sources of SALWs in Turkana County. In this, the researcher sought to find out the main sources of SALWs.
The findings indicated that out of the respondents who possess SALWs, 45% buy them from neighboring countries, 28% inherit from their forefathers, 12% get their arms by confiscating from their rival communities, 8% buy the arms within the country while 6% of the respondents interviewed are provided with SALWs by politicians. This is an indication that a greater percentage of the respondents acquire their SALWs from neighboring countries and it shows how vulnerable our boundaries are.

In the literature review, the accumulation of SALWs in Turkana County is associated with the collapse of various regimes and ongoing conflicts in Somalia, Southern Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda (Jandieka, 2007). Security agencies respondents were more forthcoming on firearm sources and movements than Turkana County households. However, they were all unanimous in reporting that neighbouring countries were the main source of illicit firearms into Kenya.

Some respondents acquired their weapons by buying from Uganda after the Pokots raided and stole 600 goats and 300 heads of cattle and killing three people (Personal
Communication, 21st October, 2011). They acquired the weapon for revenge and protection from further raids. Most youth also inherit their weapons from their parents. Further, without the weapons, their families would have been robbed of their possessions.

In most cases, there is inter-community arms trade, depending on the season and timing of various events or activities. During conflicts, there is high demand and prices go up, while the reverse is true (Personal Communication, 2nd October, 2011). This information was corroborated with the data collected that 8% among the respondents buy their arms within the country. An AK 47 can be acquired with an exchange of one bull (Personal Communication, 3rd October, 2011).

The communities in Turkana County are often at war. Therefore, there is need for the community to be prepared to defend their clans. To preserve the existence of their clans, the serviceable weapons are maintained in the family lineage and handed over down the family tree. This explains the second highest source of SALWs in Turkana County according to the data collected (28%). After every fight, the attacking clan seizes arms from their adversaries. This concern further corroborates with the data collected showing that 12% of SALWS ownership is obtained through confiscating them from their rival communities. One of the Morans acquired his weapon after ambushing and killing raiders from the Borana community (Personal Communication, 3rd October, 2011).

The views by a section of security agencies that firearms are provided by politicians, contradicts the perceptions provided by the household respondents. This might be a case of not wanting to expose the leaders or fear of repercussions. The secondary data reviewed also provided minimal information on the role played by politicians as a
source of SALWS. In conclusion, the study established that neighbouring countries are the dominant sources of SALWS which is attributed to the porous borders and conflict in such countries.

The SALWs are distributed in the entire county depending on the strategic location and the cultural beliefs that still exist.

**Table 4.3: Distribution of SALWs per Constituency**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>In Possession of Small Arm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkana South</td>
<td>59 (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkana North</td>
<td>82 (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkana West</td>
<td>54 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkana East</td>
<td>40 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkana Central</td>
<td>29 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loima</td>
<td>39 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>303 (87%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3 shows the distribution of SALWs among the respondents in the six constituencies that make up Turkana County. Of all the respondents who possess SALWS, 17% live in Turkana South, 23% live in Turkana North, 15% live in Turkana West, 8% live in Turkana Central and those who live in Turkana East and Loima constitute 11% each. In total 87% of the respondents sampled possess SALWs in Turkana County and only 13% of the respondents do not possess SALWs. This is an indication that more SALWs are found in North and South Turkana. There is a relationship between the acquisition of SALWs and the constituency of residence of the respondents. Therefore from this study, it can be noted that the acquisition of
SALWs depends on the location. According to a report by Mclean (2000) on the tackling of SALWs in the Great Lakes Region and Horn of Africa, there were a significant number of households in possession of SALWs.

The study found out that the residents of Turkana North possess the highest number of SALWs followed by residents of Turkana South. Turkana North, the largest constituency in Turkana County, borders conflict prone region of South Sudan and Ethiopia. This explains the high number of SALWs in the hands of the residents of Turkana North. However, with common borders between Kenya, Uganda and Sudan not demarcated and huge tracts of land disputed, the so called ‘traditional’ occupation of these lands by Turkana is contested. This brings about cross border conflicts in which primarily the Toposa and Turkana confront each other.

The acquisition of SALWs is mostly necessitated by the presence of weapons in the neighboring communities (Personal Communication, David Sulu, Loyapat, 29th September, 2011). To deter a neighbor who already is in possession of SALWs from raiding your homestead is by acquiring the same or better weapons. In this scenario, an arms race can easily occur if not monitored and controlled. The 2009 Kenyan Human Rights Commission report on the *Fact Finding Mission of Cattle Rustling in Samburu and Isiolo* reported the occurrence where the Borana acquired arms from Ethiopian militias to protect their livestock from the Samburu who were preparing for a raid. In the discussion above, it was established that the dynamics of different tribes has a bearing in the number of arms possessed by the different tribes.

These findings are in agreement with the views of the security agencies working in Turkana County. Almost each and every family in possession of livestock equally possesses a firearm (Personal Communication, 12th September, 2011). Livestock
owners cannot risk sending their livestock to the grazing fields without enough firearms to repulse enemy attackers in case of raids (Personal Communication, 10th September, 2011).

Table 4.4: Relationship between Economic Activities and Possession of SALWs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic activities</th>
<th>In Possession of Small Arm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock Rearing</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(61%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Employment</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal Employment</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employment</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>303</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(87%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another analysis was done on the relationship between acquisition of SALWs and the economic activities of the respondents. Of those who possess SALWs, 61% rear livestock for a living, 12% are employed in the informal sector, 10% are self-employed and 1% are formally employed. This shows that the possession of SALWs depends on the economic activity in which the respondent is involved in.

Turkana County is predominantly occupied by pastoralist communities. Livestock herding is the main activity. The size of the household herd reflects household social status in the society. The more the livestock the household own, the more vulnerable they are to raids (Personal Communication, 20th September, 2011). Therefore, the more the livestock they own the higher the need for firearm acquisition for protection. The communities always sought to restock after devastating droughts and that they are most likely to raid communities with whom they had sour relations or the ones that are weak in terms of self-defense in relation to weapon strength.
Residents believe that they would be extinct without livestock. They therefore vow to protect their existence by all means from their aggressive neighbors through cattle rustling which is rife in the region (Personal Communication, 23rd October, 2011). The findings established that inhabitants in Turkana County arm themselves to protect themselves and their properties (livestock). This information supports the analysis and conclusion that possession of SALWs depends on the respondents’ economic activity.

Lack of other economic activities in the region and dependency on livestock as the main source of livelihood has worsened the conflict. Morans conduct raids to restock especially after long spells of droughts and when they want to marry (Lumpe, 2000). Ayissi and Sall (1998) confirm the importance of livestock and natural resources as important elements of the conflict between Turkana and the Pokot. Pastoralist areas are characterized by scarcity of pasture and water and that the struggle for temporary access to these resources leads to conflict (Gulliner, 2009).

The information gathered from the statistics, scholars and personal interviews revealed that due to the nature of living in Turkana County, most households are in possession of SALWs as shown in Figure 4.5

**Figure 4.5: Respondents in Possession of SALWs**
The study was done to establish the percentage of individuals who possess SALWs in the neighborhood of the respondent. It was found out that 87% of the neighbors of the respondents possess SALWs and only 13% do not. The households that own firearms cited feeling a sense of security when they own them. Due to inadequate government presence in the region, residents take the responsibility to protect themselves and their property (Personal Communication, 12th September, 2011). These views collaborate with Mkutu (2008) on the stock theft and moral economy in colonial Kenya that cites residents whose livelihood depends on pastoralism arming themselves to protect their wealth.

Table 4.5: Relationship between the Age Group and Possession of SALWs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>In Possession of SALWS</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>243 (69%)</td>
<td>25 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>60 (17%)</td>
<td>22 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>303 (87%)</td>
<td>47 (13%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study found out that, 69% of individuals who possess SALWs are youth while only 17% are adult. The high percentage of youth who possess the SALWs is because youth are the warriors who protect the community. Other than protecting their own community, they also carry out revenge raids on the neighboring communities.

The youths also go to look for pastures and water for their livestock and hence the reason why they need SALWs to guard against cattle rustlers. Customarily, to be promoted to some social stages like Moran, warrior or even elder, it depends on the number of successful raids that one has undertaken. So youth strive to make as many raids as possible so as to gain recognition in the community.
Table 4.6: Relationship between Highest Education Level and Possession of SALWs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>In possession of Small Arm</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>174 (50%)</td>
<td>30 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>76 (22%)</td>
<td>12 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>42 (12%)</td>
<td>4 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>10 (3%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>303 (87%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>47 (13%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analysis was done to determine if the level of education of the respondents determines whether one will possess a small arm or not. Among the respondents who possess SALWs, 50% have no formal education, 22% have primary level of education, 12% have secondary education and 3% have tertiary education. This shows that the higher the level of education, the lower the number of residents in possession of SALWs. Respondents with the lowest level of education, possesses the highest number of weapons according to the data collected. The motivation for firearm possession is predominantly defensive, with the majority of household respondents citing the need for protection from various perceived dangers. Most of the residents are uneducated and dependent on livestock rearing. They use the arms to guard their livestock and against their neighbouring communities or for fear of future conflicts (Personal Communication, 10th November, 2011).

The causes of the conflict between Turkana and Pokot is inadequate resources for feeding, non-quarantined migration in search for pasture, decline of animal produce, increase of human diseases, worsening starvation and revenge attacks (Personal
Communication, 4th August, 2011). This particular opinion supports the study that low level of education leads to high SALWs possession which is necessitated by the need to protect their livelihood.

4.4 Factors Contributing to Proliferation of SALWs

Overtime, conflicts have been witnessed in Turkana County of Kenya resulting from high proliferation of SALWs in the same area as explained earlier. This research therefore sought to find out if the conflict in the region brings about proliferation of SALWs and find out the factors that contribute to the spread of SALWs in the region. The information gathered helped to determine if the proliferation of SALWs depends on a lot of conflicts in the region.

**Figure 4.6: Factors Contributing to Proliferation of SALWs**

A descriptive analysis was done to determine various factors that contribute to proliferation of SALWs. The findings indicated that 40% of conflicts are caused by cattle rustling, 17% by boundary conflicts, 16% of the conflicts are due to revenge
missions, 14% by the scramble for the scarce resources like water and pasture, 8% of conflicts are caused by tribalism and 5% by political differences.

Turkana County residents are predominantly nomadic pastoralists and cattle rustling is the principle cause of conflict in the region. Cattle rustling is no longer a cultural activity but a business venture with many high ranking government officials and politicians getting involved (Personal Communication, 3rd October, 2011). Cattle rustling has now gone digital with well-coordinated raids using mobile services enabled by use of large trucks for transportation (Personal Communication, 3rd November, 2011). According to Mkutu (2008), commercial raiding is not new. Organized in multi-ethnic groups, cattle rustlers were able to move cattle rapidly along a series of receivers across national and international boundaries. Growing demand for meat in the urban areas has further increased prices on the livestock market making rustling a market oriented activity. Majority of respondents in this study strongly felt that anything associated with their livelihood (pastoralism) had always elicited high emotions and continuous conflict situations. These included cattle rustling, competition for water and pasture, boundary disputes and revenge attacks.

The problem of boundaries has been the main cause of conflict in Turkana County (Personal Communication, Senior Sergeant Douglas Omondi, Kibish, 4th November, 2011). The neighboring Pokots always fight with the residents of Turkana County over boundary disputes.

According to Muggah and Berman (2001) in their study in Kenya, Colombia and East Timor, the causes of conflict are intertwined and revolve around resources. They further explained that the scarcity of resources and competition results in political
incitements, tribalism, and exaggerated boundary dispute concerns. In conclusion, the study realized that cattle rustling was a necessary condition to the causes of conflict while boundary disputes and fighting for resources remain sufficient conditions.

Table 4.7: Relationship between Causes of Conflict and Possession of SALWs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause of conflict</th>
<th>In Possession of Small Arm</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribalism</td>
<td>26 (7%)</td>
<td>1 (0%)</td>
<td>27 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle Rustling</td>
<td>105 (30%)</td>
<td>34 (10%)</td>
<td>139 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boundary Conflicts</td>
<td>60 (17%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>60 (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources</td>
<td>37 (11%)</td>
<td>11 (3%)</td>
<td>48 (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political Differences</td>
<td>19 (5%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>19 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenge</td>
<td>56 (16%)</td>
<td>1 (0%)</td>
<td>57 (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>303 (87%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>47 (13%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>350 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main motivation behind the possession of SALWs was cattle rustling at 30%, 17% of the respondents possess SALWs because of boundary conflicts, 16% because of revenge, 11% because of scramble for resources, 7% because of tribalism and 5% because of political differences. The security agencies and Turkana County respondents unanimously mentioned cattle rustling as the major cause of SALWs proliferation. A personal communication with a security officer at Lokori who requested anonymity revealed that Anti-stock Theft Unit officers responded to cattle raids incidences at least twice a month. According to Krause (2000), there has been a fundamental shift in the nature and form of raids from small sanctioned raids using spears, bows and arrows, machetes and other crude weapons to large armed raids or cattle thefts using guns and other high caliber weapons. This shows that there is an interrelationship between the cause of conflict and the possession of SALWs whereby
a significant difference emanates between the traditional raids and the current raids. The raiding patterns and modes of carrying out attacks had become lethal and further worsened by technology.

Boundary conflicts were ranked as the second most significant justification for firearm ownership. The respondents living near the common boundaries cited boundary conflicts as the major cause of firearm acquisition. The conflict and tension experienced along Pokot-Turkana border over time emanates from un-demarcated boundaries (Personal Communication, 7th December, 2011). Most of the deaths in the past one year were as a result of border disputes with neighbors (Personal Communication, 7th August, 2011). On another note, the ubiquity of the gun in Turkana County and the government’s failure to collect all illicit arms has fed perceptions of impunity. Hence, some choose to own a gun because it is the order of the day anyway. “Since others have arms and nothing has been done to them, then we buy guns too”.

Figure 4.7: Reasons for Possession of SALWs
Other than conflicts being the reason for proliferation of SALWs, 31% of the respondents believed the proliferation of SALWs was encouraged by customs and traditions, 30% by inadequate internal security, 28% by the porous borders and 12% believe that it was because of a wide availability of these SALWs.

In the Samburu community, a Moran can only be respected and recognized as a brave warrior after killing a large number of enemies (Muggah, 1997). Among Turkana, Morans have their bodies tattooed for every killing committed. But this is not the only meaning to tattooing; it is also used for cleansing - it is believed that by spilling a warrior’s blood through the tattoos, curses that may follow them for deaths they have caused are broken (Mkutu, 2008). The gun has in this way also influenced views such as perception of bravery, heroism and even manhood are pegged on successful cattle raids and defense of one’s community among pastoralists. The high bride price paid by suitors has contributed to the constant raids among the communities. This further creates a strong demand for the gun (Personal Communication, 20th September, 2011).

The problem of extensive borders and inadequate security apparatus makes it hard to curb conflicts (Personal Communication, 5th September, 2011). He further explained the issue of scarcity of resources as a setback in enhancing security by police. This argument corroborates with the literature reviewed on the factors contributing to the proliferation of SALWs. It is hard to find any country in the world capable of effectively controlling security in extensive borders (Ayissi & Sall, 2005). The same notion is replicated in the absence of enough internal security apparatus leaving the residents no choice but arming themselves to protect themselves and their properties.

The porous borders contributed to the easy flow of arms and that the proximity of Turkana County to international borders such as Ethiopia, Uganda and South Sudan
as exacerbating conflict within Turkana County (Personal Communication, 4th August, 2011). Turkana South constituency borders the Pokot pastoralists to the south, Loima constituency to the west, which shares borders with Uganda and arms from Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia end up in Turkana South through various movements from Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia into Kenya.

Arms from as far as South Sudan find their way into Turkana South through the Karimojong region of Uganda (Personal Communication, 16th August, 2011). Here the arms would be exchanged with cattle or bought by cash. The new owner of the gun would want to get back the money used to buy the gun. So naturally, raiding would become the best option and the warrior would go on a raid to try the gun and secondly to get livestock to sell to get back money spent on the gun. This type of commercial activity enhanced raiding and ensured a constant supply of arms as long as there were buyers.

The availability of the gun empowers youth to have livestock of their own and even marry early (Personal Communication, 24th August, 2011). He further explained that the youth did not have to rely on their parents for inheritance or on elders for advice or behavior regulation. They could get anything through the gun. Therefore more youths demanded for arms which the businessmen made available on request. This had made turnover of arms in the region very high, hence proliferation of SALWs in Turkana County as a whole.

The study further revealed that the establishment of Kenya Police Reservists (KPR) in the region led to the availability of SALWs. Residents of Turkana County saw in equal portion, arms held by KPR as a cause of the conflict and adding to the sustenance of the conflict. This is because nobody followed to monitor whether these
arms were being used for the intended purpose. KPR gave the community a service that would otherwise be provided by the police, but since the police officers sent to the area were few, the KPR supplemented their services. However, since they they are not paid for their services, the KPR use ammunition given to them to get money for sustenance (Personal Communication, 24th October, 2011).

Since the government arms KPR, but does not pay them, they have found ways of sustaining themselves by engaging in various illegal activities. Some of the KPR in West Pokot could accompany raiders to Lomelo for a raid. They would be given a share after a successful raid. Others also gave ammunition to raiders going for raids to Turkana. Others sold the ammunition to get cash they badly needed for survival (Personal Communication, 16th August, 2011).

In Turkana South, arms are readily available at low cost which has led to increased illegal activities among the youth. An arms dealer finds it easy to buy arms from Karamoja region to sell to Turkana warriors. A gun then would cost Ush 560,000, which was Ksh 20,000. But now the raiders get arms cheaply from Somali traders in Turkana North. A gun could be exchanged with two to three oxen which were readily available in the community. This encouraged youths to raid the neighboring communities to get cattle to be exchanged with guns. The arms business was very enticing in Turkana North that the arms dealers availed arms cheaply and readily because there was ready market (Personal Communication, 7th August, 2011). In conclusion, there are several reasons for the possession of SALWS, though inadequate internal security, customs and traditions, porous borders and availability are more pronounced.
Table 4.8: Relationship between Reasons for Possession of SALWs and Economic Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for Possession of Small Arms</th>
<th>Livestock Rearing</th>
<th>Formal Employment</th>
<th>Informal Employment</th>
<th>Self-Employment</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Customs and traditions</td>
<td>80 (23%)</td>
<td>5 (1%)</td>
<td>12 (3%)</td>
<td>10 (3%)</td>
<td>107 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate internal security</td>
<td>81 (23%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (0%)</td>
<td>24 (7%)</td>
<td>106 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porous borders</td>
<td>39 (11%)</td>
<td>6 (2%)</td>
<td>53 (15%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>98 (28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability</td>
<td>31 (9%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>6 (2%)</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
<td>39 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>231 (66%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>11 (3%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>72 (21%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>36 (10%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>350 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of the respondents who possess SALWs, 66% of them rear livestock as their economic activity. They possess these weapons majorly because of inadequate internal security and also it’s a custom to possess them. Pastoralists face various dangers if they do not own a small arm when the neighboring communities possess the same.

Poverty caused by severe droughts and also raids from the Pokot have left Turkana instantly poor (Personal Communication, 30th October, 2011). This meant the community looked upon the young warriors to follow the livestock stolen by the Pokot to return them. This way Turkana made many retaliatory attacks on the Pokot.

Due to the changing and constant adverse weather conditions and numerous and constant raids from the Pokot, Turkana had become poor, leading them to look for
alternative sources of replenishing their stock. This had led to proliferation of arms and prolonged and sustained conflict between the two communities.

The neighboring Pokot community today considers raiding the enemy community (Turkana) as a way of increasing stock (Personal Communication, 24th August, 2011). The young men of the community made numerous raids on Turkana, but contrary to raids in the old days, the young warriors sold all the livestock they stole from Turkana. This reduced the number of livestock held by both Turkana and Pokot. Traditionally, that was not the case because there was a constant and sure supply and counter raids on each of these two communities. This had ensured that the livestock stolen from one community could be returned to the same community in the next raid. This had changed in recent times due to commercialization of the stolen animals, thereby increasing incidences of clashes, hence the prolonged conflict.

Inadequate availability of security agencies in the region has further lead to the proliferation of SALWs (Personal Communication, 28th August, 2011). Pastoralists could cross to either side with their weapons without any resistance. In this analysis, it can be learnt that reasons for the possession of a small arm are directly linked with the source of income.
Further analysis showed that 87% of the respondents know a neighbor who possesses a small arm while 13% do not know any neighbor who owns a small arm. The statistics shows that majority of people living in Turkana County possess a small arm and is well known by their neighbors. Initially, it was challenging to probe for information relating to possession of small arms because the arms are illicit. This was as a result of coercive disarmament operations in the recent past such as *Operation Dumisha Amani* that began in 2010. It is possible that respondents were conscious of the possible repercussions of portraying their areas as having significant firearms prevalence rates. There is presence of both legal and illicit weapons within the community (Personal Communication, Sergeant Daniel Donyang, Sarmach, 7th December, 2011). The legal weapons are carried by the KPR and the government security forces while the illicit ones are carried by the locals who are usually seen herding their livestock with their weapons openly.

The reason for possessing a small arm was further analyzed to test whether it had any relationship with the geographical locations of different constituencies.
On average, 6% of the residents in all the constituencies except Loima possess SALWs as a result of customs and traditions. Similarly, 11% of the residents in Turkana North possess SALWs as a result of inadequate internal security, 7% from Turkana South, 6% from Loima, 4% from Turkana West and 1% each from Turkana East and Central. The findings also indicate that residents from almost all the constituencies in Turkana County possess SALWs as a result of porous borders. Therefore, we can conclude customs and traditions, porous borders and inadequate internal security are the reasons that motivate the residents to acquire SALWs. The neighboring communities are more aggressive and equally more vulnerable hence possess more arms (Personal Communication, 3rd November, 2011). Turkanas who border more than two countries are more armed than their neighbors.
Traditionally the weapons were handed down along the family chain for protection. Inadequate internal security has also contributed to the need to possess fire arms for protection against other clans and wild animals. Porous borders and easy availability of SALWs in the region are also among the factors that lead to the possession of SALWs (Personal Communication, 7th August, 2011). Fire arm gives residents the protection and confidence they need so as to move freely with their animals in search of pasture. Absence of enough security officers has also necessitated acquisition of SALWs.

Further, an analysis was carried out to determine the significance of relationship between the reason for possessing the small arm and the cause of conflict.

**Table 4.10: Relationship between Reasons for Possession of SALWs and Cause of Conflict**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for Possession of SALWs</th>
<th>Tribalism</th>
<th>Cattle Rustling</th>
<th>Boundary Conflicts</th>
<th>Resources</th>
<th>Political Differences</th>
<th>Revenge</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Customs and Traditions</td>
<td>13 (4%)</td>
<td>63 (18%)</td>
<td>11 (3%)</td>
<td>18 (5%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate Internal Security</td>
<td>11 (3%)</td>
<td>16 (5%)</td>
<td>35 (10%)</td>
<td>12 (3%)</td>
<td>16 (5%)</td>
<td>16 (5%)</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porous Borders</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>47 (13%)</td>
<td>10 (3%)</td>
<td>16 (5%)</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
<td>23 (7%)</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
<td>13 (4%)</td>
<td>4 (1%)</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
<td>1 (0%)</td>
<td>16 (5%)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27 (8%)</td>
<td>139 (40%)</td>
<td>60 (17%)</td>
<td>48 (14%)</td>
<td>19 (5%)</td>
<td>57 (16%)</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18% and 13% of the respondents indicated cattle rustling as the main cause of conflict that compels them to acquire SALWs due to customs and traditions and porous borders respectively. 10% of the respondents also cited boundary conflicts as a cause of conflict that compels them to acquire SALWs due to inadequate internal security.
A personal communication with a security agent who requested anonymity revealed that sometimes politicians arm their communities to protect their property from their neighbors. The source further explained that there existed community gangs funded and armed by local politicians. Also, boundary disputes and revenge attacks were some of the reasons for acquiring fire arms. The community’s livelihood is pastoralism and has to be protected or risk being wiped from the region (Personal Communication, Samwel Loloyang, Lobokat, 20th September, 2011). With minimal government security agencies presence in the region, the residents of Turkana County have devised means of protecting their communities.

**Figure 4.9: Extent that Residents Feel Guarded by the Government**

Out of the 350 respondents who answered the questionnaire, 34% felt that they were well guarded by the government while 66% felt that they were not well guarded by the government as shown in figure 4-9. Out of those who feel they are adequately guarded by the government, 15% of them said that the reaction of security organs during a conflict was fast, 16% of them said it was slow while 3% said the security organs actually do not respond at all. Out of those who felt that they were not
adequately guarded well, 11% said the reaction of security organs during a conflict was fast, 41% said they were slow while 14% said that the security organs do not respond at all.

Turkana community has suffered in several occasions during raids because of slow or lack of response by security organs (Personal Communication, 3rd November, 2011). One day in the wee hours of the morning bullets rented the air in Lapur village and by the time they were quiet, 500 heads of cattle and 1200 goats had been stolen. In addition 4 young boys aged between 12 and 17 years had been killed. All these happened barely 1 km away from a police station. The over 100 raiders could have easily taken over the police station which is usually manned by less than 20 police officers. The vacuum created by the security agencies is one of the main reasons for the acquisition of illicit arms.

This data however contradicts the views of security personnel who indicated that they respond promptly when called upon. A personal communication with a security officer based at Kibish reiterated that the police have always responded promptly to distress calls albeit a few logistical and personnel challenges. The logistic challenges include lack of proper equipment and resources to enable them react swiftly.
Table 4.11: Relationship between Reaction of Security Organs and the Feeling of Being Guarded by the Government

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reaction of Security Organs</th>
<th>Feel Guarded by the Government</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (in %)</td>
<td>No (in %)</td>
<td>Total (in %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast</td>
<td>51 (15%)</td>
<td>40 (11%)</td>
<td>91 (26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slow</td>
<td>55 (16%)</td>
<td>144 (41%)</td>
<td>199 (57%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not Respond</td>
<td>12 (3%)</td>
<td>48 (14%)</td>
<td>60 (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>118 (34%)</td>
<td>232 (66%)</td>
<td>350 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Turkana County residents have lost confidence in the security forces, understaffing, or sometimes the inability of the security agencies to carry out their duties effectively. A raid that happened 15 km away was reported to an anti-stock theft unit but there was no response (Personal Communication, 10th November, 2011). The officers present gave flimsy excuses including lack of fuel for their vehicles. At the end of the day, the elders had to gather young Morans from the community to face the raiders which they achieved successfully. In conclusion, it was established that there are several factors that contribute to the proliferation of SALWs, however, cattle rustling is at the center of all of them and that they are almost interconnected.

4.5 Consequences of SALWs

One of the objectives of this study was to find out the consequences of SALWs. Table 4-12 shows the percentage of respondents who have suffered as a result of SALWs.
Table 4.12: Percentage of Respondents who have Directly Suffered as a Result of SALWs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffered as a Result of SALWs</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the study, 77% of the respondents have directly suffered as a result of SALWs. In considering indicators of the impact of SALWs, the survey examined forms of insecurity perpetuated by SALWs such as deaths, injuries and displacements. There is a predominant perception among residents that illicit SALWs are directly responsible for increased human insecurity. Families have lost very close relatives because of SALWs (Personal Communication, 27\textsuperscript{th} September, 2011). The high rate of availability of fire arms and ease in portability of the weapons enable the enemy to maneuver easily. According to Ayissi & Sall (2005), SALWs are sometimes imported while hidden in clothing, vehicles or kitchen utensils.

Though most SALWs are simplistic in nature, their lethality has increased making it possible for a single combatant to constitute a big threat to an entire society. Today’s assault rifles and other automatic weapons can fire up to several hundred rounds a minute (Control Arms, 2006). An AK-47 assault rifle can release 600 rounds per minute as long as the trigger remains pressed down and when being operated in automatic mode (Control Arms, 2006). Its maximum range lies between 800 to 1000 meters, but its accuracy is guaranteed when used by a trained marksman with the range of 400 to 600 meters (Control Arms, 2006). As a result of the power of these
weapons, a lot of damages have been witnessed and people have experienced a lot of suffering.

**Table 4.13: Relationship between Suffering as a Result of Small Arm and Frequency of Conflicts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffered as a Result of SALWs</th>
<th>Daily</th>
<th>Weekly</th>
<th>Monthly</th>
<th>Yearly</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>11 (3%)</td>
<td>53 (15%)</td>
<td>180 (51%)</td>
<td>24 (7%)</td>
<td><strong>268 (77%)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>14 (4%)</td>
<td>20 (6%)</td>
<td>48 (14%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td><strong>82 (23%)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>25 (7%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>73 (21%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>228 (65%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>24 (7%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>350 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51% of the residents have suffered as a result of monthly conflicts that happen in their area. 15% have suffered from weekly attacks, 7% have suffered from yearly attacks while 3% have suffered from daily attacks. 65% of conflicts happen monthly and that’s the reason why a high percentage of residents have suffered from them. With the gun culture in Turkana County, sometimes community members resort to the gun in low level squabbles. Sometimes the *Morans* use guns to resolve their differences over girlfriends (Personal Communication, 27th September, 2011). This eventually escalates leading to more suffering. In November 2009, a *Moran* was shot dead because of a fight over a young lady. Also, several people have to leave their homes for safer places after a series of raids that leave destruction and death on their trail.
Table 4.14: Showing the Percentage of People Killed in the Last Conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of People Killed</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-30</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-100</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>350</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis revealed that 38% of the respondents said that less than 10 people died during the last conflict and 60% revealed that between 11 to 30 people died as a result of the last conflict as shown in table 4-14. The data above shows that fatalities are unavoidable in a conflict where the communities possess SALWs. When a person is killed in a conflict, there is always a revenge awaiting. Revenge as it is has no end; this complicates the conflict further (Personal Communication, 2nd October, 2011).

The conflict in Turkana County is a complex situation due to revenge attacks. Local leaders are currently focusing on individual perpetrators and the payment of reparations to avoid revenge attacks. This has seen a magnificent reduction in revenge attacks and further improved the security in the region.
Table 4.15: Relationship between People Killed in the Last Conflict and Reaction of Security Organs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People Killed in the Last Conflict</th>
<th>Reaction of Security Organs</th>
<th>Do not Respond</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10</td>
<td>Fast 24 (7%)</td>
<td>Slow 36 (10%)</td>
<td>132 (38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-30</td>
<td>36 (10%)</td>
<td>55 (16%)</td>
<td>211 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-100</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>7 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>91 (17%)</td>
<td>199 (26%)</td>
<td>350 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings indicate that the reaction of security agencies to an attack relate to the number of people who are killed in a given conflict. 34% of the residents reported that 11 to 30 people are killed when the security agents do not respond and 21% indicated that less than 10 people are killed when there is no response. Clearly, when the response is fast, the rate of killing is low. The availability of SALWs in Turkana County has scaled up the number of fatalities and indiscriminate killings. There is presence of more powerful arsenal among the locals than those owned by the security forces (Personal Communication, 4th August, 2011).

Inadequate availability of proper equipment and inadequate support from the government has put security forces in harms-way more often. An example is where more than 40 police officers were massacred in Suguta valley in 2012 and a further 20 officers killed in Kapedo in 2014. Morans organize themselves after a raid to track and recover livestock stolen without the help of police officers (Personal Communication, 10th November, 2011). The aftermath of such raids and counter raids has seen atrocities resulting in deaths, injuries and disabilities and forced displacements.
The study established that during conflicts, properties are destroyed where 29% of the respondent said that buildings were destroyed while 71% said that livestock were confiscated as illustrated in Figure 4.10. Livestock herding is central to the survival of Turkana County residents and it is their preferred means of livelihood. The size of the household herd reflects household social status in the society. Competition between the pastoralists over common property and resources is most pronounced in the region, often taking the form of armed cattle rustling. Pastoral conflicts have become increasingly bloody and protracted, thereby contributing to a spiral of retributive violence. In this violence, the livestock are always the first casualty either by being stolen or injured through gunshots.

During raids, the central nerve to the raid is always livestock; however, the burning of houses is seen as collateral damage or a result of border disputes (Personal Communication, 20th September, 2011). In the year 1995 Pokot fatally raided Kainuk and loaded cattle worth millions onto Lorries and carried them away leaving Turkana
community in the area more destitute. Other raids occurred in 1999 in Kaputir. Though Turkana overpowered the Pokot, a section of the raiders had run away with 2000 heads of cattle. This also left the community poor and more vulnerable.

Turkana County has remained backward in development due to conflict (Personal Communication, 12th September, 2011). Where guns dominate, development suffers, schools close, shops close, commerce stops, and the local economy grinds to a halt. Buildings are destroyed, bridges are blown up, and whatever development there has been, is gone. Private investment dry up and development organizations can’t operate.

The study concludes that as a result of spread of SALWs, the economic development is adversely affected by discouraging investment, allocation of resources to security instead of development, transforming the nature of conflict resolution from peaceful to violent confrontations and more deaths, injuries and disabilities.

4.6 Ways of Reducing Spread of SALWs

Figure 4.11: Agents Responsible for Reduction of SALWs
From Figure 4.11, 33% believe that government is responsible for reducing the use of SALWs, 30% believed that local leaders and politicians are responsible, 23% said the church was responsible while 14% said NGOs are responsible. This shows that the residents rely on the government and the local leaders as the key institution/people to help eradicate SALWs within the community.

The government has not been successful in the quest to bring peace in the region (Personal Communication, 7th December, 2011). First, he faulted the forceful disarmament approach that is used by the government. Secondly, the disarmament is usually conducted in one community leaving them vulnerable against their aggressive neighbors. The government is not doing enough to mitigate conflict in the region. Sometimes the security personnel involved in the recovery of stolen livestock and disarmament exercise end up being the beneficiaries of the exercise. Their operations are ineffective, controversial and highly problematic since the conflict has escalated rather than subsiding.

The NGOs, Community Based Organizations (CBOs), Faith Based Organizations (FBO) such as churches were also found to be influential in persuading the locals to lay down their arms. Kenya Red Cross is a Kenyan NGO dealing with all forms of disasters in the country and it started working in Turkana County during the drought of 1992-1994. World Vision (K) is an international NGO which has been working in this region providing education, water and sanitation, relief food and even engaging in irrigation farming.

Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF) is an Australian NGO working in Alale and South Turkana and it is involved in working against hunger in the area. SENTINEL is an international NGO which is found in Kainuk region, and it deals
with issues of female genital mutilation which is unique to the Pokot community. ACTED is an international NGO which deals with issues of livestock, water and such related activities, it works in Turkana County. ACTION AID is an international NGO which deals with food and hunger related issues and works in the whole region.

The youth and women groups found in the region are also active. This shows that many NGOs, CBOs and FBOs were involved in the provision of other services to the people. The study established that corruption within the NGO, CBO and FBO fraternity had led to the inability to mitigate and end this conflict. Most former NGO workers end up being parliamentarians after serving in those peace building NGOs, CBOs or FBOs (Personal Communication, 20th September, 2011). They would use the money given for peace work for their own benefits and once they were elected to parliament, they would not account for the money they had in their control. Thus politics undermined peace work and encouraged corruption.

Peace work is a big business along the Kenya-Uganda border and each year, new groups are created with the help of major donors while others disappear due to corruption and mismanagement (Personal Communication, 16th August, 2011). This cycle has continued for decades and, despite absence of tangible results, millions of dollars continue to flow into the bank accounts of peace groups in Turkana County. The perceived mismanagement of the relatively vast resources committed to making peace has created disrespect among the residents and workers themselves. Peace workers misappropriate money, and peace meetings are just held by NGOs to display their engagement to resolve conflicts which in real sense they care less. Most peace meetings are even held in big towns away from conflict areas; hence the impact is not felt in areas where conflicts occur.
51% of the residents do not believe that SALWs can be fully eradicated in the region while 49% believe that it is possible to eradicate them. An important function of this study was to assess how different residents of Turkana County perceive the efforts made by the government and local leaders to limit the proliferation of SALWs. The views of the respondents were critical with most of them saying that the government was not doing enough. They claim that the government has failed to stem the involvement of rogue police officers in crimes and gun running and the contribution of KPRs to insecurity. The law enforcement agencies on the other hand decry the minimal resources available to them to manage security and control illicit arms.

It has been an uphill task to maintain peace between Turkana and their Pokot neighbors (Personal Communication, 3rd November, 2011). The peace run by Tegla Lorupe Foundation once brought Turkana and Pokot communities together to run and compete for trophies. In the evening of that day, the Pokot raided Turkana at Kainuk. This beats the logic of making peace between these two communities. The insincere
peace efforts provide warriors with an opportunity to observe the topography of the land in the enemy territory.

4.7 Summary

The main sources of illicit firearms into Kenya are its neighboring countries as indicated by 45% of the respondents interviewed. The residents can easily buy firearms from the neighboring countries as a result of porous borders. However, 28% of the respondents believe SALWS are acquired through inheritance. Another 12% believe that the arms are confiscated from their neighbors. A Human Rights Watch (HRW) report in 2002 on the proliferation of SALWs in Kenya found that weapons originated from the neighboring communities through the porous borders.

Some of the factors that account for the high desirability of SALWs and light weapons include: simplicity and durability, low costs and wide availability, portability and easy to conceal, lethality, porous borders, inadequate internal security and customs and traditions (Mclean, 2000). 31% of the respondents attributed the desire to acquiring SALWs to customs and traditions while 30% attribute the need to acquire SALWs to the lack of adequate internal security. This they said was driven by the urge to protect themselves and their livestock against their neighbors. 28% believed it is caused by porous borders and its wide availability.

Due to massive quantities of SALWs in circulation, Turkana County has suffered uncountable number of conflicts and violence. 77% of the residents in Turkana County confirmed that they have directly suffered as a result of SALWs. They further confirmed the loss of livelihood, injuries, disabilities, forced displacements, derailed development and human rights abuse as a result of proliferation of arms. In the last conflict, 60% indicated that it led to death of about 11 to 30 people while 38%
indicated that less than 10 people died. Similarly, 71% indicated that they always loose livestock whenever there is conflict while 29% indicated that their buildings are destructed. It is therefore evident that SALWs proliferation results in human suffering including loss of livelihoods and protracted conflicts with death as the end result.

The findings of the study indicated that the residents of Turkana County rely on different institutions and organizations to eradicate SALWs in the region. 33% indicated that the main institution that can work on reduction of SALWs successfully is the government. 30% of the respondents also believe that local leaders and politicians are in a better position to eradicate SALWs completely. However, 23% and 14% believe on church leaders and NGOs respectively to eradicate SALWs so as to restore peace in Turkana County. However, past disarmaments by the government through security agencies have failed miserably due to improper planning and coordination. The government should register all the arms first, put in place adequate security and then disarm while giving out incentives to frontiers.
CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction
This chapter presented the conclusions and recommendations on the impact of SALWs in conflict and insecurity in Turkana County. It also gave an overview of areas for future research.

5.2 Summary of Research Findings
The study found out that the main source of SALWs in Turkana County is infiltration from the neighboring countries such as Uganda, Sudan and Somalia. And the factors that contribute to the proliferation of these arms include customs and traditions, porous borders, lack of internal security among others. As a result of too much proliferation of SALWs in the region, people have suffered in many ways. The suffering include; the loss of life, injuries, loss of properties and physical displacements. The government and other institutions have tried to eradicate the conflicts in the region by undertaking disarmament and holding peace meetings among the residents.

5.3 Conclusions
The research sought to establish the impact of SALWs in conflict and insecurity in Turkana County. The objectives of the study were to investigate the sources of SALWs, to establish the factors that contribute to proliferation of SALWs, to explore the consequences of SALWs proliferation and to determine ways to reduce proliferation of SALWs and restore security in Turkana County. The study findings established that 58% of the respondents are illiterate since they do not have any
formal education and that 66% of them get their income from livestock rearing while only 21% and 10% are informally employed and self-employed respectively.

From the analysis, it was also revealed that 87% of the respondents own SALWs and 45% of them purchased from the neighboring countries and 28% inherited from their forefathers. From the results, conclusion can be drawn that porous borders and lack of adequate internal security are the main factors leading to proliferation of SALWS as 66% feel that they are not well guarded by the government.

The study also revealed that 60% deaths ranging between 11 - 30 people occurred during conflicts where livestock are also confiscated as well as destruction of buildings. The results further indicated that 33% of the people from Turkana County felt that it was the responsibility of the government to reduce the proliferation of SALWs as well as the local leaders and politicians. However, 51% felt that complete eradication of SALWs is not possible. The objectives of this study therefore have been achieved and the subsequent paragraphs enumerate recommendations to be undertaken and areas of future research.

5.4 Policy Recommendations and Areas for Future Research

From the results above, it is recommended that the government should recruit equip and deploy adequate security apparatus to Turkana County in order to provide the requisite security and man the porous borders. The security agencies should be able to establish national and regional coordination agencies to help guide and coordinate efforts to monitor, control and reduce the proliferation and illicit trade in such weapons. The study further recommends prompt adoption of legislation that makes the illegal manufacture, trafficking, possession and use of SALWs criminal offences under national law. Greater efforts need to be made to encourage people to surrender
illicit weapons in Turkana County and to develop public awareness on the proliferation of SALWs and the problems it poses.

The government can also establish a broad based reporting and cooperation framework for early warning and early response that should maximize public participation and multi-stakeholder engagement such as the newly launched community policing and *Nyumba Kumi* initiatives. Further there is need to engage community leaders in curbing illicit arms trafficking through the identification of gun runners, trafficking routes and gun markets. Improving terms and conditions of law enforcers will serve as an incentive and morale boosters in dealing with illegal arms.

Further, improving the infrastructure in Turkana County to unlock the entire region’s immense potential will help the residents to diversify their economic activities. It is also important to remove the factors making SALWs acquisition and use desirable. This can be done by looking for solutions for the root causes of violent conflicts in Turkana County. They range from food and human insecurity, pasture and water for the animals, boundaries that are not demarcated clearly and traditions that encourage cattle rustling. The government can curb this through economic equity and improving literacy in these regions.

African traditional conflict resolution techniques can also aid to reduce conflicts. Some well-known aspects of African traditional methods of conflict resolution could be applied to fight the proliferation and use of SALWs in Turkana County. The region still enjoys a great deal of custom and traditions although urbanization has been on a steep and steady increase over the last few years. Since the illegally armed individuals usually have the attitude of concealing weapons in their villages, community leaders, councils of the wise and women’s groups could work together with local NGOs to
organize disarmament projects specially aimed at recovering such weapons in planned Barazas. The old and local traditional notables who still command a high degree of respect in such settings could make use of their clout to forbid the bringing of weapons in their communities.

There are several avenues for conducting future research. This study can be extended to the neighbouring North Rift regions of Kenya that experience armed conflicts. However, a study can be carried out on the security component manning Turkana County. Comparison of results with the existing study can help in identifying and understanding the successes and challenges facing the security agents in curbing proliferation of SALWs in the most prone areas. Further, a study should also be carried out to investigate other factors influencing the proliferation of SALWs in the region other than the factors that have been considered in this study.
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Police reserves were a threat to security, *Kenya Times*, 21 April 2004


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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS


Ekuro Lokong, Alale, 16th August, 2011. Turkana moran


Faith Lopesia, 7th December, 2011. Women Church leader Sarmach.


Lokwang Ekitella, 12th September, 2011. Kakuma KPR


Mark Ethuro, Oropol, 12th September, 2011. Turkana youth leader.


Moses Lolooyang, Nakwamoru, 24th August, 2011. Turkana elder

Paul Kiyang, Oropol, 10th September, 2011. Turkana herdsman.


Paul Nasenyana, Lomelo, 10th November, 2011. Turkana moran.


APPENDIX 2: SAMPLE CONSENT

Turkana County in Kenya has been a conflict prone region for decades with ethnic conflict and banditry resulting in disastrous consequences evident until today. This research aims at investigating the impact of SALWS in conflict and insecurity in the region with a view to finding workable solutions to curb the proliferation of SALWS. The study will ultimately contribute to the development initiatives in this area. The information required will be contributed by you and others within the region. The information you will give will be treated with confidentiality and will only be used for research purpose only. You are also requested to observe the same principle. This form is aimed at getting your consent to take part in this study on your own volition.

Have you understood the importance of this study and the fact that there are no risks to anyone including yourself in participating in it?

Yes □
No □

Do you accept to participate in this study?

Yes □
No □

Respondent (Signature)…………………..Date……………………

Researcher (Signature)………………………..Date…………………. 
APPENDIX 3: SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

I GILBERT ANYOKA KINANGA is a student at Kenyatta University in the final year of a graduate Degree program in Peace and Conflict Management. I am carrying out a study on the impact of SALWS in conflict and insecurity at Turkana County with a view to coming up with measures to curb SALWS proliferation in the region. This knowledge lies with the community residents of Turkana County and their leaders. Without collecting and bringing this information together, solutions may not be easy. It is for that reason that I seek to aggregate this information to help in the efforts to bring about peace in the region. As a resident, your contribution is a great opportunity that will help seek solutions to the problems that have historically bedeviled the society. Your sincere and correct divulgence of information is important towards attaining this goal. You are requested to respond candidly to the questions below. All the information you will give will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Instructions

Please put a tick in the appropriate box(es) for multiple choice/answer questions. For the other questions, you are requested to write down relevant answers.

SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐

2. Age in years……………………..

3. Marital status:

Single ☐
Married ☐
Widowed ☐
Separated ☐
Divorced

4. What is your highest education level?
None
Primary
Secondary
Tertiary
University

5. What is your status of domicile?
Resident
Security agent

6. If security agent, which agency do you work under?
Police
Army
KPR
AP
GSU

7. Constituency of domicile: Turkana North
Turkana South
Turkana East
Turkana Central
Turkana West
Loima

8. What is the main economic activity in your area of residence/work?
Farming (crops)
Livestock rearing
Formal employment
Informal employment
Self-employment
Other (specify)

9. What is your monthly income category (KSh)
Less than 10,000
10000-19999
20000-29999
30000-39999
40000 and above

SECTION B: SOURCES OF SALWS

10. Have you experienced armed conflict in your area of domicile?
   Yes □ No □
   If yes, kindly answer the following questions

11. How frequent do the conflicts occur
   Daily □
   Weekly □
   Monthly □
   Yearly □

12. What was the cause of the conflict?
   Tribalism □
   Cattle rustling □
   Boundary conflicts □
   Water and pasture for livestock □
   Political differences □
   Revenge □
   Other (specify)…………………………………………

13. Do residents possess small arms?
   Yes □ No □
   If yes, answer question 14

14. How did they acquire the small arms?
   Buying from neighboring countries □
Buying within the country
Inheritance
Confiscating from the rival community
Politicians
Legally from the government
Others (specify)

15. Do you know anybody who possesses a small arm in your neighborhood?
Yes  No

SECTION C: FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO PROLIFERATION OF SALWS

16. Why do people in this area possess SALWS?
Customs and Traditions
Inadequate internal security
Porous borders
Availability
Other (specify)

17. Do you feel adequately guarded/facilitated by the government?
Yes  No

18. How fast do security organs react in case of an alarm?
Fast  Slow  Do not respond
Other (specify)

SECTION D: CONSEQUENCES OF SALWS PROLIFERATION

19. Have you ever suffered as a result of SALWS?
Yes  No
20. During the last conflict you may have witnessed or heard in your area, how many people were killed?

Less than 10
Between 11 and 30
Between 31 and 100
Above 100

21. During this particular conflict, what properties were destroyed/confiscated?

Buildings
Livestock
Cars
Crops
Trees
Others Please specify…………………………

22. Which periods is your community vulnerable from attacks by your enemies?

Drought season
During political elections
Other (specify)……………………

23. During conflicts, do you think the presence of SALWS worsened the situation?

Yes
No

SECTION E: WAYS TO REDUCE PROLIFERATION OF SALWS

24. In your opinion, who should be responsible in reducing the use of SALWS?

Local leaders
Church
Politicians

NGOs

Government

Others (specify)…………………………………………

25. In which ways do you think the SALWS can be reduced in this community?
   Education
   Disarmament
   Securing the Kenyan borders
   Enhancing internal security

26. In your opinion, do you think SALWS can be eradicated fully from the community?
   Yes
   No

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION, BE BLESSED
APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

My name is GILBERT ANYOKA KINANGA a student at Kenyatta University in the final year of a graduate degree program in peace and conflict management. I am carrying out a study on the impact of SALWS in conflict and insecurity at Turkana County with a view to coming up with measures to curb SALWS proliferation in the region. I would like to ask you some questions about your background information, sources of SALWS, factors contributing to proliferation of SALWS, consequences of SALWS proliferation, and ways to reduce proliferation of SALWS. I hope to use this information to help in coming up with measures to curb SALWS proliferation in the region. The interview should take about 10 minutes. Are you available to respond to some questions at this time?

Let me begin by asking you some questions about your background information.

SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Which constituency do you reside?
2. What is your gender?
3. Age in years……………..
4. What is your marital status?
5. What is your highest education level?
6. What is your source of income?
7. What is your monthly income category (KSh)?

SECTION B: SOURCES OF SALWS

8. Have you experienced armed conflict in your area of domicile?
   If yes,
9. How frequent do the conflicts occur?
10. What do you think was the cause of the conflict?

11. Do you possess a small arm?

If yes,

12. How did you acquire your small arm?

13. Do you know anybody who possesses a small arm in your neighborhood?

SECTION C: FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO PROLIFERATION OF SALWS

14. Why do people in your area possess SALWS?

15. Do you feel adequately guarded by the government?

16. How fast do security organs react in case of an alarm?

SECTION D: CONSEQUENCES OF SALWS PROLIFERATION

17. Have you ever suffered as a result of SALWS?

18. During the last conflict you may have witnessed or heard in your area, how many people were killed?

19. During this particular conflict, what properties were destroyed/confiscated?

20. Which periods is your community vulnerable from attacks by your enemies?

21. During conflicts, do you think the presence of SALWS worsened the situation?

SECTION E: WAYS TO REDUCE PROLIFERATION OF SALWS

22. In your opinion, who should be responsible in reducing the use of SALWS?

23. In which ways do you think the SALWS can be reduced in your community?

24. In your opinion, do you think SALWS can be eradicated fully from your community?

Well, it has been a pleasure finding out more about you and proliferation of SALWS. I appreciate the time you took for this interview. Is there anything else you think
would be helpful for me to know so that I can successfully make a conclusion out of this study?

Would it be alright to call you at home if I have any more questions? Thanks again. I look forward to putting this information to its intended purpose.